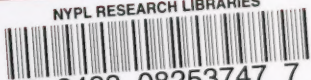


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A
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.



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By T. Lawrence

G. Chodart

THOMAS GRAHAM LORD LYNEDOCH, K.G.C.B. &c.

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Biographical Dictionary

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

WITH
NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS.

VOLUME II, IV.



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ORIGINALLY EDITED BY ROBERT CHAMBERS.

NEW EDITION,

REVISED THROUGHOUT AND CONTINUED

BY THE

REV. THOMAS THOMSON,

EDITOR OF THE "COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS ON STEEL.

VOLUME II.

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BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

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F.

FALCONER, HUGH, M.D. During the eighteenth century, when ethical and metaphysical speculation was accounted the highest effort of intellect, the Scottish mind heartily sympathized in the study. It was an outlet to the keen investigating character which formed one of the national distinctions, and the writings of Hume and others of his countrymen soon effected a revolution in the world of abstract thought. But in the nineteenth century, when the tide had entirely changed—when metaphysics was exchanged for physics, and the theoretic for the practical, so that the present age came to be called the age of utilitarianism—Scotland was not found wanting. Hence in every department of natural science we find her children among the foremost; and not the least of these was Hugh Falconer, the subject of the present biographical notice. He was born at Forbes, Morayshire, on the 29th of February, 1808. Having prosecuted his literary and general education at King's College, Aberdeen, where he took the degree of A.M., after completing the usual curriculum, he went to Edinburgh about the year 1826, and studied at its university until he had finished his medical education, and received the diplomas of surgeon and M.D. But although he acquired a competent knowledge of the medical profession, it was not to the mysteries of the healing art that he exclusively, or even chiefly, confined his attention: his enthusiasm was directed to natural science, while his comprehensive intellect ranged over its wide and diversified field—and the lessons of Professors Jameson and Graham, as well as the society of their chief pupils, aided and animated him in his scientific career. He was also a member of the Plinian Society, where he found associates with whom he maintained a close intimacy that lasted till his death.

Having graduated for the medical profession, Hugh Falconer commenced his active course as assistant-surgeon in the East India Company's service, and on his arrival in Bengal he was so fortunate as to find a field already prepared for him. His favourite study had been botany, and in this his proficiency was so marked, as to show him a fit successor to the Roxburghs and Wallichs, by whom the gardens of the Honourable East India Company had been superintended. He was therefore placed in charge of them, first at Seharunpoor, and latterly at Calcutta. His gratification at the appointment, and modest estimate of his own claims to such distinction, are thus mentioned in one of his letters written from Mussooree, 7000 feet in height among the Himalaya Mountains:

"Botany is now a sort of profession with me. I am superintendent of a botanic garden in India. I had the luck to get it before I was a year in the country, and perhaps long before I could have expected anything of the kind; but as there are few in the medical service in India who trouble themselves with botany, I got the charge in lack of a fitter man."

Of his superior fitness for such a charge, even though able competitors had been at hand, it was soon evident that there could be little question. During a tenure of office that lasted twenty years, his researches extended from Calcutta to Cashmere in a northerly and westerly, and from Calcutta to Burmah in a south-easterly direction, while his inquiries were directed to every branch by which the resources of India could be developed, and the interests of natural science promoted. In Indian botany he may be pronounced the creator of the teas of Assam, the first attempt to transfer the Chinese plant to other regions, by which the world at a future day may be made independent of its exclusive supplies of tea from China. It was he also who developed the resources of the great teak forests of Martaban, where the sound of the woodman's axe had never been heard; and who first suggested the naturalization of the Jesuit's bark of Peru in the Himalaya Mountains and the Neilgherry Hills. But independently of these strictly professional duties, were Falconer's discoveries in palæontology while in India. In the Sewalik Mountains, the lowest range of the Himalayas, he classified, described, and brought to England the largest collection of fossils, the organic beings of a former state of the world, that any individual had ever hitherto collected. Thus briefly we are compelled to comprise the narrative of a twenty years' scientific life in India—a life filled with active adventure, scientific discovery, and successful experiment, by which the boundaries of knowledge were enlarged, and the welfare of society promoted. And, with the exception of the usual furlough to Europe, these years had been passed, and these toils undergone, in the diversified climates and under the burning sun of the East. Having thus so ably discharged his task, Dr. Falconer retired from the service, and returned to England; but although his constitution was considerably shattered, his mental activity was as great and his love of scientific research as strong as ever. As soon, therefore, as his health was partially recruited, he resumed those palæontological inquiries among the fields of Europe, which he had so successfully prosecuted in India.

And for this also he was admirably qualified, as, independently of his enthusiasm in the pursuit, and his intellectual adaptation for such a task as that of collecting the fragments of a past existence, and out of these educating the forms and characters of the creatures to which they had belonged—a work in which he showed himself equal to the most distinguished palæontologists of the day, he possessed an amount of experience derived from the earliest eastern fields of prehistoric life to which they could not lay claim. In the course of his investigations he visited the drift of Amiens, the caverns of southern France, and those of Sicily. He also, in the autumn of 1864, made a voyage to Gibraltar in company with Professor Busk, the eminent naturalist and anatomist, for the purpose of exploring its caves, in which not only the fossilized bones of extinct animals were discovered, such as mastodons, cave-lions, cave-bears, and elephants, but those of man himself. This journey, however, terminated his life as well as his scientific inquiries. On returning to England through Spain, exposure to the weather tried his constitution so severely that he was unable to rally from its effects, and he died in Park Crescent, London, on the 31st of January, 1865, being only fifty-five years old. Such was Dr. Hugh Falconer, a man whose many-sided mind this brief sketch can but imperfectly delineate. In every department of natural science, and the departments of knowledge connected with them, he was completely versed. A perfect master of geology, botany, and zoology, he was also an excellent ethnologist and archæologist, while in literature he was not only well acquainted with the classical but oriental languages. Having died a bachelor, he left no children to succeed him, and it was unfortunate that his busy life allowed him no leisure to construct such a work as might have shown the amount of his acquirements, and been a lasting monument to his fame. His two principal publications, of which, however, the labour was shared with others, were—1. *Fauna Antiqua Sivalonis*, being the Fossil Zoology of the Sewalik Hills, in the North of India" (in conjunction with T. Cautley), Lond. fol. 1846-49; and, 2. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fossil Remains of Vertebrata in the Museum of Bengal* (in conjunction with H. Walker). Calcutta, 8vo, 1859. Besides these, he contributed several papers to the chief scientific societies, especially the Geological and Philosophical, which are published in their *Transactions*.

FALCONER, WILLIAM, author of *The Shipwreck*, a poem, was born in Edinburgh about the year 1730. His father was a barber and wig-maker in a well-known street called the Netherbow, where he ultimately became insolvent. A brother and sister of the tuneful Falconer—the only individuals who stood in that relation to him—were born deaf and dumb; and the latter, on account of her infirmities, was a constant inmate of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, some time after the beginning of the present century. The father of the poet was a cousin-german of the Rev. Mr. Robertson, minister of the parish of Borthwick; so that this humble bard was a very near relation of the author of the *History of Scotland*, and also of Lord Brougham and Vaux. Old Falconer, being reduced to insolvency, was enabled by his friends to open a grocer's shop; but being deprived of his wife, who was a prudent and active woman, his affairs once more became deranged, and he terminated his life in extreme indigence.

The education of young Falconer was of that humble kind which might have been expected from his father's circumstances. A teacher of the name of

Webster gave him instructions in reading, writing, and arithmetic. He used to say that this was the whole amount of his school education. It appears that he possessed, even in early youth, an ardour of genius, and a zeal in the acquisition of knowledge, which in a great measure supplied his deficiencies. In his poem of the *Shipwreck* he evidently alludes to his own attainments in the following lines:—

"On him fair science dawned in happier hour,
Awakening into bloom young fancy's flower;
But soon adversity, with freezing blast,
The blossom withered and the dawn o'ercast;
Forlorn of heart, and, by severe decree,
Condemned, reluctant, to the faithless sea;
With long farewell, he left the laurel grove,
Where science and the tuneful sisters rove."

When very young he was torn from his self-pursued studies, and entered as an apprentice on board a merchant vessel belonging to Leith. He afterwards became servant to Mr. Campbell, the author of *Lexiphanes*, who was purser of the ship to which he belonged, and who, finding in him an aptitude for knowledge, kindly undertook to give him some instructions in person. He subsequently became second mate in the *Britannia*, a vessel in the Levant trade, which, on her passage from Alexandria to Venice, was shipwrecked off Cape Colonna, on the coast of Greece. Only three of the crew were saved, and Falconer was of the number. The event furnished him with the material of a poem, by which it is probable his name will be for ever remembered.

The poet was at this time about eighteen years of age. In 1751, when two or three years older, he is found residing in his native city, where he published his first known work, a poem, *Sacred to the Memory of His Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales*. He is said to have followed up this effort by several minor pieces which he transmitted to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Mr. Clarke, the editor of a respectable edition of his poems, points out *The Chaplain's Petition to the Lieutenants in the Ward-room*, the *Description of a Ninety-gun Ship*, and some lines *On the uncommon Scarcity of Poetry*, as among these fugitive productions. Mr. Clarke has likewise presented his readers with a whimsical little poem, descriptive of the abode and sentiments of a midshipman, which was one of the poet's early productions, and offers some reasons for supposing that he was the author of the popular song, *Cease, rude Boreas*.

Little is known of Falconer during this period of his life except that he must have been making considerable additions to his stock of knowledge and ideas. His poem *The Shipwreck* was published in 1762, being dedicated to Edward, Duke of York, brother of George III. This composition displays a degree of polish and an array of classical allusions which could only have been acquired by extensive reading. It was at once placed in the first rank of descriptive poetry, where it has ever since continued. "The distant ocean," says an eminent critic, "and its grand phenomena have employed the pens of the most eminent poets, but they have generally produced an effect by indefinite outlines and imaginary incidents. In Falconer we have the painting of a great artist, taken on the spot, with such minute fidelity, as well as picturesque effect, that we are chained to the scene with all the feelings of actual terror. In the use of imagery Falconer displays original powers. His sunset, midnight, morning, &c., are not such as have descended from poet to poet. He beheld these objects under circumstances in which it is the lot of few to be placed. His images, therefore, cannot be transferred or borrowed; they have an appropriation which must not be dis-

turbed, nor can we trace them to any source but that of genuine poetry." Another writer remarks, "*The Shipwreck* is didactic as well as descriptive, and may be recommended to a young sailor, not only to excite his enthusiasm, but improve his knowledge of the art. It is of inestimable value to this country, since it contains within itself the rudiments of navigation: if not sufficient to form a complete seaman, it may certainly be considered as the grammar of his professional science. I have heard many experienced officers declare that the rules and maxims delivered in this poem for the conduct of a ship in the most perilous emergency form the best, indeed the only opinions which a skilful mariner should adopt." Against such a poem it forms no proper objection that much of the language, being technical, is only perfectly understood by a class.

By his dedication the poet gained the notice and patronage of the Duke of York, who, it will be recollected, was himself a seaman. Almost immediately after the poem was published his royal highness induced Falconer to leave the merchant service, and procured him the rank of a midshipman in Sir Edward Hawke's ship, the *Royal George*. In gratitude, Falconer wrote an *Ode on the Duke of York's Second Departure from England as Rear-admiral*, which was published, but displays a merit more commensurate with the unimportance of the subject than the genius of the author. It is said that Falconer composed this poem "during an occasional absence from his messmates, when he retired into a small space formed between the cable tiers and the ship's side."

In 1763, the war being brought to a close, Falconer's ship was paid off,—long before he had completed that period of service which could have entitled him to promotion. He then exchanged the military for the civil department of the naval service, and became purser of the *Glory* frigate of 32 guns. Either in the interval between the two services, or before his appointment as a midshipman, he paid a visit to Scotland, and spent some time in the manse of Gladsmuir with Dr. Robertson, the historian, who, we are told, was proud to acknowledge the relationship that existed between him and this self-instructed and ingenious man.

Soon after this period Falconer married a Miss Hicks, daughter of the surgeon of Sheerness Yard. She has been described as "a woman of cultivated mind, elegant in her person, and sensible and agreeable in conversation."¹ It is said that the match was entered into against the will of her parents, who, looking only to the external circumstances of the poet, thought her thrown away upon a poor Scottish adventurer. Notwithstanding this painful circumstance, and there is reason to fear real poverty besides, the pair lived happily. Falconer endeavoured to support himself by literature. He compiled a *Universal Marine Dictionary*, which, from its usefulness as a book of reference, soon became generally used in the navy. Like most other literary Scotsmen of that period, he was a zealous partisan of the Bute administration, and endeavoured to defend it against the attacks of its jealous and illiberal enemies. For this purpose he published a satire, called *The Demagogue*, which was more particularly aimed at Lord Chatham, Wilkes, and Churchill. We have not learned that it was attended with any particular effect. Falconer at this time lived in a manner at once economical, and highly appropriate to his literary character. "When the *Glory* was laid in ordinary at Chatham, Commissioner Hanway, brother to the benevolent Jonas Hanway, became

delighted with the genius of its purser. The captain's cabin was ordered to be fitted up with a stove, and with every addition of comfort that could be procured, in order that Falconer might thus be enabled to enjoy his favourite propensity, without either molestation or expense." (*Clarke's Life*).

In 1769 the poet had removed to London, and resided for some time in the former buildings of Somerset House. From this place he dated the last edition of the *Shipwreck* published in his own lifetime. That Falconer must have possessed the personal qualities of a man of the world, rather than those of an abstracted student or child of the muses, seems to be proved by Mr. Murray, the bookseller, having proposed to take him into partnership. He is supposed to have been only prevented from acceding to this proposal by receiving an appointment to the pursership of the *Aurora* frigate, which was ordered to carry out to India Messrs. Vansittart, Crofton, and Forde, as supervisors of the affairs of the Company. He was also promised the office of private secretary to those gentlemen, a situation from which his friends conceived hopes that he might eventually obtain lasting advantages. It had been otherwise ordered. The *Aurora* sailed from England on the 30th of September, 1769, and, after touching at the Cape, was lost during the remainder of the passage, in a manner that left no trace by which the cause of the calamity could be discovered. It was conjectured that the vessel took fire at sea; but the more probable supposition is that she foundered in the Mosambique Channel. The widow of Falconer (who eventually died at Bath) resided for some years afterwards in his apartments at Somerset House, partly supported by Mr. Miller, the bookseller, who, in consideration of the rapid sale of the *Marine Dictionary*, generously bestowed upon her sums not stipulated for in his contract with the author. Mr. Moser, whom we have already quoted, mentions that he once met her walking in the garden, near her lodging, and, without knowing who she was, happened, in conversation, to express his admiration of the *Shipwreck*. She was instantly in tears. "She presented me," says Mr. M., "with a copy of the *Shipwreck*, and seemed much affected by my commiseration of the misfortunes of a man whose work appears in its catastrophe prophetic." They had never had any children.

"In person," says Mr. Clarke, "Falconer was about five feet seven inches in height; of a thin light make, with a dark weather-beaten complexion, and rather what is termed hard-featured, being considerably marked with the small-pox; his hair was of a brownish hue. In point of address, his manner was blunt, awkward, and forbidding; but he spoke with great fluency; and his simple yet impressive diction was couched in words which reminded his hearers of the terseness of Swift. Though he possessed a warm and friendly disposition, he was fond of controversy, and inclined to satire. His observation was keen and rapid; his criticisms on any inaccuracy of language or expression were frequently severe; yet this severity was always intended to create mirth, and not by any means to show his own superiority, or to give the smallest offence. In his natural temper he was cheerful, and frequently used to amuse his messmates by composing acrostics on their favourites, in which he particularly excelled. As a professional man, he was a thorough seaman; and, like most of that profession, was kind, generous, and benevolent."

FARQUHAR, JOHN. This remarkable character, who went to India a penniless youth and re-

¹ Letter by Joseph Moser, *European Magazine*, 1803, p. 424.

turned a millionaire, was the son of poor parents, and born in Crimond, Aberdeenshire, in 1751. In early life he went to India as a cadet in the Bombay establishment, and in the voyage was a chum of the late General Kerr. A dangerous wound in the hip, which affected his health and occasioned lameness, disqualified him for the military service, and by the advice of his friends he removed to Bengal, where he became a free merchant. Either his original tendencies, or the confinement occasioned by his wound, made him turn his mind to close study, in which chemistry and its practical application was the favourite pursuit. It was upon this that the foundation of his immense fortune was laid. The manufacturing of gunpowder in the interior at Pultah being defective, Mr. Farquhar was selected by Lord Cornwallis, the governor-general of India, to aid in rectifying it, and this he did so effectually as to secure the confidence of his superiors, and gradually to obtain the management of the concern, until at last he became the sole contractor with the government. Thus he rapidly rose to wealth and distinction, and won the particular favour and confidence of Warren Hastings; and that this rise was merited he showed by his close application, extraordinary mental vigour, and activity. He also evinced, by his habits of penuriousness, that he could keep a good hold of the wealth that flowed in so abundantly upon him. After years of labour he returned from India with a fortune estimated at half-a-million, the greater part of which was profitably invested by Mr. Hoare, his banker, in the funds.

On landing at Gravesend on his return to England, such was the appearance of this Indian Ceresus, that no pickpocket however hungry would have thought him worth a search. His clothes were threadbare and could scarcely hang together, while his whole appearance was that of a pauper on his way to the workhouse. He took the outside of the coach to London to save expense, and his first visit was to his banker; but on asking to see Mr. Hoare, the clerks, who saw him covered with dust and dirt, treated him with hauteur, and obliged him to wait as a petitioner in the cash office. On Mr. Hoare passing through it, he exchanged a few words with the supposed mendicant, and was thunderstruck to find that this was no other than his great Indian customer. Farquhar drew only £25 and took his leave. He then went to the house of a relation, a baronet, and there took up his residence; but his poverty-stricken appearance was an eyesore and annoyance to the whole establishment. At last, a great Christmas entertainment was to be given in the mansion, in consequence of which his relative, a week previous, hinted the propriety of improving his costume, and recommended a Bond Street tailor who would drape him in the newest and most approved fashion. Indignant at this aspersions of his favourite costume, and the audacity of such interference, Mr. Farquhar immediately packed up his trunk, ordered the servant to call a coach, and took his departure. He then settled himself in Upper Baker Street, where his house was soon characterized by its forlorn appearance; the windows were uncleaned, the approach dirty and neglected, while the only menial of whom the establishment could boast was an old woman. His own favourite room was a sanctuary which she was not allowed to enter, or a brush or broom to profane; the floor was littered with books and papers, where they were thrown and allowed to lie, when their service was over; and the most active part of its furniture was an old pan or pipkin, in which he usually cooked his Brahminical meal of rice. His neighbours were alarmed at this appearance of ex-

treme destitution, and in several cases some of them offered him alms, supposing that he was a reduced gentleman starving in poverty. His relations, however, were too wise to neglect such a rich kinsman, let his dress and eccentricities be as annoying as they might, and he was often invited to their tables. But while he thus saved himself the expense of the day's provender, he was not the less careful for the morrow, and rolls or pieces of bread found their way into his pocket to furnish the next day's breakfast or dinner. His hosts were too wise to notice such abstractions, and in the end were no losers by their short-sightedness.

While Farquhar was thus saving in the common necessities of life, his mountain of money was not allowed to lie idle. He became a partner in the great agency house in the city having for its title "Basset, Farquhar, & Co.," and purchased the late Mr. Whitebread's share in the brewery. With part of his wealth he purchased estates, but the bulk of it was invested in stock, and allowed to increase on the principle of compound interest. Every half year he drew his dividends, his mercantile profits, and his rents, and purchased in the funds, so that his capital with every year was steadily and rapidly increasing. But the most wonderful of his mercantile transactions was in the case of that gorgeous Aladdin palace, Fonthill Abbey. In 1822 that splendid edifice with all its rich treasures was announced for sale, and while the public mind anticipated the whole wealth and aristocracy of Britain as bidders at the auction, the land was amazed to learn that Mr. Farquhar—that most frugal man and impersonation of poverty—had purchased the whole by private bargain for £330,000. Occasionally also he resided afterwards in the abbey, like a living sermon upon the vanity of its grandeur, until the fall of its tower in December, 1825. The remaining wing of the older mansion he converted into a woollen manufactory.

In this strange manner Mr. Farquhar held onward in his career until its course was terminated, astonishing the world by his vast wealth, but still more by his penurious habits. Whatever he touched seemed to turn into gold; but this, though he was able, he was unwilling to enjoy, so that his Midas-like famine was his own deliberate choice. But he was no ordinary miser; and while hoarding scraps of victuals and saving pence and farthings, he could freely part with hundreds of pounds in acts of charity and benevolence. Although slovenly in dress and disagreeable in the usages of the table, he could yet be courteous and gentlemanly in his manners and conversation. He was an accomplished scholar and well versed in the classics, and although disinclined to correspondence, when he prevailed upon himself to write, his style was terse, elegant, and correct. In mathematical, chemical, and mechanical science he also showed remarkable proficiency, while his conversation was rich, animated, and varied. But the possession of these endowments only increased the general odium occasioned by his insane love of money, as compared with his capability for higher and better pursuits. What were his religious opinions even the most intimate of his friends could not ascertain, but it was suspected, from his mode of living, and his admiration of the pure and abstinent precepts of Brahminism, that he was at least a half-convert to the Hindoo creed. It was also said that he offered to devote £100,000 in founding a college in Aberdeen on the most enlarged plan of education, from which, however, the subject of religion was to be excluded, but which the legislature refused to sanction, so that the plan was abandoned.

After having thus continued to be a wonder to society, John Farquhar was suddenly withdrawn from its gaze. On the 5th of July, 1826, he had taken an airing in his carriage, and returned to his house in the New Road, opposite the Regent's Park, at seven in the evening, and retired to rest between the hours of ten and eleven. At eight in the following morning his servant, according to custom, took up breakfast to his master in his bedroom, but found him a corpse. Suddenly and at midnight the rich man's soul had been required of him, and he had apparently died instantaneously and without a struggle. As Mr. Farquhar died intestate, his fortune, supposed to amount to a million and a half, was divided among seven nephews and nieces.

FERGUSON, DR. ADAM, was the son of the Rev. Adam Ferguson, parish minister of Logie Rait, in Perthshire, descended of the respectable family of Dunfallandy; his mother was from the county of Aberdeen. He was born in the year 1724, in the manse of his father's parish, and was the youngest of a numerous family. He received the rudiments of instruction at the parish school; but his father, who had devoted much of his time to the tuition of his son, became so fully convinced of the superior abilities of the boy, that he determined to spare no expense in the completion of his education. He was accordingly sent to Perth and placed under the care of Mr. Martin, who enjoyed great celebrity as a teacher. At this seminary Ferguson highly distinguished himself, as well in the classical branches of education as in the composition of essays; an exercise which his master was in the habit of prescribing to his pupils. His theses were not only praised at the time of their being delivered, but were long preserved and shown with pride by Mr. Martin, as the production of a youthful scholar. In October, 1739, Ferguson was, at the age of fifteen, removed to the university of St. Andrews, where he was particularly recommended to the notice of Mr. Tullidolph, who had been lately promoted to the office of principal of one of the colleges. At St. Andrews there is an annual *exhibition* for four bursaries, when the successful competitors in writing and translating Latin obtain gratuitous board at the college table during four years. Ferguson stood first among the competitors of the undergraduate course for the year he entered the college. At that period the Greek language was seldom taught in the grammar-schools in Scotland; and although young Ferguson had thus honourably distinguished himself by his knowledge of Latin, he seems to have been unacquainted with Greek. By his assiduity, however, he amply regained his lost time; for so ardently did he apply himself to the study of that language, that, before the close of the session, he was able to construe Homer; nor did his ardour cease with his attendance at college, for during the vacation he tasked himself to prepare one hundred lines of the *Iliad* every day, and facility increasing as he advanced in knowledge, he was enabled to enlarge his task, so that by the commencement of the succeeding session, or term, he had gone through the whole poem. This laborious course of study enabled him to devote the succeeding years of his attendance at college to the attainment of a knowledge of mathematics, logic, metaphysics, and ethics.

From St. Andrews, on the close of his elementary studies, Mr. Ferguson removed to Edinburgh to mix with, and form a distinguished member of that galaxy of great men which adorned the northern metropolis about the middle of the 18th century. Nor was it long before his acquaintance among those

who were thus to shed a lustre over Scotland commenced, for soon after his arrival in Edinburgh he became a member of a philosophical society, which comprehended Dr. Robertson, Dr. Blair, Mr. John Home the author of *Douglas*, and Mr. Alexander Carlyle. A society composed of young men of abilities so eminent, it may easily be believed, was an institution peculiarly well adapted to promote intellectual improvement and the acquisition of knowledge. This society afterwards merged in the Speculative Society, which has been the favourite resort of most of the young men of talent who have been educated in Edinburgh during the last hundred years.

"In his private studies" (we are informed by one of his most intimate friends) Mr. Ferguson, while in Edinburgh, devoted his chief attention "to natural, moral, and political philosophy. His strong and inquiring unprejudiced mind, versed in Grecian and Roman literature, rendered him a zealous friend of rational and well-regulated liberty. He was a constitutional Whig, equally removed from Republican licentiousness and Tory bigotry. Aware that all political establishments ought to be for the good of the whole people, he wished the means to vary in different cases, according to the diversity of character and circumstances; and was convinced, with Aristotle, that the perfection or defect of the institutions of one country does not necessarily imply either perfection or defect of the similar institutions of another; and that restraint is necessary, in the inverse proportion of general knowledge and virtue. These were the sentiments he cherished in his youth; these the sentiments he cherished in his old age."

Mr. Ferguson was intended for the church, and had not pursued the study of divinity beyond two years when, in 1744, Mr. Murray, brother to Lord Elibank, offered him the situation of deputy chaplain, under himself, in the 42d regiment. In order, however, to obtain a license as a preacher in the Church of Scotland, it was necessary at that time to have studied divinity for six years, and although the fact of Ferguson having some slight knowledge of the Gaelic language might have entitled him to have two of these years discounted, still no presbytery was authorized to have granted him his license. He was therefore obliged to apply to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, when, in consideration of the high testimonials which he produced from several professors, a dispensation was granted in his favour, and having passed his trials, he obtained his license as a preacher; immediately after which he joined his regiment, then in active service in Flanders. In a short time he had the good fortune to be promoted to the rank of principal chaplain.

Mr. Gibbon has declared that the manœuvres of a battalion of militia, of which he was colonel, had enabled him to comprehend and describe the evolutions of the Roman legion; and no doubt Mr. Ferguson owed his knowledge of military affairs, by which he was enabled to give such distinctness and liveliness to his descriptions of wars and battles, to the experience which he acquired while with his regiment on the Continent. Nor did his service prove less beneficial to him by throwing open a wide and instructive field of observation of the human character, and imparting a practical knowledge of the mainspring of political events.

On the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Mr. Ferguson obtained leave of absence, when he visited his native country. At home he spent his time partly in Perthshire, wandering about in comparative idleness, enjoying the beautiful scenery which surrounded his father's manse, and partly in the capital, where he renewed his acquaintance with the friends of his

youth. About this period he solicited the Duke of Athol for the living of Capath, a beautiful and retired parish near Dunkeld, in Perthshire; he was, however, unsuccessful in his application, and it was owing perhaps to this disappointment that he did not ask the living of Logie Rait, on the death of his father, which took place shortly after. Having rejoined his regiment, he seems thenceforward to have abandoned all intention of undertaking a parochial charge. Indeed his talents did not peculiarly fit him for the office of a preacher; for although he had acquired a great facility in writing, his sermons were rather moral essays than eloquent discourses. This, in a great measure, disqualified him for becoming a favourite with a Presbyterian congregation, in which so much always depends on the preacher's capacity to excite and sustain a spirit of devotion among his hearers, by the fidelity, earnestness, and energy of his exhortations, and the fervour of his prayers. Although thus unfitted by the nature of his genius to shine as a preacher, Mr. Ferguson's great abilities, his polished manners, and the benevolence of his disposition, peculiarly fitted him for taking a prominent part in literature and in private society.

In the year 1757 Mr. Ferguson resigned the chaplaincy of the 42d regiment, after which he was employed for upwards of two years as private tutor in the family of the Earl of Bute; and in the year 1759 he was chosen professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh; which chair he retained until the year 1764, when he obtained the professorship of moral philosophy—a chair much better suited to his genius, and to the course of study which he had pursued.

In 1766 he published his *Essays on Civil Society*. The object of this work is—according to the favourite mode of the literary men with whom Ferguson associated—to trace man through the several steps in his progress from barbarism to civilization. This, which was his first publication, contributed not a little to raise Mr. Ferguson in public estimation, and the university of Edinburgh hastened to confer on him the honorary degree of LL.D. In the same year he revisited the scenes of his youth, and delighted the old parishioners of his father by recollecting them individually, while they were no less proud that their parish had produced a man who was held in such estimation in the world. During this year also he was married to Miss Burnet, from Aberdeenshire, the amiable niece of the distinguished Professor Black, of Edinburgh. In order to render his lectures more useful to his pupils, Dr. Ferguson about this time published his *Institutes or Synopsis of his Lectures*.

Dr. Ferguson continued to enjoy the literary society of Edinburgh, interrupted only by the recreation of cultivating a small farm in the neighbourhood of the city, until the year 1773; when he was induced by the liberal offers of Lord Chesterfield, nephew to the celebrated earl, to accompany him in his travels. After a tour through most of the countries of Europe, Dr. Ferguson returned in 1775 to the duties of his chair, which, during his absence, had been ably performed by the well-known Dugald Stewart. This relief from his academical duties proved not only highly advantageous to Dr. Ferguson in a pecuniary point of view, but contributed considerably to his improvement. His lectures on his return were not only numerously attended by the usual routine of students, but by men of the first rank and talents in the country. We have the testimony of one who, although young at the time, seems to have been well able to appreciate his talents, as to

Dr. Ferguson's manner as a lecturer:—"The doctor's mode of communicating knowledge was firm, manly, and impressive, but mild and elegant; he was mild, but justly severe in his rebukes to the inattentive and negligent. One day that he was engaged in that part of his course that treated of the practical application of the moral qualities which he had before described, and was speaking of the folly of idleness and inattention to the business in hand, some thoughtless young men were whispering and trifling in the gallery. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'please to attend; this subject peculiarly concerns you.'" In the year 1776 Dr. Ferguson answered Dr. Price's production on civil and religious liberty. The ground on which he differed with Dr. Price was on the applicability of his doctrine to society and to imperfect man.

We have an early notice of Dr. Ferguson's being engaged in the composition of his *History of the Roman Republic* in the following valuable letter, addressed by him to Edward Gibbon, dated Edinburgh, 18th April, 1776:—"Dear sir, I should make some apology for not writing you sooner an answer to your obliging letter; but if you should honour me frequently with such requests, you will find that, with very good intentions, I am a very dilatory and irregular correspondent. I am sorry to tell you that our respectable friend Mr. Hume is still declining in his health; he is greatly emaciated, and loses strength. He talks familiarly of his near prospect of dying. His mother, it seems, died under the same symptoms; and it appears so little necessary, or proper, to flatter him, that no one attempts it. I never observed his understanding more clear, or his humour more pleasant or lively. He has a great aversion to leaving the tranquillity of his own house to go in search of health among inns and hostlers. And his friends here gave way to him for some time; but now think it necessary that he should make an effort to try what change of place and air, or anything else Sir John Pringle may advise, can do for him. I left him this morning in the mind to comply in this article, and I hope that he will be prevailed on to set out in a few days. He is just now sixty-five.

"I am very glad that the pleasure you give us recoils a little on yourself through our feeble testimony. I have, as you suppose, been employed, at any intervals of leisure or rest I have had for some years, in taking notes, or collecting materials for a history of the destruction that broke down the Roman republic, and ended in the establishment of Augustus and his immediate successors. The compliment you are pleased to pay, I cannot accept of even to my subject. Your subject now appears with advantages it was not supposed to have had, and I suspect that the magnificence of the mouldering ruin will appear more striking than the same building when the view is perplexed with scaffolding, workmen, and disorderly lodgers, and the ear is stunned with the noise of destructions and repairs, and the alarms of fire. The night which you begin to describe is solemn, and there are gleams of light superior to what is to be found in any other time. I comfort myself that, as my trade is the study of human nature, I could not fix on a more interesting corner of it than the end of the Roman republic. Whether my compilations should ever deserve the attention of any one besides myself, must remain to be determined after they are farther advanced. I take the liberty to trouble you with the inclosed for Mr. Smith (Dr. Adam Smith), whose uncertain stay in London makes me at a loss how to direct for him. You have both such reason to be pleased with the world just now, that I hope you are pleased

with each other. I am, with the greatest respect, dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant, ADAM FERGUSON." This letter is not only valuable from its intrinsic worth and the reference it has to the composition of *The History of the Roman Republic*, but from its presenting, connected by one link, four of the greatest names in British literature. Mr. Ferguson, however, was interrupted in the prosecution of his historical labours, having been, through the influence of his friend Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, appointed secretary to the commissioners sent out to America in the year 1778, to negotiate an arrangement with our revolted colonies in that continent. The following historical detail will show the success of this mission:—

"In the beginning of June, 1778, the new commissioners arrived at Philadelphia, more than a month after the ratification of the treaty with France had been formally exchanged. The reception they met with was such as men the most opposite in their politics had foreseen and foretold. Dr. Ferguson, secretary to the commission, was refused a passport to the congress, and they were compelled to forward their papers by the common means.

"The commissioners, at the very outset, made concessions far greater than the Americans, in their several petitions to the king, had requested or desired—greater, indeed, than the powers conferred upon them by the act seemed to authorize. Amongst the most remarkable of these was the engagement to agree that no military force should be kept up in the different states of America without the consent of the general congress of the several assemblies—to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation—to admit of representatives from the several states, who should have a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain—to establish a freedom of legislation and internal government, comprehending every privilege short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force in which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends.

"These papers, when laid before the congress, were read with astonishment and regret, but from the declaration of INDEPENDENCE, they had neither the will nor the power to recede. An answer, therefore, brief but conclusive, was returned by the president, Henry Laurens, declaring, 'that nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his most Christian majesty, their ally, or to consider of propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation. The commission under which they act supposes the people of America to be still subject to the crown of Great Britain, which is an idea utterly inadmissible.' The president added, 'that he was directed to inform their excellencies of the inclination of the congress to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it had been conducted. They will, therefore, be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; and the only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.'" Conduct so haughty on the part of the Americans necessarily put a stop to all farther negotiation, and the commissioners having, in a valedictory manifesto, appealed to the people, returned home.

On his return to Scotland Dr. Ferguson resumed the charge of his class and continued the preparation of the *Roman History*. That work made its appearance in the year 1783; and two years afterwards, he resigned the chair of moral philosophy in favour of Mr. Dugald Stewart; while he was himself permitted to retire on the salary of the mathematical class which Mr. Stewart had held. Dr. Ferguson then took up his residence at Manor, in the county of Peebles, where he passed his time in literary ease and in farming; an occupation for which he had a peculiar taste, but which he ultimately found so unprofitable, that he was glad to relinquish it. He seems also to have devoted his attention to the correction of his lectures, which he published in 1793.

While exempt from all cares, and in the enjoyment of good health and of a competent fortune, Dr. Ferguson, in his old age, conceived the extraordinary project of visiting Rome. He accordingly repaired once more to the Continent, visiting the cities of Berlin and Vienna, where he was received with great attention. His progress southward was, however, stopped by the convulsions associated with the French revolution. To this great political phenomenon Dr. Ferguson's attention had been earnestly directed, and it is curious to know, that he had drawn up (although he did not publish it) a memorial pointing out the dangers to which the liberties of Europe were exposed, and proposing a congress with objects similar to those which occupied the congress of Vienna in 1814.

On his return home Dr. Ferguson retired for the remainder of his life to St. Andrews, a place endeared to him by early habits and admirably fitted for the retreat of a literary man in easy circumstances. There, in addition to the professors of that ancient university, he enjoyed the society of the patriotic George Dempster, of Dunnichen; and having had almost uninterrupted good health up to the patriarchal age of ninety-three, he died on the 22d of February, 1816. "He was," to use the words of an intimate friend of the family, "the last great man of the preceding century, whose writings did honour to the age in which they lived, and to their country; and none of them united in a more distinguished degree the acquirements of ancient learning to a perfect knowledge of the world, or more eminently added to the manners of a most accomplished gentleman the principles of the purest virtues."

In his person Dr. Ferguson was well formed, active, and muscular; his complexion was fair, his eyes blue, his features handsome, intelligent, and thoughtful. There is a very fine and correct portrait of him in an anteroom at Brompton Grove, the seat of Sir John Macpherson. Unlike many who have devoted themselves to the abstruse study of philosophy, he had an intimate knowledge of the world; having mixed much with courtiers, statesmen, politicians, and the learned and accomplished, not only in Great Britain, but throughout Europe. His knowledge of the human character was consequently accurate and extensive; his manners were polished, simple, and unostentatious; while his conversation was agreeable and instructive. Warned by an illness with which he was seized when about the age of fifty, resembling in its character an apoplectic fit, he abstained from the use of wine, and during the remainder of his life lived most abstemiously, and enjoyed an uninterrupted course of good health. His fortune was affluent; besides the fees and salaries of his class and the price of his works, he held two pensions, one from government of £400, and another from Lord Chesterfield of £200 a year. By these means, aided by a munificent gift from his pupil, Sir John Mac-

pherson, he was enabled to purchase a small estate near St. Andrews; he was also possessed of a house and garden in that city, on which he expended £1000.

Bred in the tenets of the Church of Scotland, he was a respectful believer in the truths of revelation; he did not, however, conceive himself excluded from cultivating the acquaintance of those who were directly opposed to him in their religious opinions, and his intimate friendship with David Hume subjected him to the reprehension of many of the Christian professors of his time. A list of those with whom Dr. Ferguson maintained an intimate acquaintance and intercourse, would include all who rose to eminence during the last half of the eighteenth, and the early part of the present century. Dr. Ferguson left six children; three sons and three daughters: Adam in the army, John in the navy, and the third son in the East India Company's service.¹

FERGUSON, JAMES, an ingenious experimental philosopher, mechanist, and astronomer. Of this miracle of self-instruction and native genius, we cannot do better than give his own account, as drawn up by himself a very few years before his death, and prefixed to his *Select Mechanical Exercises*. It is one of the most interesting specimens of autobiography in the language.

I was born in the year 1710, a few miles from Keith, a little village in Banffshire, in the north of Scotland; and can with pleasure say that my parents, though poor, were religious and honest; lived in good repute with all who knew them; and died with good characters.

As my father had nothing to support a large family but his daily labour, and the profits arising from a few acres of land which he rented, it was not to be expected that he could bestow much on the education of his children; yet they were not neglected; for at his leisure hours he taught them to read and write. And it was while he was teaching my elder brother to read the Scottish catechism that I acquired my reading. Ashamed to ask my father to instruct me, I used, when he and my brother were abroad, to take the catechism, and study the lesson which he had been teaching my brother; and when any difficulty occurred, I went to a neighbouring old woman, who gave me such help as enabled me to read tolerably well before my father had thought of teaching me.

Some time after, he was agreeably surprised to find me reading by myself: he thereupon gave me further instruction, and also taught me to write; which, with about three months I afterwards had at the grammar-school at Keith, was all the education I ever received.

My taste for mechanics arose from an odd accident. When about seven or eight years of age, a part of the roof of the house being decayed, my father, desirous of mending it, applied a prop and lever to an upright spar to raise it to its former situation; and, to my great astonishment, I saw him, without considering the reason, lift up the ponderous roof as if it had been a small weight. I attributed this at first

to a degree of strength that excited my terror as well as wonder: but, thinking further of the matter, I recollected that he had applied his strength to that end of the lever which was furthest from the prop; and finding, on inquiry, that this was the means whereby the seeming wonder was effected, I began making levers (which I then called bars); and by applying weights to them different ways, I found the power gained by my bar was just in proportion to the lengths of the different parts of the bar on either side of the prop.—I then thought it was a great pity, that, by means of this bar, a weight could be raised but a very little way. On this I soon imagined that, by pulling round a wheel, the weight might be raised to any height by tying a rope to the weight, and winding the rope round the axle of the wheel; and that the power gained must be just as great as the wheel was broader than the axle was thick; and found it to be exactly so, by hanging one weight to a rope put round the wheel, and another to the rope that coiled round the axle. So that, in these two machines, it appeared very plain that their advantage was as great as the space gone through by the working power exceeded the space gone through by the weight. And this property I also thought must take place in a wedge for cleaving wood; but then I happened not to think of the screw. By means of a turning lathe which my father had, and sometimes used, and a little knife, I was enabled to make wheels and other things necessary for my purpose.

I then wrote a short account of these machines, and sketched out figures of them with a pen, imagining it to be the first treatise of the kind that ever was written, but found my mistake when I afterwards showed it to a gentleman, who told me that these things were known long before, and showed me a printed book in which they were treated of; and I was much pleased when I found that my account (so far as I had carried it) agreed with the principles of mechanics in the book he showed me. And from that time my mind preserved a constant tendency to improve in that science.

But as my father could not afford to maintain me while I was in pursuit only of these matters, and I was rather too young and weak for hard labour, he put me out to a neighbour to keep sheep, which I continued to do for some years; and in that time I began to study the stars in the night. In the day-time I amused myself by making models of mills, spinning-wheels, and such other things as I happened to see.

I then went to serve a considerable farmer in the neighbourhood, whose name was James Glashan. I found him very kind and indulgent; but he soon observed that in the evenings, when my work was over, I went into a field with a blanket about me, lay down on my back, and stretched a thread with small beads upon it, at arm's-length, between my eye and the stars, sliding the beads upon it till they hid such and such stars from my eye, in order to take their apparent distances from one another, and then, laying the thread down on a paper, I marked the stars thereon by the beads, according to their respective positions, having a candle by me. My master at first laughed at me; but when I explained my meaning to him, he encouraged me to go on; and that I might make fair copies in the day-time of what I had done in the night, he often worked for me himself. I shall always have a respect for the memory of that man.

One day he happened to send me with a message to the Rev. Mr. John Gilchrist, minister at Keith, to whom I had been known from my childhood. I carried my star-papers to show them to him, and

¹ The following is a list of Dr. Ferguson's works:—

The History of Civil Society, in one volume, published 1766.

His Institutes of Moral Philosophy, 8vo, 1769.

His Answer to Dr. Price's Celebrated Observations on Civil and Political Liberty, 1776. This pamphlet is peculiarly remarkable for the liberality and delicacy with which he treats the principles and intentions of his antagonist.

The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic, 3 vols. 4to, 1783.

And lastly, his celebrated work, entitled, *The Principles of Moral and Political Science, being chiefly a Retrospect of Lectures delivered in the College of Edinburgh*, 2 vols. 4to, 1792.

found him looking over a large parcel of maps, which I surveyed with great pleasure, as they were the first I had ever seen. He then told me that the earth is round like a ball, and explained the map of it to me. I requested him to lend me that map, to take a copy of it in the evenings. He cheerfully consented to this, giving me at the same time a pair of compasses, a ruler, pens, ink, and paper; and dismissed me with an injunction not to neglect my master's business by copying the map, which I might keep as long as I pleased.

For this pleasant employment my master gave me more time than I could reasonably expect; and often took the threshing-flail out of my hands, and worked himself, while I sat by him in the barn, busy with my compasses, ruler, and pen.

When I had finished the copy I asked leave to carry home the map; he told me I was at liberty to do so, and might stay two hours to converse with the minister. In my way thither I happened to pass by the school at which I had been before, and saw a genteel-looking man, whose name I afterwards learned was Cantley, painting a sun-dial on the wall. I stopped a while to observe him, and the school-master came out and asked me what parcel it was that I had under my arm. I showed him the map, and the copy I had made of it, wherewith he appeared to be very well pleased; and asked me whether I should not like to learn of Mr. Cantley to make sun-dials? Mr. Cantley looked at the copy of the map, and commended it much; telling the schoolmaster, Mr. John Skinner, that it was a pity I did not meet with notice and encouragement. I had a good deal of conversation with him, and found him to be quite affable and communicative; which made me think I should be extremely happy if I could be further acquainted with him.

I then proceeded with the map to the minister, and showed him the copy of it. While we were conversing together, a neighbouring gentleman, Thomas Grant, Esq., of Achoyne, happened to come in, and the minister immediately introduced me to him, showing him what I had done. He expressed great satisfaction, asked me some questions about the construction of maps, and told me that if I would go and live at his house, he would order his butler, Alexander Cantley, to give me a great deal of instruction. Finding that this Cantley was the man whom I had seen painting the sun-dial, and of whom I had already conceived a very high opinion, I told 'squire Grant that I should rejoice to be at his house as soon as the time was expired for which I was engaged with my present master. He very politely offered to put one in my place, but this I declined.

When the term of my servitude was out I left my good master and went to the gentleman's house, where I quickly found myself with a most humane good family. Mr. Cantley the butler soon became my friend, and continued so till his death. He was the most extraordinary man that I ever was acquainted with, or perhaps ever shall see; for he was a complete master of arithmetic, a good mathematician, a master of music on every known instrument except the harp, understood Latin, French, and Greek, let blood extremely well, and could even prescribe as a physician upon any urgent occasion. He was what is generally called self-taught; but I think he might with much greater propriety have been termed God Almighty's scholar.

He immediately began to teach me decimal arithmetic and algebra; for I had already learned vulgar arithmetic at my leisure hours from books. He then proceeded to teach me the elements of geometry;

but, to my inexpressible grief, just as I was beginning that branch of science, he left Mr. Grant, and went to the late Earl Fife's, at several miles' distance. The good family I was then with could not prevail with me to stay after he was gone; so I left them, and went to my father's.

He had made me a present of *Gordon's Geographical Grammar*, which at that time was to me a great treasure. There is no figure of a globe in it, although it contains a tolerable description of the globes, and their use. From this description I made a globe in three weeks at my father's, having turned the ball thereof out of a piece of wood; which ball I covered with paper, and delineated a map of the world upon it, made the meridian ring and horizon of wood, covered them with paper, and graduated them; and was happy to find that by my globe, which was the first I ever saw, I could solve the problems.

But this was not likely to afford me bread; and I could not think of staying with my father, who, I knew full well, could not maintain me in that way, as it could be of no service to him; and he had, without my assistance, hands sufficient for all his work.

I then went to a miller, thinking it would be a very easy business to attend the mill, and that I should have a great deal of leisure time to study decimal arithmetic and geometry. But my master, being too fond of tipping at an ale-house, left the whole care of the mill to me, and almost starved me for want of victuals; so that I was glad when I could have a little oatmeal mixed with cold water to eat. I was engaged for a year in that man's service; at the end of which I left him, and returned in a very weak state to my father's.

Soon after I had recovered my former strength, a neighbouring farmer, who practised as a physician in that part of the country, came to my father's, wanting to have me as a labouring servant. My father advised me to go to Dr. Young, telling me that the doctor would instruct me in that part of his business. This he promised to do, which was a temptation to me. But instead of performing his promise, he kept me constantly at very hard labour, and never once showed me one of his books. All his servants complained that he was the hardest master they had ever lived with; and it was my misfortune to be engaged with him for half a year. But at the end of three months I was so much overwrought that I was almost disabled, which obliged me to leave him; and he was so unjust as to give me nothing at all for the time I had been with him, because I did not complete my half-year's service; though he knew that I was not able, and had seen me working for the last fortnight as much as possible with one hand and arm, when I could not lift the other from my side. And what I thought was particularly hard, he never once tried to give me the least relief, further than once bleeding me, which rather did me hurt than good, as I was very weak, and much emaciated. I then went to my father's, where I was confined for two months on account of my hurt, and despaired of ever recovering the use of my left arm. And during all that time the doctor never once came to see me, although the distance was not quite two miles. But my friend Mr. Cantley, hearing of my misfortune, at twelve miles' distance, sent me proper medicines and applications, by means of which I recovered the use of my arm; but found myself too weak to think of going into service again, and had entirely lost my appetite, so that I could take nothing but a draught of milk once a day for many weeks.

In order to amuse myself in this low state, I made

a wooden clock, the frame of which was also of wood; and it kept time pretty well. The bell on which the hammer struck the hours was the neck of a broken bottle. Having then no idea how any time-keeper could go but by a weight and a line, I wondered how a watch could go in all positions; and was sorry that I had never thought of asking Mr. Cantley, who could very easily have informed me. But happening one day to see a gentleman ride by my father's house, which was close by a public road, I asked him what o'clock it then was; he looked at his watch and told me. As he did that with so much good nature, I begged of him to show me the inside of his watch; and though he was an entire stranger, he immediately opened the watch and put it into my hands. I saw the spring-box with part of the chain round it, and asked him what it was that made the box turn round; he told me that it was turned round by a steel spring within it. Having then never seen any other spring than that of my father's gun-lock, I asked how a spring within a box could turn the box so often round as to wind all the chain upon it. He answered that the spring was long and thin, that one end of it was fastened to the axis of the box, and the other end to the inside of the box, that the axis was fixed, and the box was loose upon it. I told him I did not yet thoroughly understand the matter:—"Well, my lad," says he, "take a long thin piece of whalebone, hold one end of it fast between your finger and thumb, and wind it round your finger, it will then endeavour to unwind itself; and if you fix the other end of it to the inside of a small hoop, and leave it to itself, it will turn the hoop round and round, and wind up a thread tied to the outside of the hoop."—I thanked the gentleman, and told him that I understood the thing very well. I then tried to make a watch with wooden wheels, and made the spring of whalebone; but found that I could not make the watch go when the balance was put on, because the teeth of the wheels were rather too weak to bear the force of a spring sufficient to move the balance; although the wheels would run fast enough when the balance was taken off. I inclosed the whole in a wooden case very little bigger than a breakfast teacup; but a clumsy neighbour one day looking at my watch, happened to let it fall, and turning hastily about to pick it up, set his foot upon it, and crushed it all to pieces; which so provoked my father that he was almost ready to beat the man, and discouraged me so much that I never attempted to make such another machine again, especially as I was thoroughly convinced I could never make one that would be of any real use.

As soon as I was able to go abroad I carried my globe, clock, and copies of some other maps besides that of the world, to the late Sir James Dunbar of Durn, about seven miles from where my father lived, as I had heard that Sir James was a very good-natured, friendly, inquisitive gentleman. He received me in a very kind manner, was pleased with what I showed him, and desired I would clean his clocks. This, for the first time, I attempted; and then began to pick up some money in that way about the country, making Sir James's house my home at his desire.

Two large globular stones stood on the top of his gate; on one of them I painted with oil-colours a map of the terrestrial globe, and on the other a map of the celestial, from a planisphere of the stars which I copied on paper from a celestial globe belonging to a neighbouring gentleman. The poles of the painted globes stood toward the poles of the heavens; on each the twenty-four hours were placed around the equinoctial, so as to show the time of the day

when the sun shone out, by the boundary where the half of the globe at any time enlightened by the sun was parted from the other half in the shade; the enlightened parts of the terrestrial globe answering to the like enlightened parts of the earth at all times. So that whenever the sun shone on the globe, one might see to what places the sun was then rising, to what places it was setting, and all the places where it was then day or night throughout the earth.

During the time I was at Sir James's hospitable house, his sister, the honourable Lady Dipple, came there on a visit, and Sir James introduced me to her. She asked me whether I could draw patterns for needle-work on aprons and gowns. On showing me some I undertook the work, and drew several for her; some of which were copied from her patterns, and the rest I did according to my own fancy. On this I was sent for by other ladies in the country, and began to think myself growing very rich by the money I got for such drawings, out of which I had the pleasure of occasionally supplying the wants of my poor father.

Yet all this while I could not leave off star-gazing in the nights, and taking the places of the planets among the stars by my above-mentioned thread. By this I could observe how the planets changed their places among the stars, and delineated their paths on the celestial map, which I had copied from the above-mentioned celestial globe.

By observing what constellations the ecliptic passed through in that map, and comparing these with the starry heaven, I was so impressed as sometimes to imagine that I saw the ecliptic in the heaven, among the stars, like a broad circular road for the sun's apparent course; and fancied the paths of the planets to resemble the narrow ruts made by cart-wheels, sometimes on one side of a plain road, and sometimes on the other, crossing the road at small angles, but never going far from either side of it.

Sir James's house was full of pictures and prints, several of which I copied, with pen and ink; this made him think I might become a painter.

Lady Dipple had been but a few weeks there when William Baird, Esq. of Auchmedden, came on a visit; he was the husband of one of that lady's daughters, and I found him to be very ingenious and communicative; he invited me to go to his house and stay some time with him, telling me that I should have free access to his library, which was a very large one, and that he would furnish me with all sorts of implements for drawing. I went thither, and stayed about eight months; but was much disappointed in finding no books of astronomy in his library, except what was in the two volumes of Harris's *Lexicon Technicum*, although there were many books on geography and other sciences. Several of these indeed were in Latin, and more in French, which being languages that I did not understand, I had recourse to him for what I wanted to know of these subjects, which he cheerfully read to me; and it was as easy for him at sight to read English from a Greek, Latin, or French book, as from an English one. He furnished me with pencils and Indian ink, showing me how to draw with them; and although he had but an indifferent hand at that work, yet he was a very acute judge, and consequently a very fit person for showing me how to correct my own work. He was the first who ever sat to me for a picture; and I found it was much easier to draw from the life than from any picture whatever, as nature was more striking than any imitation of it.

Lady Dipple came to his house in about half a

year after I went thither; and as they thought I had a genius for painting, they consulted together about what might be the best way to put me forward. Mr. Baird thought it would be no difficult matter to make a collection for me among the neighbouring gentlemen, to put me to a painter at Edinburgh; but he found, upon trial, that nothing worth the while could be done among them: and as to himself, he could not do much that way, because he had but a small estate, and a very numerous family.

Lady Dipple then told me that she was to go to Edinburgh next spring, and that if I would go thither she would give me a year's bed and board at her house gratis; and make all the interest she could for me among her acquaintance there. I thankfully accepted of her kind offer; and, instead of giving me one year, she gave me two. I carried with me a letter of recommendation from the Lord Pitsligo, a near neighbour of Squire Baird's, to Mr. John Alexander, a painter in Edinburgh, who allowed me to pass an hour every day at his house for a month, to copy from his drawings; and said he would teach me to paint in oil-colours if I would serve him seven years, and my friends would maintain me all that time; but this was too much for me to desire them to do, nor did I choose to serve so long. I was then recommended to other painters, but they would do nothing without money; so I was quite at a loss what to do.

In a few days after this I received a letter of recommendation from my good friend Squire Baird to the Rev. Dr. Robert Keith at Edinburgh, to whom I gave an account of my bad success among the painters there. He told me, that if I would copy from nature I might do without their assistance, as all the rules for drawing signified but very little when one came to draw from the life; and by what he had seen of my drawings brought from the north, he judged I might succeed very well in drawing pictures from the life, in Indian ink, on vellum. He then sat to me for his own picture, and sent me with it and a letter of recommendation to the Right Honourable the Lady Jane Douglas, who lived with her mother, the Marchioness of Douglas, at Merchiston House, near Edinburgh. Both the marchioness and Lady Jane behaved to me in the most friendly manner, on Dr. Keith's account, and sat for their pictures, telling me at the same time that I was in the very room in which Lord Napier invented and computed the logarithms; and that if I thought it would inspire me, I should always have the same room whenever I came to Merchiston. I stayed there several days, and drew several pictures of Lady Jane, of whom it was hard to say whether the greatness of her beauty or the goodness of her temper and disposition was the most predominant. She sent these pictures to ladies of her acquaintance, in order to recommend me to them; by which means I soon had as much business as I could possibly manage, so as not only to put a good deal of money in my own pocket, but also to spare what was sufficient to help to supply my father and mother in their old age. Thus a business was providentially put into my hands, which I followed for six and twenty years.

Lady Dipple, being a woman of the strictest piety, kept a watchful eye over me at first, and made me give her an exact account at night of what families I had been in throughout the day, and of the money I had received. She took the money each night, desiring I would keep an account of what I had put into her hands; telling me that I should duly have out of it what I wanted for clothes, and to send to my father. But in less than half a year she told me that she would thenceforth trust me with being my

own banker; for she had made a good deal of private inquiry how I had behaved when I was out of her sight through the day, and was satisfied with my conduct.

During my two years' stay at Edinburgh I somehow took a violent inclination to study anatomy, surgery, and physick, all from reading of books, and conversing with gentlemen on these subjects, which for that time put all thoughts of astronomy out of my mind; and I had no inclination to become acquainted with any one there who taught either mathematics or astronomy, for nothing would serve me but to be a doctor.

At the end of the second year I left Edinburgh and went to see my father, thinking myself tolerably well qualified to be a physician in that part of the country, and I carried a good deal of medicines, plaisters, &c., thither; but to my mortification I soon found that all my medical theories and study were of little use in practice. And then, finding that very few paid me for the medicines they had, and that I was far from being so successful as I could wish, I quite left off that business, and began to think of taking to the more sure one of drawing pictures again. For this purpose I went to Inverness, where I had eight months' business.

When I was there I began to think of astronomy again, and was heartily sorry for having quite neglected it at Edinburgh, where I might have improved my knowledge by conversing with those who were very able to assist me. I began to compare the ecliptic with its twelve signs, through which the sun goes in twelve months, to the circle of twelve hours on the dial-plate of a watch, the hour-hand to the sun, and the minute-hand to the moon, moving in the ecliptic, the one always overtaking the other at a place forwarder than it did at their last conjunction before. On this I contrived and finished a scheme on paper for showing the motions and places of the sun and moon in the ecliptic on each day of the year perpetually; and consequently, the days of all the new and full moons.

To this I wanted to add a method for showing the eclipses of the sun and moon; of which I knew the cause long before, by having observed that the moon was for one half of her period on the north side of the ecliptic, and for the other half on the south. But not having observed her course long enough among the stars by my above-mentioned thread, so as to delineate her path on my celestial map, in order to find the two opposite points of the ecliptic in which her orbit crosses it, I was altogether at a loss how and where in the ecliptic, in my scheme, to place these intersecting points: this was in the year 1739.

At last I recollected, that when I was with Squire Grant of Auchynaney, in the year 1730, I had read, that on the 1st of January, 1690, the moon's ascending node was in the tenth minute of the first degree of Aries; and that her nodes moved backward through the whole ecliptic in 18 years and 224 days, which was at the rate of 3 minutes 11 seconds every 24 hours. But as I scarce knew in the year 1730 what the moon's nodes meant, I took no farther notice of it at that time.

However, in the year 1739, I set to work at Inverness; and after a tedious calculation of the slow motion of the nodes from January, 1690, to January, 1740, it appeared to me that (if I was sure I had remembered right) the moon's ascending node must be in 23 degrees 25 minutes of Cancer at the beginning of the year 1740. And so I added the eclipse part to my scheme, and called it the Astronomical Rotula.

When I had finished it I showed it to the Rev.

Mr. Alexander Macbean, one of the ministers at Inverness; who told me he had a set of almanacs by him for several years past, and would examine it by the eclipses mentioned in them. We examined it together, and found that it agreed throughout with the days of all the new and full moons and eclipses mentioned in these almanacs; which made me think I had constructed it upon true astronomical principles. On this Mr Macbean desired me to write to Mr. Maclaurin, professor of mathematics at Edinburgh, and give him an account of the methods by which I had formed my plan, requesting him to correct it where it was wrong. He returned me a most polite and friendly answer, although I had never seen him during my stay at Edinburgh, and informed me that I had only mistaken the radical mean place of the ascending node by a quarter of a degree; and that if I would send the drawing of my rotula to him, he would examine it, and endeavour to procure me a subscription to defray the charges of engraving it on copperplates, if I chose to publish it. I then made a new and correct drawing of it, and sent it to him: who soon got me a very handsome subscription, by setting the example himself, and sending subscription papers to others.

I then returned to Edinburgh, and had the rotula plates engraved there by Mr. Cooper.¹ It has gone through several impressions, and always sold very well till the year 1752, when the style was changed, which rendered it quite useless. Mr. Maclaurin received me with the greatest civility when I first went to see him at Edinburgh. He then became an exceeding good friend to me, and continued so till his death.

One day I requested him to show me his orrery, which he immediately did; I was greatly delighted with the motions of the earth and moon in it, and would gladly have seen the wheel-work, which was concealed in a brass box, and the box and planets above it were surrounded by an armillary sphere. But he told me that he never had opened it; and I could easily perceive that it could not be opened but by the hand of some ingenious clock-maker, and not without a great deal of time and trouble.

After a good deal of thinking and calculation, I found that I could contrive the wheel-work for turning the planets in such a machine, and giving them their progressive motions; but should be very well satisfied if I could make an orrery to show the motions of the earth and moon, and of the sun round its axis. I then employed a turner to make me a sufficient number of wheels and axles, according to patterns which I gave him in drawing; and after having cut the teeth in the wheels by a knife, and put the whole together, I found that it answered all my expectations. It showed the sun's motion round its axis, the diurnal and annual motions of the earth on its inclined axis, which kept its parallelism in its whole course round the sun; the motions and phases of the moon, with the retrograde motion of the nodes of her orbit; and consequently, all the variety of seasons, the different lengths of days and nights, the days of the new and full moons, and eclipses.

When it was all completed except the box that covers the wheels, I showed it to Mr. Maclaurin, who commended it in presence of a great many young gentlemen who attended his lectures. He desired me to read them a lecture on it, which I did without any hesitation, seeing I had no reason to be afraid of speaking before a great and good man who was my friend. Soon after that I sent it in a present to the

reverend and ingenious Mr. Alexander Irvine, one of the ministers at Elgin, in Scotland.

I then made a smaller and neater orrery, of which all the wheels were of ivory, and I cut the teeth in them with a file. This was done in the beginning of the year 1743; and in May that year I brought it with me to London, where it was soon after bought by Sir Dudley Rider. I have made six orreries since that time, and there are not any two of them in which the wheel-work is alike, for I could never bear to copy one thing of that kind from another, because I still saw there was great room for improvements.

I had a letter of recommendation from Mr. Baron Eldin at Edinburgh, to the Right Honourable Stephen Poyntz, Esq., at St. James's, who had been preceptor to his royal highness the late Duke of Cumberland, and was well known to be possessed of all the good qualities that can adorn a human mind. To me his goodness was really beyond my power of expression; and I had not been a month in London till he informed me that he had written to an eminent professor of mathematics to take me into his house, and give me board and lodging, with all proper instructions to qualify me for teaching a mathematical school he (Mr. Poyntz) had in view for me, and would get me settled in it. This I should have liked very well, especially as I began to be tired of drawing pictures; in which, I confess, I never strove to excel, because my mind was still pursuing things more agreeable. He soon after told me he had just received an answer from the mathematical master, desiring I might be sent immediately to him. On hearing this I told Mr. Poyntz that I did not know how to maintain my wife during the time I must be under the master's tuition. "What!" says he, "are you a married man?" I told him I had been so ever since May in the year 1739. He said he was sorry for it, because it quite defeated his scheme, as the master of the school he had in view for me must be a bachelor.

He then asked me what business I intended to follow? I answered that I knew of none besides that of drawing pictures. On this he desired me to draw the pictures of his lady and children, that he might show them, in order to recommend me to others, and told me that when I was out of business I should come to him and he would find me as much as he could; and I soon found as much as I could execute; but he died in a few years after, to my inexpressible grief.

Soon afterward it appeared to me, that although the moon goes round the earth, and that the sun is far on the outside of the moon's orbit, yet the moon's motion must be in a line, that is, always concave toward the sun; and upon making a delineation representing her absolute path in the heavens, I found it to be really so. I then made a simple machine for delineating both her path and the earth's on a long paper laid on the floor. I carried the machine and delineation to the late Martin Folkes, Esq., president of the Royal Society, on a Thursday afternoon. He expressed great satisfaction at seeing it, as it was a new discovery, and took me that evening with him to the Royal Society, where I showed the delineation, and the method of doing it.

When the business of the society was over, one of the members desired me to dine with him next Saturday at Hackney, telling me that his name was Ellicott, and that he was a watchmaker.

I accordingly went to Hackney, and was kindly received by Mr. John Ellicott, who then showed me the very same kind of delineation, and part of the machine by which he had done it; telling me that he had thought of it twenty years before. I could

¹ Cooper was master to the justly celebrated Sir Robert Strange, who was at that time his apprentice.

easily see by the colour of the paper, and of the ink lines upon it, that it must have been done many years before I saw it. He then told me what was very certain, that he had neither stolen the thought from me, nor had I from him. And from that time till his death Mr. Ellicott was one of my best friends. The figure of this machine and delineation is in the seventh plate of my book of *Astronomy*.

Soon after the style was changed I had my rotula new engraved; but have neglected it too much, by not fitting it up and advertising it. After this I drew out a scheme, and had it engraved, for showing all the problems of the rotula except the eclipses; and in place of that it shows the times of rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars; and the positions of the stars for any time of the night.

In the year 1747 I published a dissertation on the phenomena of the harvest-moon, with the description of a new orrery, in which there are only four wheels. But having never had grammatical education, nor time to study the rules of just composition, I acknowledge that I was afraid to put it to the press; and for the same cause I ought to have the same fears still. But having the pleasure to find that this my first work was not ill received, I was emboldened to go on in publishing my *Astronomy*, *Mechanical Lectures*, tables and tracts relative to several arts and sciences, the *Young Gentleman and Lady's Astronomy*, a small treatise on electricity, and the following sheets.

In the year 1748 I ventured to read lectures on the eclipse of the sun that fell on the 14th of July in that year. Afterwards I began to read astronomical lectures on an orrery which I made, and of which the figures of all the wheel-work are contained in the sixth and seventh plates of this book. I next began to make an apparatus for lectures on mechanics, and gradually increased the apparatus for other parts of experimental philosophy, buying from others what I could not make for myself, till I brought it to its present state. I then entirely left off drawing pictures, and employed myself in the much pleasanter business of reading lectures on mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, electricity, and astronomy, in all which my encouragement has been greater than I could have expected.

The best machine I ever contrived is the ecliptic, of which there is a figure in the thirteenth plate of my *Astronomy*. It shows the time, quantity, duration, and progress of solar eclipses at all parts of the earth. My next best contrivance is the universal dialing cylinder, of which there is a figure in the eighth plate of the supplement to my *Mechanical Lectures*.

It is now thirty years since I came to London, and during all that time I have met with the highest instances of friendship from all ranks of people, both in town and country, which I do here acknowledge with the utmost respect and gratitude, and particularly the goodness of our present gracious sovereign, who, out of his privy purse, allows me £50 a year, which is regularly paid without any deduction.

To this narrative we shall add the few particulars which are necessary to complete the view of Ferguson's life and character.¹

Ferguson was honoured with the royal bounty, which he himself mentions, through the mere zeal of King George III. in behalf of science. His majesty had attended some of the lectures of the ingenious astronomer, and often sent for him, after his accession, to converse upon scientific and curious topics. He had the extraordinary honour of being elected a member of the Royal Society without paying either the initiatory or the annual fees, which were dispensed with in his case from a supposition of his being too poor to pay them without inconvenience. From the same idea many persons gave him very handsome presents. But to the astonishment of all who knew him, he died worth about £6000.

"Ferguson," says Charles Hutton in his *Mathematical Dictionary*, "must be allowed to have been a very uncommon genius, especially in mechanical contrivances and inventions, for he constructed many machines himself in a very neat manner. He had also a good taste in astronomy as well as in natural and experimental philosophy, and was possessed of a happy manner of explaining himself in a clear, easy, and familiar way. His general mathematical knowledge, however, was little or nothing. Of algebra he understood but little more than the notation; and he has often told me that he could never demonstrate one proposition in *Euclid's Elements*, his constant method being to satisfy himself as to the truth of any problem with a measurement by scale and compasses." He was a man of very clear judgment in anything that he professed, and of unwearied application to study: benevolent, meek, and innocent in his manners as a child; humble, courteous, and communicative: instead of pedantry, philosophy seemed to produce in him only diffidence and urbanity—a love for mankind and for his Maker. His whole life was an example of resignation and Christian piety. He might be called an enthusiast in his love of God, if religion founded on such substantial and enlightened grounds as his was could be like enthusiasm. After a long and useful life, unhappy in his family connections, in a feeble and precarious state of health, worn out with study, age, and infirmities, he died on the 16th of November, 1776.

"Ferguson's only daughter," says Mr. Nichols in his life of Bowyer, "was lost in a very singular manner at about the age of eighteen. She was remarkable for the elegance of her person, the agreeableness and vivacity of her conversation, and in philosophical genius and knowledge worthy of such a father. His son, Mr. Murdoch Ferguson, was a surgeon, and attempted to settle at Bury, stayed but a little while, went to sea, was cast away, and lost his all, a little before his father's death, but found himself in no bad plight after that event. He had another son, who studied at Marischal College, Aberdeen, from 1772 to 1777, and afterwards, it is believed, applied to physics."

The astronomer has been thus elegantly noticed in *Eudosa, a Poem on the Universe*, by Mr. Capel Lloft:—

"Nor shall thy guidance but conduct our feet,
O honoured shepherd of our later days!
Thee from the flocks, while thy untutored soul,
Mature in childhood, traced the starry course,
Astronomy, enamoured, gently led
Through all the splendid labyrinths of heaven,
And taught thee her stupendous laws; and clothed
In all the light of fair simplicity,
Thy apt expression."

¹ The following is a succinct list of his published works:—
1. *Astronomical Tables, and Precepts for Calculating the True Times of New and Full Moons*, &c., 1763.—2. *Tables and Tracts relative to Several Arts and Sciences*, 1767.—3. *An Easy Introduction to Astronomy, for Young Gentlemen and Ladies*, 2d edit. 1769.—4. *Astronomy Explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles*, 5th edit. 1772.—5. *Lectures on Select Subjects in Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, and Optics*, 4th edit. 1772.—6. *Select Mechanical Exercises, with a Short Account of the Life of the Author, by Himself*, 1773.—7. *The Art of Drawing in Perspective Made Easy*, 1775.—8. *An Introduction to Electricity*, 1775.—9. *Two*

Letters to the Rev. Mr. John Kennedy, 1775.—10. *A Third Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Kennedy*, 1775. He communicated also several letters to the Royal Society, which are printed in their *Transactions*. In 1805 a very valuable edition of his lectures was published at Edinburgh by Dr. Brewster, in 2 vols. 8vo, with notes and an appendix, the whole adapted to the present state of the arts and sciences.

FERGUSON, ROBERT, an ingenious poet, like his successor Burns, drew his descent from the country north of the Forth. His father, William Ferguson, after serving an apprenticeship to a tradesman in Aberdeen, and having married Elizabeth Forbes, by whom he had three children, removed, in 1746, to Edinburgh, where he was employed as a clerk by several masters in succession. It appears that the father of the poet had himself in early life courted the Muses, and was at all periods remarkable as a man of taste and ingenuity. When acting as clerk to Messrs. Wardrop and Peat, upholsterers in Carrubber's Close, he framed a very useful book of rates; and he eventually attained the respectable situation of accountant to the British Linen Company, but whether in its ultimate capacity of a bank has not been mentioned. Previous to his arrival in Edinburgh he had two sons and a daughter, born in the following order: Henry,¹ 1742; Barbara,² 1744; John (who seems to have died young), 1746. After removing thither he had at least two other children, Robert, born 1750, and Margaret,³ 1753.

The subject of this memoir was born on the 17th of October,⁴ 1750, and was an exceedingly delicate child. Owing to the state of his health, he was not sent to school till his sixth year, though it is likely that his parents gave him a good deal of private instruction before that time. What renders this the more probable is, that he had not been six months under his first teacher (a Mr. Philp in Niddry's Wynd) when he was judged fit to be transferred to the high-school, and entered in the first Latin class. Here he went through the usual classical course of four years, under a teacher named Gilchrist. What degree of proficiency he might have attained under ordinary circumstances it is impossible to determine; but it is to be related to his credit, that, though frequently absent for a considerable period in consequence of bad health, he nevertheless kept fully abreast of his companions, a temporary application being sufficient to bring him up to any point which the class had attained in his absence. At the same time he acquired, in the leisure of confinement, a taste for general reading, and it is stated that the Bible was his favourite book. A remarkable instance of the vivid impressions of which he was susceptible occurred at an early period. In perusing the Proverbs of Solomon one passage struck his infant mind with peculiar force; and hastening to his mother's apartment in tears, he besought her to chastise him. Surprised at a request so extraordinary, she inquired the cause of it, when he exclaimed—"O mother! he that spareth the rod hateth the child!" So ingenious by nature was the mind of this boy, and such the pure source whence his youth drew instructions, which, disregarded but not forgotten amid the gaieties of a long course of dissipation, at last reasserted in a fearful manner their influence over him.

Ferguson finished his elementary education at the grammar-school of Dundee, which he attended for two years. His parents had resolved to educate him for the church, and with that view removed him in his thirteenth year to the university of St. Andrews, which he entered with the advantage of a bursary, endowed by a Mr. Ferguson, for the benefit of young men of the same name. Here his abilities recommended him to the notice of Dr. Wilkie, author

of the *Epigoniad*, then professor of natural philosophy, and it has even been said that learned person made choice of him to read his lectures to his class when sickness or other causes prevented his own performance of the duty. Dr. Irving ridicules the idea of a youth of sixteen "mounting," as he expresses it, "the professorial rostrum;" and besides the inadequacy of years, Ferguson possessed none of that gravity of demeanour which was calculated to secure the respectful attention of his compeers. His classical attainments were respectable, but for the austere branches of scholastic and scientific knowledge he always expressed, with the petulance of a youth of lively parts who did not wish to be subjected to the labour of hard study, a decided contempt. Dr. Wilkie's regards must therefore have been attracted by other qualifications than those of the graver and more solid cast—namely, by the sprightly humour and uncommon powers of conversation for which Ferguson was already in a remarkable degree distinguished. The story of his reading the lectures in public arose from his having been employed to transcribe them. Professor Vilant, in a letter to Mr. Inverarity on this subject, says, "A youthful frolicsome exhibition of your uncle first directed Dr. Wilkie's attention to him, and he afterwards employed him one summer and part of another in transcribing a fair copy of his academical lectures." On the doctor's death, in 1772, Ferguson showed his gratitude in a poem dedicated to his memory. In this composition, which assumed the form of a Scottish eclogue, Wilkie's success as an agricultural improver was not forgotten. He had cultivated, with a very remarkable degree of skill, a farm in the vicinity of St. Andrews; and we must go back to the time when our fathers were contented to raise small patches of stunted corn here and there, on the uncultivated moor, in order to appreciate fully the enterprise which merited the youthful poet's compliment:—

"Lang had the thrivies and the docks been
In use to wag their taps up' the green
Where now his bonny rigs delight the view,
And thriving hedges drink the cawler dew."

Among his fellow-students Ferguson was distinguished for vivacity and humour, and his poetical talents soon began to display themselves on subjects of local and occasional interest, in such a way as to attract the notice both of his companions and of their teachers. We are warranted in concluding, that the pieces to which he owed this celebrity were distinguished by passages of no ordinary merit, for professors are not a set of men upon whom it is easy to produce an impression. It is indeed said that the youthful poet chose the ready instrument of sarcasm with which to move their calm collectedness; but if this were true, the satire must have been of a playful nature; for, from all that has appeared, these gentlemen manifested nothing but kindly feelings towards their pupil, and he a corresponding affection and respect for them. Besides the tribute which he paid to the memory of Wilkie, he wrote an elegy on the death of Mr. Gregory, the professor of mathematics, in which, though the prevailing tone is that of respectful regret, we probably have an example of the length to which he ventured in his satirical effusions. Bewailing the loss that the scientific world had sustained by the decease of this learned person, and enumerating various instances of his sagacity, he says, with irrepressible waggery,

"By numbers, too, he could divine
That three times three just made up nine;
But now he's dead!

Another effusion of which the occasion may be referred to the time of Ferguson's attendance at college,

¹ Afterward the wife of Mr. David Inverarity, Joiner.

² Afterward the wife of Mr. Alexander Duval, purser in the navy.

³ The date usually given is 18th September, which appears, however, from a list by Mrs. Duval, to have been the birthday of the elder sister, Barbara. The above is the date given by Mrs. Duval.

is his elegy on John Hogg, porter to the university; in this piece he alludes with some humour to the unwillingness with which he was wont to quit his comfortable bed in a morning after some frolic, when that functionary was sent to summon him before the college tribunal. The familiarity of the old door-keeper, together with the demi-professorial strain of his admonitions, is not unhappily portrayed in the stanza—

"When I had been fu' laith to rise,
John then begude to moralize—
The tither nap—the sluggard cries,
And turns him round;
Sae spak auld Solomon the wise,
Divine profound!"

If Fergusson thus remembered in a kindly manner the species of intercourse which his exploits had rendered necessary between him and the servants of the university, they seem on their part to have cherished a corresponding degree of partiality for him. Mr. James Inverarity, a nephew of the poet, had the curiosity to ask one of them if he recollected Robert Fergusson. "Bob Fergusson!" exclaimed the man; "that I do! Many a time I've put him to the door—ah, he was a tricky callant; but," he added, "a fine laddie for a' that." He seemed to feel great pleasure in the recollection of so lively and so amiable a boy.

While at college the young poet used to put in practice a frolic which marks the singular vivacity of his character. Whenever he received a remittance from his friends at Edinburgh, he hung out the money in a little bag attached by a string to the end of a pole fixed in his window; and there he would let it dangle for a whole day in the wind. He is supposed to have done this partly from puerile exultation in the possession of his wealth, and partly by way of making a bravado in the eyes of his companions; among whom, no doubt, the slenderness of their funds and the failure of supplies would be frequent subjects of railery.

His talents of mimicry were great, and his sportive humour was ever too exuberant, and sometimes led him to overstep the bounds of justifiable indulgence. "An instance of this," says Mr. Tennant in the *Edinburgh Literary Journal* (No. 164), "was communicated to me by the late Rev. Dr. James Brown, his fellow-student at St. Andrews, who was also a poet,¹ and who, from kindred delights and sympathies, enjoyed much of Fergusson's society. On the afternoon of a college holiday they took a walk together into the country, and after perambulating many farms, and tripping with fraternal glee over field and hillock, they at last, being desirous of a little rest, betought themselves of calling at a small farmhouse, or *pendicle*, as it is named, on the king's muirs of Denino. They approached the house and were kindly invited to a seat by the rustic and honest-hearted family. A frank and unceremonious conversation immediately took place, in the course of which it was discovered that a young person, a member of the family, was lying ill of fever. The playful Fergusson instantly took it into his head to profess himself a medical practitioner;—he started to his feet, begged to be shown to the sick-bed; approached, and felt the pulse of the patient; assumed a serious air; put the usual pathological interrogatories; and pronounced his opinion with a pomp and dignity worthy of a true doctor of physic. In short,

he personated his assumed character so perfectly, that his friend Brown, though somewhat vexed, was confounded into silent admiration of his dexterity. On leaving the house, however, Mr. Brown expostulated with him on the indefensibility of practising so boldly on the simplicity of an unsuspecting family, and of misleading their conceptions as to the cure of the distemper, by a stratagem, on which, however witty, neither of them could congratulate themselves."

The impulse of the moment seems to have been at all times irresistible with Fergusson, without any dread or consideration of the consequences which his levity might produce. His voice being good, he was requested, oftener than was agreeable to him, to officiate as precentor at prayers. His wicked wit suggested a method of getting rid of the distasteful employment, which he did not scruple to put in practice, though there was great danger that it would incense the heads of the college against him. It is customary in the Scottish churches for persons who are considered to be in a dangerous state of illness to request the prayers of the congregation, which it is the duty of the precentor publicly to intimate. One morning when Fergusson occupied the desk, he rose up, and, with the solemnity of tone usual upon such occasions, pronounced—"Remember in prayer, ———, a young man (then present) of whom, from the sudden effects of inebriety, there appears but small hope of recovery."

A proceeding so indecorous could not but be frowned upon by the professors; and another incident, which it was still less in their power to overlook, soon occurred. The circumstances attending the expulsion of the poet from the university have occasioned some controversy, and we therefore deem it best to give the account drawn up in 1801 by Dr. Hill, and attested by Professor Vilant, who was unable from sickness to do more at that time than affix his name to it. "Mr. Nicholas Vilant," says this document, "professor of mathematics, the only person now in the university who was then a member of it, declares, that in the year 1767, as he recollects, at the first institution of the prizes given by the Earl of Kinnoull, late chancellor of this university, there was a meeting one night, after the determination of the prizes for that year, of the winners in one room of the united college, and a meeting of the losers in another room at a small distance; that, in consequence of some communication between the winners and the losers, a scuffle arose, which was reported to the masters of the college, and that Robert Fergusson and some others who had appeared the most active were expelled; but that the next day, or the day thereafter, they were all received back into the college upon promises of good behaviour for the future." Dr. Wilkie's intercessions were exerted on this occasion in behalf of the poet; nor are we to suppose that the cordial co-operation of others was wanting, for Mr. Inverarity assures us that in Mr. Vilant, Fergusson had found a friend and judicious director of his studies. On the whole, this transaction affords a proof that Fergusson, whatever might be his indiscretions, had not, by refractory or disrespectful conduct, rendered himself obnoxious to the heads of the university, since, had that been the case, it is to be presumed they would have availed themselves of this infraction of academic discipline to make good his expulsion. If, therefore, the first aspirations of his muse were employed in satirical effusions against his instructors, it must have been with an absence of all bitterness, and in a vein of pleasantry which was not meant to be, and did not prove, offensive.

Of the progress made by Fergusson in his studies

¹ "Dr. Brown, who was for thirty years rector of a considerable parish in the neighbourhood of London, was the author of a poem called *Britain Preserved*, written about 1793, in reference to, and commendation of, Mr. Pitt's plan of policy, then adopted."

we have no means of forming a very exact estimate. "He performed," says Dr. Irving, "with a sufficient share of applause, the various exercises which the rules of his college prescribed." Yet it is acknowledged that he found more pleasure in the active sports of youth, and in social enjoyment, than in habits of reclus study. His time, however, does not seem to have been spent without some plans of more serious application. A book which belonged to him, entitled *A Defence of the Church Government, Faith, Worship, and Spirit of the Presbyterians*, is preserved; the blank leaves of this volume were devoted by him to the somewhat incongruous purpose of receiving scraps of speeches, evidently the germs of a play which he meditated writing. Another dramatic scheme of his assumed a more decided shape; he finished two acts of a tragedy, founded on the achievements and fate of Sir William Wallace, but abandoned the undertaking, having seen another play on the same subject, and being afraid that his own might be considered a plagiarism. Probably both productions were of a commonplace description; and the poet, perceiving the flatness of that of which he was not the author, and conscious of the similarity of his own, relinquished an undertaking to which his abilities certainly were not equal. It has been observed, that the choice of the subject affords an evidence of Fergusson's judgment; inasmuch as the fate of the illustrious Scottish hero, together with his disinterested patriotism and bravery, supply a much more eligible theme for the tragical muse, than the deaths of Macbeth, Richard III., Pizarro, or any other tyrant of ancient or modern times, whose catastrophes, being nothing more than the vengeance due to their crimes, cannot excite those sympathetic feelings that arise only from the contemplation of suffering virtue. This would be very justly said if it were true that the success of a dramatic author depends upon his enlisting the approbation of the audience in behalf of his hero. But the case is widely different. A view of human nature under the influence of some powerful emotion, with which mankind in general are not familiar, seems to be what is mainly required. All men are not acquainted with the workings of an ambitious and wicked heart; and hence, when the tyrant is exhibited before them, they learn something that is new and surprising, and the skill of the poet meets with its proportionate meed of applause. But there are few, indeed, who have not considered from their youth up the character of a great patriot like Wallace; their admiration and pity have been bestowed upon him from their tenderest years, and there is nothing left for poetry to effect. Nor was the genius of Fergusson fitted for the delineation of a majestic character. He had a fund of humour, an agreeable gaiety, but not much reach of passion or of feeling. In his English blank verses there is no stately flow nor elevation of sentiment. His mind, moreover, did not possess strength sufficient to accomplish more than can be done in a series of occasional verses; he had not as much resolution to carry him through the succession of efforts necessary for the completion of a dramatic poem; and, on the whole, we see no occasion either for surprise or regret that he never perfected his third act.

What were the reasons for Fergusson abandoning his academical career is nowhere mentioned. Probably he had no great heart for the profession to which he had been destined, and was prevented by want of pecuniary means from pursuing his studies with a view to any other. When the term of his bursary expired, which was at the end of four years, he quitted St. Andrews, and returned to Edinburgh,

to his mother's house, his father having died two years before. Here, if his prospects were not gloomy, his plans were unsettled, and never took any decided aim for his settlement in life. The profession of a teacher has been resorted to by many who have acquired some learning, but whose narrow circumstances did not allow them to aspire to more pleasant and profitable employments; and, even after qualifying themselves for superior offices, numbers of young men, failing to obtain the reward of their labours, fall back upon that humbler means of obtaining a subsistence. But for the patient duties of a schoolmaster Fergusson's ardent temperament completely disqualified him, and probably he never thought of the alternative. The study of medicine was suggested to him; but this was no less distasteful, for to such vivid nervous excitement was he liable, that he could not read the description of a disease without imagining that his own frame felt its symptoms.

After some time spent in vain hope that some opening would present itself, he paid a visit to Mr. John Forbes, a maternal uncle, near Aberdeen, who, being in easy circumstances, was expected to do something for his nephew. That gentleman, according to the usual account, entertained him for some time, hoping, perhaps, that after a reasonable stay, such as the hospitality of an uncle's roof might warrant, he would take his leave and give him no farther trouble. But time slipped on, and Fergusson still continued his guest. At last the habiliments of the dependent relative began to grow somewhat shabby, and an intimation was conveyed to him that he was no longer fit to appear at Mr. Forbes's table. The indignant poet immediately retired to an ale-house in the neighbourhood, where he penned a letter full of resentment of the usage he had received. This remonstrance produced some little effect, for his uncle sent him, by a messenger, a few shillings to bear his charges to Edinburgh. He performed the journey on foot, and returned to his mother's house so worn out with fatigue, and overwhelmed with mortification, that he fell into a serious illness. In a few days his strength of body revived, and he regained sufficient composure of mind to express his vexation in a poem, entitled *The Decay of Friendship*, and his grounds for philosophic resignation in another, *Against Repining at Fortune*. These pieces exhibit some fluency of versification, but do not breathe any poetic fire. In the first he bewails the ingratitude of man, and, according to ancient usage, determines to resort to some solitary shore, there to disclose his griefs to the murmuring surge, and teach the hollow caverns to resound his woes. In the second he declares that he was able to contemplate the gorgeous vanity of state with a cool disdain, and after reasoning the matter on the inadequacy of wealth to procure happiness, concludes that virtue is the sacred source of permanent and heart-felt satisfaction—a fact, the truth of which is so very generally acknowledged, that the statement and elucidation of it is no longer considered to constitute poetry.

The behaviour of Mr. Forbes in the matter just related has been reprobated as ungenerous in the extreme. But it seems questionable whether the censure be merited in its full extent. Every man is, no doubt, bound to assist his fellow-men, and more particularly those who are connected with his own family, or have other claims to his patronage, as far as lies in his power. But it is difficult to fix the limits to which his exertions ought, in any particular case, to be carried. It may seem very clear to every one at the present day that Fergusson was a man of genius, and ought to have been promoted to some

office which might have conferred independence, at the same time that it left him leisure for the cultivation of his literary talents. This was, however, by no means so apparent at the period to which we refer, nor perhaps at any future period during the poet's lifetime. He presented himself in his uncle's house an expectant of favour; but his expectations might not, to any ordinary-minded person, appear very reasonable. He was a young man that had addicted himself to the profitless occupation of rhyming (who could tell he was to render himself eminent by it?); he could not submit his mind to common business, and had aversions, that did not appear to rest on very feasible foundations, to certain employments which were proposed to him: and when we consider to how close a scrutiny it is reasonable that those who solicit patronage should be prepared to submit, it does not seem wonderful that he should have been regarded as a young man who was disposed to remain idle, and that his friends should have been discouraged from using their influence in behalf of one who did not seem willing to do what he could for himself. We know few of the circumstances that took place during Fergusson's residence with his uncle, and it is unjust to deal out reproaches so much at random.

Some time after his return to Edinburgh, Fergusson obtained employment as a copyist of legal papers, in the office of the commissary clerk of Edinburgh; a situation miserably inferior to his talents, but which his straitened circumstances and his total want of an aim in life compelled him to accept. With the exception of some months devoted to similar duties at the sheriff-clerk's office, he spent, in this humble employment, the remainder of his brief and unhappy life. The change from the one office to the other seems to have been dictated purely by that desire of an alternation of misery, which caused the soldier who suffered under flagellation to cry first "strike high," and then "strike low." Having experienced some trouble from the fretful temper of the deputy commissary clerk, Mr. Abercromby, under whom he performed his drudgery, he sought relief in the other office; but finding worse evils there in the painful nature of the sheriff's duties as an enforcer of executions, he speedily solicited re-admission to his former place, and was glad to obtain it. It is generally supposed that Fergusson's employment involved the study of law, and that in that lay the unpleasantness of his situation. But in reality, the study of law, allowing it to be as dry as several of Fergusson's biographers have represented it, and as unsuitable as they have supposed to the mercurial genius of a poet, would have been absolutely a daily delight of the highest kind, compared to the monotonous duties of perpetual transcription, which formed in reality the extent of the poet's professional labours.

This wretched drudgery, however, was relieved in two ways. Fergusson, during the whole period of his residence in Edinburgh as a clerk or copyist, wrote more or less poetry almost every day. At the same time he spent a part of almost every evening in those convivial regalements with which the citizens of Edinburgh of all classes were then accustomed to solace themselves after the drudgery of the day.

The mind of the poet was partly directed to English classical models: he wrote pastorals and dialogues, in the manner of Pope, Shenstone, and Somerville; but these are mere exhibitions of language, totally uninspired by the least force or originality of ideas, and would now weary even the most patient antiquary in the perusal. Fortunately he also adventured upon the course lately left vacant by

Ramsay, and there found themes for which his genius was better adapted. The humours and peculiarities of social life in the ancient city of Edinburgh attracted his attention, and became in his hands the materials of various specimens of Scottish poetry, which far surpassed the similar poems of Ramsay, and are but little inferior to those of Burns. In his *Leith Races*, *The Rising and Sitting of the Session*, *Cauler Oysters*, and *The King's Birth-day*, there is a power of humorous description which at once stamps him as a poet of superior genius, even if the nervous sense of his *Braid Claith*, *Cauler Water*, and other poems upon general subjects, and the homely grace of his *Farmer's Ingle*, which describes in the most vivid and genuine colours a scene worthy of the highest efforts of the muse, had not placed him still more unequivocally in that rank. The language employed by Fergusson is much more purely Scottish than that of Burns, and he uses it with a readiness and ease in the highest degree pleasing. He has not the firm and vigorous tone of Burns, but more softness and polish, such as might have been expected from his gentler and perhaps more instructed mind. The poet chiefly wrote these effusions for a periodical work, entitled *Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine*, where they attracted a considerable share of public attention, not only in Edinburgh but throughout the country.

The convivialities of Fergusson have been generally described as bordering on excess, and as characterizing himself in particular, amidst a population generally sober. The real truth is, that the poor poet indulged exactly in the same way, and in general to the same extent, as other young men of that day. The want of public amusements, the less general taste for reading, and the limited accommodations of private houses in those days, led partly to a practice which, as already mentioned, prevailed among all orders of people in Edinburgh of frequenting taverns in the evening for the sake of relaxation and exercise of the intellect. The favourite haunt of Robert Fergusson, and many other persons of his own standing, was Lucky Middlemass's tavern in the Cowgate, which he celebrates in his poem on *Cauler Oysters*. One of the individuals who almost nightly enjoyed his company there, communicated to the present writer, in 1827, the following particulars respecting the extent and nature of their convivialities:—

"The entertainment almost invariably consisted of a few boards of raw oysters, porter, gin, and occasionally a rizzared [dried] haddock, which was neither more nor less than what formed the evening enjoyments of most of the citizens of Edinburgh. The best gin was then sold at about five shillings a gallon, and accordingly the gill at Lucky Middlemass's cost only threepence. The whole debauch of the young men seldom came to more than sixpence or sevenpence. Mr. S—— distinctly recollects that Fergusson always seemed unwilling to spend any more. They generally met at eight o'clock, and rose to depart at ten; but Fergusson was sometimes prevailed upon to outsit his friends, by other persons who came in later, and, for the sake of his company, entreated him to join them in further potations. The humour of his conversation, which was in itself the highest treat, frequently turned upon the odd and obnoxious characters who then abounded in the town. In the case, however, of the latter, he never permitted his satire to become in the least rancorous. He generally contented himself with conceiving them in ludicrous or awkward situations, such, for instance, as their going home at night, and having their clothes bleached by an impure ablution from

the garrets—a very common occurrence at that time, and the mention of which was sufficient to awaken the sympathies of all present."

The personal appearance of the poet is thus described by the same informant:—"In stature Ferguson was about five feet nine, slender and handsome. His face never exhibited the least trace of red, but was perfectly and uniformly pale, or rather yellow. He had all the appearance of a person in delicate health; and Mr. S— remembers that, at last, he could not eat raw oysters, but was compelled by the weakness of his stomach to ask for them pickled. His forehead was elevated, and his whole countenance open and pleasing. He wore his own fair brown hair, with a long massive curl along each side of the head, and terminating in a queue, dressed with a black silk riband. His dress was never very good, but often much faded, and the white thread stockings which he generally wore in preference to the more common kind of gray worsted, he often permitted to become considerably soiled before changing them."

The following anecdote has been related for the purpose of showing the irksomeness of the poet under his usual avocations. In copying out the extract of a deed, one forenoon, he blundered it two different times, and was at length obliged to abandon the task without completing it. On returning in the evening he found that the extract had been much wanted, and he accordingly sat down with great reluctance to attempt it a third time. He had not, however, half accomplished his task, when he cried out to his office companion that a thought had just struck him, which he would instantly put into verse, and carry to *Ruddiman's Magazine* (on the eve of publication), but that he would instantly return and complete the extract. He immediately scrawled out the following stanza on one Thomas Lancashire, who, after acting the gravedigger in Hamlet, and other such characters, on the Edinburgh stage, had set up a public-house, in which he died:—

"Alas, poor Tom! how oft, with merry heart,
Have we beheld thee play the sexton's part!
Each comic heart must now be grieved to see
The sexton's dreary part performed on thee."

On his return towards the office he called at the shop of his friend Sommers, painter and glazier, in the Parliament Close, where he found a boy reading a poem on creation. This circumstance furnished him with the point of another epigram, which he immediately scribbled down, and left for Mr. Sommers's perusal. These proceedings occupied him about twenty minutes, and he then returned to his drudgery.

Uniform tradition, and every other testimony, ascribe to Ferguson an excellent voice, and a most captivating manner of singing the simple melodies of his native country. His *Birks of Invermay* long survived in the recollection of his associates as a musical gem of the first lustre. The following anecdote, communicated by his biographer Sommers, at once proves his vocal powers and reflects a light upon his character. "In one of his convivial frolics he laid a wager with some of his associates that, if they would furnish him with a certain number of printed ballads (no matter what kind), he would undertake to dispose of them as a street singer in the course of two hours. The bet was laid, and next evening, being in the month of November, a large bundle of ballads were procured for him. He wrapped himself in a shabby greatcoat, put on an old scratch wig, and in this disguised form commenced his adventure at the weigh-house, head of the West Bow. In his going down the Lawnmarket and High Street, he had the address to collect great

multitudes around him, while he amused them with a variety of favourite Scottish songs, by no means such as he had ballads for, and gained the wager by disposing of the whole collection. He waited on his companions by eight o'clock that evening, and spent with them in mirthful glee the produce of his street adventure."

Ferguson's disposition led him into many frolics; of which the following instances are recounted. His landlord happened to be a man very much given to intemperance, at the same time that he aspired to all the honours of a saint. One night he attempted to perform family worship in a state of complete intoxication, when, to his inconceivable horror, every sentence of his prayer was echoed by some unseen being at no great distance. Confounded with drunken terror, he ordered his family to retire, and *tak awa the buiks*. It was Ferguson who thus alarmed him from a neighbouring closet. Afterwards the poor man gave his family an impressive lecture on the necessity of their improving their ways, as he felt certain that something serious was about to befall them. He even unbosomed his own conscience to the waggish cause of all his terrors, and received, with marks of extreme contrition, the absolution which Ferguson administered to him in consideration of his repentance. On another occasion Ferguson went, with some companions, to the door of a similar zealot, and began to whine forth a psalm in burlesque of the hypocritical habits (as he considered them) of those within. With even less justifiable thoughtlessness, he once threw into the open window of a Glassite meeting-house a paper, on which he had inscribed some lines in imitation of the manner in which they were pleased to perform their devotions. A more innocent frolic was as follows: having procured a sailor's dress, he dressed himself in it, assumed a huge stick, and sallying out, paid a round of visits to his acquaintances. He was so effectually disguised that few or none of them knew him; and by throwing forth hints of some of their former indiscretions, he so much surprised them that they imputed his knowledge to divination. By this means he procured from many of them such a fund of information as enabled him to give them a greater surprise when he resumed the genuine character of Robby Ferguson. For in the sailor's habit he informed them of many frailties and failings, which they imagined it impossible for any one of his appearance to know; and in the habit of Robby Ferguson he divulged many things which they believed none but the ragged sailor was acquainted with. Ferguson's power of mimicry was indeed admirable, and he displayed a considerable turn for acting in general. Towards the end of his life he was the very life and soul of a particular spouting club to which he attached himself.

In the circle of his acquaintance, though it extended through nearly all ranks of society, he had few more respectable friends than Mr. Woods, a distinguished player long established in Edinburgh. Woods was a man of wit, taste, and good sense, to which good qualities he added a prudence of conduct, in which it is to be wished that the poet had uniformly imitated him. Through the influence of Mr. Woods, and in consideration perhaps of occasional poetical services, he enjoyed a free admission to the theatre, of which he took not unfrequent advantage. To quote a memorandum which has been supplied to us on this subject:—"He always sat in the central box, denominated the Shakspeare box; and his mode of expressing approbation in comic performances was very singular. Instead of clapping his hands, or using any exclamations, he used to show how much he was delighted by raising

his right hand clenched above his head, and bringing it down emphatically on the front of the box, with a sweeping blow."

His brother Henry, who was eight years older than himself, had before this period been obliged by some youthful indiscretions to go to sea. Henry was a youth of considerable acquirements and ingenuity, and in particular had an extraordinary taste for fencing. Some letters are extant which the young sailor addressed to his mother and brother, and they certainly display powers of mind and habits of reflection which, if discovered on shipboard, must have astonished his superiors. Apparently quite tired of the hopeless drudgery of his office, and perhaps impelled by more pressing considerations, Robert Fergusson at one time contemplated the course of life now pursued by his brother, the wild dangers of which might have some charm to a poet's breast. He thus humorously alludes to his design in an epigram:—

"Fortune and Bob, e'er since his birth,
Could never yet agree;
She fairly kicked him from the earth,
To try his fate at sea."

He was not destined, however, to execute this resolution.

In 1773 Fergusson's poems were collected from the *Weekly Magazine* into one volume; but it does not appear that the poet reaped any pecuniary benefit from the publication. It is probable, indeed, that this admired son of genius never realized a single shilling by his writings.

For a brief number of years Fergusson led the aimless life which we have endeavoured to describe, obtaining the means of a scanty subsistence by a servile and unworthy drudgery, and cheering his leisure moments with mingled intellectual exertion and convivial dissipation. To many persons he was recommended by his fascinating conversation, his modesty, and his gentle and affectionate character. Of these, however, with but one exception, there were none who either felt called upon, or had it in their power, to advance his worldly fortunes. That exception was a Mr. Burnet, who, becoming much attached to the poet at Edinburgh, was afterwards enabled to send him a draught for a hundred pounds from India, with an invitation to come thither, in order to experience still more solid and lasting proofs of his friendship. Even of this single ray of kindness from his fellowmen the poor poet was destined to reap no advantage, being dead before the money and the invitation arrived. The unhappy youth continued, so long as his mind was sensible of anything, to feel that, with powers which elevated him above most of his fellows, and were likely to make him be remembered when all of them were forgotten, he yet ate every day a bitterer and a scantier meal, and moiled on and on in hopeless poverty, at once the instrument and the victim of their pleasures.

Early in the year 1774, when his frame was peculiarly exposed by the effects of a certain medicine to cold, he was induced to accompany some gentlemen, who were interested in an election business, to one of the eastern counties of Scotland. It is no uncommon thing for cold, contracted under such circumstances, to produce mental derangement; and such was the melancholy destiny of Fergusson! Being involved in the riotous scenes of the election, he easily caught the baneful distemper, the effects of which were quite as much mental as physical. While in this disordered state he happened one day to wander into the churchyard, where he was soon after accosted by the venerable John Brown, author

of many well-known works in divinity, and who exercised the humble but respectable functions of a dissenting clergyman in the town. After a few trivial remarks had passed between them, Mr. Brown was led by the nature of the scene to advert to the mortality of man, observing that in a short time they would soon be laid in the dust, and that therefore it was wise to prepare for eternity. To Mr. Brown the conversation seemed the most casual and unimportant that could well be. But such were not its effects. In the present state of the poet's mind his early religious impressions were fast reviving, and while the penalties of folly wrung his nerves, his thoughts wandered back over his misspent and unprosperous life. Upon a mind so prepared the accidental remarks of the divine (who did not even know who he was) sunk as deep as if they had been imprinted in characters of fire. He returned home an altered and despairing man.

One of his intimate friends, who met him in March, 1774, a short time after this event, found him somewhat tranquilized, but still in a very precarious state. The poor bard gave an account of the excesses which had lately produced such dreadful effects, and spoke with terror of what would be unavoidable in the event of a relapse—confinement in the common asylum for insane persons. He also introduced the subject of religion, and conversed with much earnestness on some of its fundamental doctrines. "Upon a particular occasion, which he specified, he said a Mr. Ferrier, at or near St. Andrews, had alarmed and rather displeased him by maintaining what are usually denominated the orthodox tenets of our Scottish creeds: and Fergusson appeared to differ, in a very considerable degree, from the commonly received notions on these subjects. He did not seem to be satisfied of the necessity of the fall of man, and of a mediatorial sacrifice for human iniquity; and he questioned, with considerable boldness, the consistency of such doctrines with the attributes of divine wisdom and goodness. At the same time, however, he confessed the imperfect nature of the human intellect, and the unfathomable depth of all such inquiries. This is the only gleam of infidelity which ever seems to have diminished the fearful gloom of superstitious terror: no consoling rays of genuine religion charmed his bosom; no sounds of peace gladdened his heart, and enabled him to sustain, with fortitude and calmness, the sorrows which oppressed him. He anticipated 'the last peal of the thunder of heaven' as the voice of eternal vengeance speaking in wrath, and consigning him to irremediable perdition."¹

After having partially recovered from his disorder, his mind is said to have received another shock from the following incident:—

"In the room adjoining to that in which he slept was a starling, which being seized one night by a cat that had found its way down the chimney, awakened Mr. Fergusson by the most alarming screams. Having learned the cause of the alarm, he began seriously to reflect how often he, an accountable and immortal being, had in the hour of intemperance set death at defiance, though it was thus terrible, in reality, to an unaccountable and sinless creature. This brought to his recollection the conversation of the clergyman, which, aided by the solemnity of midnight, wrought his mind up to a pitch of remorse that almost bordered on frantic despair. Sleep now forsook his eyelids; and he rose in the morning, not as he had formerly done, to mix again with the

¹ Peterkin's *Life of Fergusson*, prefixed to London edition of his poems, 1807.

social and the gay, but to be a recluse from society, and to allow the remembrance of his past follies to prey upon his vitals. All his vivacity now forsook him; those lips which were formed to give delight were closed as by the hand of death, and on his countenance sat horror plumed!"¹

It is probably to this period that we are to refer two anecdotes which have been related as giving the first proofs of a decided craze in his understanding. Mr. Tennant, in an article which has been already quoted, says:—"It is difficult, even in sane persons, to determine where wit ends and temporary reeling of the imagination begins; and in the case of Fergusson, whose conceptions were ever so vivid, and whose wit was so fantastical and irregular, it was difficult for his friends to discriminate between his wit and his madness—to set a boundary-line between those of his days that were but frolicsome and funny, and those that were desperately and invariably delirious. The first occurrence that startled his comrades, and put them in alarm for the safety of his understanding, took place one day in the High Street of Edinburgh, when Mr. B——, one of his friends (who, I believe, is still alive), was standing engaged in conversation with a knot of acquaintances. Fergusson came running up, apparently in a state of high perturbation; and, accosting them familiarly, as he was wont, acquainted them that, confused and perturbed as he was, it was a marvel that they saw him alive that day at all. On questioning him, with a desire that he should explain himself, he informed them that on the night before he had met with some Irish students in the street, with whom he had an altercation that led to a quarrel; that they scuffled and buffeted each other furiously; that the combat deepened to deadly ferocity, when one of them, the bloodiest homicide of the troop, at last drew out a cutlass, with which he smote off his head at one blow; that his head ran down the strand trembling and streaming blood for many paces; that had it not been for his presence of mind he must infallibly have been a dead man; but that, running instantly after the head, decapitated as he was, he snatched it up, and replaced it so nicely on its former position, that the parts coalesced, and no man could discover any vestiges of decapitation. This story was told with such wild looks and extravagant gesticulation as impressed the hearers with the suspicion that his mind had shifted from its wonted 'form and pressure'; a suspicion that was afterwards fully confirmed by other more decided and unfortunate indications."

The other anecdote, which indicates a more advanced stage of insanity, is as follows:—Mr. Woods, of the Theatre Royal, one day met him at the bottom of St. Anne Street, under the North Bridge (a street which does not now exist), and found him in a very disordered state. "I have just," said Fergusson in a confidential tone, "made a most important discovery." On Mr. Woods inquiring what it was, he answered, "I have found out one of the reprobates who crucified our Saviour; and in order to bring him to proper punishment I am going to lodge an information against him with Lord Kames." He then walked off towards the residence of that distinguished philosopher and judge.

Even from this second shock his reason was beginning to recover, when all was thrown into tenfold disorder by a fall which he met with one evening in descending a stair. Having cut his head severely, he lost a great deal of blood, and was carried home

to his mother's house in a state of delirium, and totally insensible of his deplorable condition. His reason seemed to be now in a great measure destroyed. He passed nights and days in total abstinence from food, sometimes muttering dolefully to himself, and at other times so outrageous that it required the strength of several men to keep him in his bed. Occasionally he sang his favourite melodies, but in a style of pathos and tenderness such as he had never before reached. In particular, he chanted *The Birks of Invermay* with such exquisite melody, that those who heard his notes could never forget the sound. While in this state, probably anticipating that miserable catastrophe which soon after happened, he burned all his manuscripts, remarking, when the task was done, "I am satisfied; I feel some consolation in never having written anything against religion." Like Collins he now used but one book, but he probably felt, with that unfortunate bard, "that it was the best." It is needless to mention that this sole companion of his moody hours was the Bible.

The circumstances of his widowed mother were not, unfortunately, of such a kind as to enable her to keep her son, and procure for him the attendance necessary for his malady in her own house. She was, therefore, compelled to make arrangements for consigning him to a very wretched public asylum, which, before the erection of an elegant building at Morningside, was the only place in connection with the Scottish capital where such accommodations could be obtained. This house was situated within a gloomy nook of the old city wall, with another large building closing it up in front, as if it had been thought necessary to select for the insane a scene as sombre and wretched as their own mental condition. To this horrid mansion it was found necessary to convey Fergusson by a kind of stratagem, for he was too well aware of what was contemplated, and too much alive to the horrors of the place, to have either gone willingly himself, or to have been conveyed thither without some indecent exposure. Two friends, therefore, were instructed to pay him a visit about night-fall, as if for the purpose of inquiring after his welfare. He met them with easy confidence, and after some conversation, in which he took part like a sane man, they proposed that he should accompany them on a visit to a friend at another part of the town. To this he cheerfully consented, and was accordingly placed in a sedan which they had in readiness at the bottom of the stair. The unhappy youth then permitted himself to be conveyed peaceably along the streets till he arrived at the place which he had all along feared would be his final abode. The chair was conveyed into the hall, and it was only when Fergusson stepped out that he perceived the deception which had been practised upon him. One wild halloo—the heart-burst of despair—broke from him, and was immediately echoed from the tenants of the surrounding cells. Thrilled with horror, his friends departed, and left the wretched Fergusson to his fate.

"During the first night of his confinement," says Mr. Sommers, "he slept none; and when the keeper visited him in the morning, he found him walking along the stone floor of his cell, with his arms folded, and in sullen sadness, uttering not a word. After some minutes' silence, he clapped his right hand on his forehead, and complained much of pain. He asked the keeper who brought him there? He answered, 'Friends.' 'Yes, friends, indeed,' replied Robert; 'they think I am too wicked to live, but you will soon see me a burning and a shining light.' 'You have been so already,' observed the

¹ Life by Mr. Inverarity, in Gleig's *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica*.

keeper, alluding to his poems. 'You mistake me,' said the poet: 'I mean, you shall see and hear of me as a bright minister of the gospel.'

Fergusson continued about two months to occupy a cell in this gloomy mansion. Occasionally, when the comparative tranquillity of his mind permitted it, his friends were allowed to visit him. A few days before his dissolution his mother and sister found him lying on his straw bed calm and collected. The evening was chill and damp: he requested his mother to gather the bed-clothes about him, and sit on his feet, for he said they were so very cold as to be almost insensible to the touch. She did so, and his sister took her seat by the bedside. He then looked wistfully in the face of his affectionate parent, and said, "Oh, mother, this is kind indeed." Then addressing his sister, he said, "Might you not come frequently and sit beside me; you cannot imagine how comfortable it would be; you might fetch your seam, and sew beside me." To this no answer was returned: an interval of silence was filled up by sobs and tears. "What ails ye?" inquired the dying poet; "wherefore sorrow for me, sirs? I am very well cared for here—I do assure you, I want for nothing—but it is cold—it is very cold. You know I told you it would come to this at last—yes, I told you so. Oh, do not go yet, mother—I hope to be soon—oh, do not go yet—do not leave me!" The keeper, however, whispered that it was time to depart, and this was the last time that Fergusson saw these beloved relatives.

Mr. Sommers thus describes his last interview with the poet, which took place in company with Dr. John Aitken, another friend of the unfortunate maniac:—"We got immediate access to the cell, and found Robert lying with his clothes on, stretched upon a bed of loose uncovered straw. The moment he heard my voice he arose, got me in his arms, and wept. The doctor felt his pulse, and declared it to be favourable. I asked the keeper to allow him to accompany us into an adjoining back-court, by way of taking the air. He consented. Robert took hold of me by the arm, placing me on his right, and the doctor on his left, and in this form we walked backward and forward along the court, conversing for nearly an hour, in the course of which many questions were asked both by the doctor and myself, to which he returned most satisfactory answers; but he seemed very anxious to obtain his liberty. Having passed two hours with him on this visit, we found it necessary to take our leave, the doctor assuring him that he would soon be restored to his friends, and that I would visit him again in a day or two. He calmly and without a murmur walked with us to the cell, and, upon parting, reminded the doctor of his promise to get him soon at liberty, and of mine to see him next day. Neither of us, however, had an opportunity of accomplishing our promise, for in a few days thereafter I received an intimation from the keeper that Robert Fergusson had breathed his last."

Before this period Mrs. Fergusson had been enabled, by a remittance from her son Henry, to make some preparations for receiving the poor maniac back into her own house, where superior accommodations, and the tenderness of a mother's and a sister's love, might have been expected to produce some favourable effect. But it came too late: misery had already secured her victim. "In the solitude of his cell," says Mr. Peterkin, "amid the terrors of the night, 'without a hand to help or an eye to pity,' the poet expired. His dying couch was a mat of straw; the last sounds that pealed upon his ear were the howlings of insanity. No tongue whispered peace; and even a consoling tear of sympathy mingled not with

those of contrition and hope, which, in charity I trust, illumined his closing eye."

Robert Fergusson died on the 16th of October, 1774, aged one day less than twenty-four years. His body was interred in the Canongate Churchyard, where his grave remained quite undistinguished, until his successor, and (as he was pleased to acknowledge) his imitator, Robert Burns, appeared in Edinburgh. When Burns came to the grave of Fergusson he uncovered his head, and, with his characteristic enthusiasm, kneeling down, embraced the venerated clay. He afterwards obtained permission from the magistrates to erect a monument to Fergusson, which he inscribed with the following stanza:—

"No sculptured marble here, nor pompous lay,
No storied urn, nor animated bust,
This simple stone directs pale Scotia's way
To pour her sorrows o'er her poet's dust."

On the reverse of the monument, which is literally a "simple stone," is the following honourable inscription: "By special grant of the managers to Robert Burns, who erected this stone, this burial-place is ever to remain sacred to the memory of Robert Fergusson." In more than one of his effusions in prose and poetry the Ayrshire poet has bewailed the fate of Fergusson; but perhaps the following little elegy, which he inscribed on a copy of the works of that poet which he presented to a young lady (March 19, 1787), is less generally known than the rest:—

"Curse on ungrateful man, that can be pleased
And yet can starve the author of his pleasure!
Oh thou, my elder brother in misfortune,
By far my elder brother in the muses,
With tears I pity thy unhappy fate!
Why is the bard unfitted for the world,
Yet has so keen a relish of its pleasures!"

Whatever may be thought of the philosophy of this stanza, its feeling has an irresistible appeal.

The external appearance of Fergusson, so far as it is left undelineated in the sketch already quoted, was as follows:¹ His countenance was somewhat effeminate, but redeemed by the animation imparted to it by his large black eyes. Mingled with the penetrative glance of an acute and active mind was that modesty which gives to superior intellect its greatest charm. Unfortunately there is no authentic portrait in existence, though it may be worth while to mention that his grand-niece, the late Miss Inverarity, the actress, bore so strong a resemblance to him as to have struck the mind of an individual who remembered the appearance of Fergusson, and who had learned neither the name of the young lady nor her relation to the poet. Fergusson's manners were always accommodated to the moment: he was gay, serious, set the table in a roar, charmed with his powers of song, or bore with becoming dignity his part in learned or philosophical disquisition. "In short, he had united in him," says Mr. Alexander Campbell, "the sprightliness and innocence of a child, with the knowledge of a profound and judicious thinker." "Gentleness and humanity of disposition," says Dr. Irving, "he possessed in an eminent degree. The impulse of benevolence frequently led him to bestow his last farthing on those who solicited his charity. His surviving relations retain a pleasing remembrance of his dutiful behaviour towards his parents; and the tender regard with which his memory is still cherished by his numerous acquaintance fully demonstrates his value as a friend." It may be added that, to this day, there prevails but one universal impression in favour of Fergusson. Cut off in

¹ According to another individual who recollects seeing him, "he was very small and delicate, a little in-kneed, and waigled a good deal in walking."

the greenest of his days, he still lives in the feeling of the world exactly what he really was in life—a gentle and youthful being, of whom no one could think any ill, and who was the friend and brother of everybody.

FERRIER, JAMES FREDERICK, professor of morals and political economy in the university of St. Andrews. This profound metaphysician and eloquent writer in general literature, was born at Edinburgh in November, 1808. He was the nephew of Miss Ferrier, the talented and popular authoress of *Marriage* and *The Inheritance*, of whom a memoir will appear in our pages. He became a student in the university of Edinburgh when a new impulse had been given to the study of ethics and metaphysics by Dugald Stewart and Professor Brown, which was continued by the enthusiastic eloquence of John Wilson, afterwards the father-in-law of Ferrier—and under such influences, an acute active mind could scarcely be idle or undistinguished. Accordingly, in the class of moral philosophy James Ferrier displayed those intellectual powers which augured well for his future career; and a class poem which he produced during that year carried off the prize, and was long after remembered for its superiority to such class productions as have been successful in a general competition. This acknowledged superiority, so often the close of a student's career, was with Ferrier only the starting-point, and from the university of Edinburgh he passed to that of Oxford, where his studies were alternated with classics and philosophy until the latter secured his undivided attention, but not until he had become a ripe classical scholar. There also he graduated in arts, and passed the usual examinations with distinction. Desirous to enlarge his knowledge in general learning and metaphysics, he afterwards became a student in one of the German universities, and the mastery of the German language which he there acquired enabled him to advance into those profound speculations which as yet were little known in the colleges of Britain. The literature of Germany, and especially its poetry, occupied much of his study; and from his knowledge in this department, as well as his acquaintance with the niceties of the German language, he was enabled to aid the studies of those who were employed in a similar field. In this way he was of such service in interpreting the poetry of Goethe and Schiller, that Sir Bulwer Lytton in his translation of the latter poet dedicated the publication to Ferrier.

In 1832 James Ferrier was admitted to the Scottish bar. With a person of such a cast of mind, and so educated, the dry study of the law and oratory of the bar could have little congeniality, and his choice of such a profession might excite our wonder mixed with not a little astonishment. That he had no purpose, however, to involve himself in the occupations of a Scottish advocate, was evident from his neither attaining nor yet seeking such distinction. The charms of literature and peaceful contemplation had more attractions for him than the active stir of litigation and the prospect of a silk gown, while *Blackwood's Magazine* supplied a sufficient outlet for his first attempts in authorship. And to the pages of this distinguished periodical, now at the height of its reputation, the contributions of Ferrier were always welcome; for besides his Tory principles, he wrote with a vigour, eloquence, wit, and learning that recalled to memory the early articles of Wilson, Lockhart, and other distinguished founders of the magazine. For a series of years his contributions were continued; and while they were remarkable for their freshness of style and originality of thought,

they excited the attention of the reflective, among other subjects, to the Berkleian philosophy, and the effects of German thought upon the writings of Coleridge.

With all this acknowledged excellence, Ferrier was worthy of a more permanent field of action, and this was opened to him in 1845 by his appointment to the professorship of moral philosophy and political economy in the university of St. Andrews. Into this important charge he brought an earnestness and eloquence, and an amount of scholarship not often exhibited in the chairs of that ancient seat of learning; and their effect was shown in the new intellectual impulse which he imparted to his students, and the devotedness with which they loved their distinguished teacher. The professorship of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh having become vacant by the retirement of John Wilson, his father-in-law, Ferrier became a candidate for the chair, but was unsuccessful. That the failure, however, was owing to no lack of qualification for the office was proved two years afterwards, when he published his *Theory of Knowing and Being*, a work of great power, but upon a doubtful and debatable subject. His attempts to solve the great metaphysical problem, of course, found as many opponents as advocates, but all were at one in their opinion of the originality and ingenuity of many of its accessory ideas, and the brilliant eloquence with which the work was pervaded. In 1854 he was again a competitor for an Edinburgh chair, in consequence of the death of Sir William Hamilton, by which the professorship of logic and metaphysics was left vacant in the university of the northern capital. Ferrier was one of the candidates, the competition was a keen one, and to a pamphlet written in favour of the successful candidate he published a stinging answer, under the title of *Scottish Philosophy: the Old and the New*. Once more defeated in his attempts to establish himself in the university of Edinburgh, Ferrier resumed his duties in St. Andrews with undiminished zeal and success, until his failing health warned him that evening was at hand when his day was little more than half ended. That mysterious and fatal disease so prevalent in our own period, to which people of ardent temperament and active brain are so peculiarly subject—commonly called disease of the heart—had manifested itself in repeated attacks of *angina pectoris*, and so unfitted him for his public duties, that he was obliged to devolve the charge of his class into other hands. Recovery from such a malady was hopeless, however the end might be delayed, and he died at St. Andrews on the 11th of June, 1864.

To this brief account of Professor Ferrier we subjoin a sketch of his character contained in a short memoir inserted in the *Edinburgh Evening Courier*, from which the foregoing statements have been taken. In a life otherwise so uneventful such a portrait is necessary, in order to see him more effectually both in his public and private relationships; and this, it is hoped, will justify the length and fulness of the quotation:—

"In private life the professor added to those solid qualities which are universally respected, a pleasantness and refinement of manner not always found in the occupants of our Scottish chairs. The visitor who entered his house at St. Andrews found there not hospitality only, but a certain *empressment* of politeness which recalled the old school, and which was so far from being stiff that it contributed by its grace to the charm of his fresh and lively conversation. He was not a philosopher alone, but a man of letters, and took an interest in the beautiful and

the humorous—in poetry and anecdotes of life and character—as well as in those severer studies to which he owed his fame. The worthy admirer of Berkeley was also the worthy friend of Wilson; and you felt yourself, when with him in his social hour, connected by a living link with those eminent Scotsmen of an older day whose great attraction was that they were learned without pedantry, and polished without priggishness.

“His death leaves a vacancy in the front rank of Scottish thinkers and men of letters which will not easily be filled up. Beloved by all his students, endeared to a large circle of friends by his generous character, his great accomplishments, his philosophical power, and his stores of wit and humour, Mr. Ferrier’s death will be felt as another blank in the brilliant group of literary men of whom Wilson and Lockhart were the acknowledged chiefs, and whose congenial organ was *Blackwood’s Magazine*. Tory as he was, he will leave few generous Scotsmen, of whatever party, unregretful of his premature decease; while scholars of whatever degree, and philosophers of whatever school, will join in mourning the loss of one whose literary sympathies were as wide as they were discriminating, and whose philosophy perhaps fell short of conclusiveness by its too ardent efforts after catholicity.”

FERRIER, SUSAN EDMONSTON. Of this highly talented novelist, whose works created such a popular sensation in their favour, little is known beyond the fact that she was the authoress of three highly popular novels, and that their sterling merits have secured for them a durability seldom accorded to works of this nature. Miss Ferrier was born in Edinburgh in 1782, and was the aunt of the learned professor whom we have previously recorded. Her father, James Ferrier, a writer to the signet, was one of the principal clerks of the Court of Session, and colleague in that office of Sir Walter Scott. Of the early years and educational training of Miss Ferrier we have no account; but the society of the eminent literary characters with which Edinburgh at that time abounded, and with whom her father lived in daily intimacy, is enough to prove that she had superior opportunities for the development of her intellectual powers, while her writings show that she had turned these opportunities to the best account. The society of such men, and especially of Sir Walter Scott, could not be enjoyed by a mind like that of our authoress without the improvement which mere reading would fail to impart; and the result was such as Sir Walter himself has recorded in his private diary. Speaking of Miss Ferrier, he describes her as “a gifted personage, having, besides her great talents, conversation the least *exigante* of any author, female at least, whom I have ever seen, among the long list I have encountered; simple, full of humour, and exceedingly ready at repartee; and all this without the least affectation of the blue-stocking.”

With all this intellectual vivacity and humour, and great conversational powers, Miss Ferrier could combine a tact which nothing but the most delicate benevolence could inspire. Of this a striking instance is given in Lockhart’s *Life of Sir Walter Scott*. When the great poet and novelist was in the decline both of his health and intellect, but still as eager for intellectual work and as industrious as ever, it was the aim of his family in his occasional visits to them from the study, to render these visits as long and frequent as possible, and for this purpose they invited his friend Miss Ferrier to Abbotsford. “Her coming,” adds the biographer, “was serviceable; for she

knew and loved him well, and she had seen enough of affliction akin to his to be well skilled in dealing with it. She could not be an hour in his company without observing what filled his children with more sorrow than all the rest of the case. He would begin a story as gaily as ever, and go on, in spite of the hesitation in his speech, to tell it with highly picturesque effect; but before he reached the point, it would seem as if some internal spring had given way: he paused, and gazed round him with the blank anxiety of look that a blind man has when he has dropped his staff. Unthinking friends sometimes pained him sadly by giving him the catch-word abruptly. I noticed the delicacy of Miss Ferrier on such occasions. Her sight was bad, and she took care not to use her glasses when he was speaking; and she affected to be also troubled with deafness, and would say, ‘Well, I am getting as dull as a post; I have not heard a word since you said so and so,’ being sure to mention a circumstance behind that at which he had really halted. He then took up the thread with his habitual smile of courtesy, as if forgetting his case entirely in the consideration of the lady’s infirmity.”

From these brief glimpses, which reveal Miss Ferrier’s character—and which so amiably reveal it that we are compelled to regret that they are so few—we pass to her literary productions. Her first work, entitled *Marriage*, was published in the year 1818, when she had attained the ripe age of thirty-six, and therefore, although her first production, the novel indicated a mind completely matured. As such, *Marriage* at once became popular, even although the “Great Unknown” was in the field, and occupying it without a rival; and the author of *Waverley* sanctioned this public judgment with his heartiest approbation. In the conclusion of his *Tales of My Landlord*, he welcomed his “sister shadow,” the author of “the very lively work entitled *Marriage*, as one of the labourers capable of gathering in the large harvest of Scottish character and fiction.” The great merit of the work, indeed, and that which distinguished her subsequent productions, was the force and fidelity of her Scottish portraits, in which department none perhaps but Sir Walter himself was her superior; and on this account her novels have still an intrinsic charm which keeps them alive after so much in the literary world of fiction has passed away. The publishing of her first work was therefore the opening of a picture-gallery, and the public who crowded in could not sufficiently admire the life-like sketches of Mrs. Violet Macshake, the grim, sarcastic, but really affectionate lady of ninety, a glorious relic of the old Scotch school, who pronounced everything new a folly and an abomination—and Lady Mac-lauchlan, shrewd, short, and snappish—and the three old spinster sisters, Miss Jacky, Miss Grizzly, and Miss Nicky—each having her separate originality, but all tugging at the same oar. But while excelling in female portraits, Miss Ferrier showed that she could also hit off male characters with almost equal power, whether by single touches or elaborate descriptions, and produce a narrative by which her readers would be spell-bound without going beyond the limits of every-day life. Her next novel, *The Inheritance*, with equal originality, was of a still more elaborate and finished description, and the religious element with which it is mixed is so judiciously introduced, as to throw an attractive sunshine over the whole tale. While the *Inheritance* also dealt with a higher sphere of life, and more important objects than *Marriage*, the comic, in which Miss Ferrier excelled, was not neglected; and her descriptions of the pompous old earl, of Uncle

Adam, and Miss Pratt, are among the choicest of her many delineations of the kind. Her last tale, entitled *Destiny; or, the Chief's Daughter*, appeared in 1831; but as the characters, incidents, manners, and scenery are Highland, it does not possess the same variety and attractiveness as her former works, and this production was on the whole a failure. After this she laid aside her pen, to the regret of those whom her writings had so greatly charmed, and retired into private life. Her death occurred near the close of 1854; but the particular date of it we are unable to ascertain.

FILLANS, JAMES. This excellent sculptor was the son of John Thomson Fillans, who had served as sailor in the *Speedy* under Lord Cochrane, but afterwards found employment in the ironworks of Carnwath. He was born at Wilsontown in Lanarkshire, on the 27th of March, 1808, and was the third but eldest surviving son of a family of thirteen children. In consequence of his father's misfortunes in trade, he was only a short time at school; but he had already chosen his future occupation, and commenced a course of self-training for its work, so that when a boy his chief delight was to mould the figures of men and animals from no better material than snow. From his eighth to his twelfth year, his regular occupation was to herd cattle at Busby in the Means, where he had ample opportunity of studying the beauty of nature; after which he removed with the members of his family to Paisley, and was there set to learn weaving as his future craft. In spite, however, of his dull employment at the loom—perhaps even invited by its dullness and monotony—his artistic bias became more intense; and he betook himself to fashioning in clay, such models of the animal form as astonished his companions, and even excited the admiration of more critical judges. While following this favourite bent, obstacles did not deter him; and on one occasion, when he was ambitious to model a helmet such as Sir William Wallace was supposed to wear, he kneaded his clay into proper ductility, and afterwards clapped it, for want of a block, upon his younger brother's head, where it remained until he had fashioned it into the likeness of a warlike and highly ornamented head-piece.

As weaving was not congenial to such a spirit, he quitted it in less than a twelvemonth, and with an eye to the practice of sculpture and the use of its tools, became apprentice to a stone-mason. He had now greater scope for the study of his favourite art, and while he continued to execute models in clay which were always advancing in improvement, his range of ideas was enlarged, and his perception of the grand and beautiful refined by reading works of history and biography. As a workman, also, those tasks were consigned to him which required a superior exertion of professional skill. His apprenticeship being finished while still in his minority, he continued to work as a journeyman, and in Paisley and Greenock carvings are still pointed out which were executed by his chisel. Over the door of a house at Lanend, that was once a smithy, is the figure of a horse which young Fillans copied from a living animal in the neighbourhood; and with this spirited figure the smith for whom it was made was so well pleased, that he rewarded the artist with two pounds for his trouble—the first professional fee which as yet he had touched. In 1828, when he had reached his twentieth year, Fillans was employed to carve some of the ornamental parts of the Glasgow Royal Exchange, then in the course of erection. The splendid Corinthian capitals in the interior of the

building, which were especially his workmanship, and his enthusiasm for Grecian art, were so conspicuous among his fellow-workmen, that they dubbed him, as a mark of honourable distinction, with the title of "Young Athens."

Although he had now acquired the character of a first-rate mason, this was but a step to the object of his ambition, and being encouraged by his friend Motherwell, who at this time was editor of the *Paisley Advertiser*, Fillans set up his studio as a statuary in the manufacturing town of Paisley, where his productions soon became popular, and commissions continued to flow upon him. Besides executing the busts of some of the principal citizens, he produced several ideal figures in groups, the fame of which quickly extended to Glasgow, and made its citizens desirous of securing the services of the young rising artist. In compliance with their invitations, he removed to this great city of the west, and opened his studio in Miller Street, where his professional engagements were so numerous, that he employed two of his brothers to assist in the mechanical operations of his art. He was now a thriving man; he had been married between two and three years to the object of his warmest affections; and everything seemed to promise that at last he had found his right home, and would select it as his permanent abode. But nothing short of perfection as a sculptor would satisfy him, and this could not be effected without the instructions that could only be obtained by travel. He accordingly commenced his professional pilgrimage in October, 1835, and after visiting Dublin and London, he arrived on the following month in Paris. After studying the masterpieces contained in the Louvre, Fillans returned after an absence of only three months, the shortness of his tour being occasioned by scanty funds and the exigencies of a growing family. He now resolved to settle in London as the most congenial home for an artist, and best mart for his productions, and in the capital he accordingly established his residence, first in South Bank, Regent's Park, and afterwards in Baker Street, Portman Square. To bring himself into notice in the wide world of London, it was necessary that his claims should be publicly exhibited, and accordingly he had no fewer than seven busts in marble in the exhibition of the Royal Academy in Trafalgar Square. One of these was a likeness of his friend Allan Cunningham, which not only excited general attention, but obtained the approbation of Chantrey himself. Still, however, his principal orders came from Scotland, among the chief of which was a bust of Mr. Hastie, M.P. for Paisley; and the model of a jug illustrative of the tale of *Tam O'Shanter*, in the style of Cellini. Other commissions succeeded so numerous that his life was spent alternately in London and Scotland, greatly to the interruption of his professional studies, although such calls were but the consequence of his acknowledged excellence. He naturally exulted, however, in these warm tokens of his increasing celebrity, while his friends, who triumphed in his success, exclaimed, "You have now the ball at your foot; keep it rolling!" A bust of Richard Oswald, Esq., of Auchincruive, which he was commissioned to execute, occasioned, in 1841, his journey to Florence, where that gentleman resided. It was a delightful tour; it was also a profitable one in an artistic point of view, as it afforded him ample leisure to study the rich collections of art in the city of Florence. When the bust was finished and brought home, his constituents, the Oswald committee, were loud and unanimous in their approbation; the local journals confirmed their suffrage; and when it was placed in the Assembly Rooms

of Ayr, it was universally acknowledged, that as a work of art nothing equal to it had ever been seen in that city.

Having been thus far so successful, Fillans did not relapse into idleness, and allow the ball at his foot to remain at rest; so that the various commissions which he was engaged to execute kept him in almost perpetual transition between England and Scotland. Of the works he accomplished at this time, nothing so highly excited the general applause as his group of statuary entitled "The Blind Teaching the Blind." It was an original and poetical idea, while the style of its execution was as happy as the conception. The following account of it is from one of the journals of the period:—"Mr. Fillans has not only the merit of being the first to depict the blind in this interesting light, but he has done so in a manner which seems to defy any attempt to surpass it. Indeed, we cannot imagine the subject treated differently and so well. The group is exquisitely simple. A young girl, with beautifully rounded features, is sitting upon a low seat with the Scriptures in raised letters open upon her knee, and her fingers resting on the inspired words; while another female, somewhat older and taller, but still young, is kneeling by her side, her head resting affectionately on that of her pupil, and one hand gently touching her heart, as if to impress the lesson upon her with greater earnestness. The former is the principal figure, and concentrates within itself the sentiment of the piece. If it be the highest effort of art to depict, not the mere outward forms of nature, but the invisible essence of mind which surrounds these like a fragrance, Mr. Fillans has been eminently successful. The whole figure of the learner is a visible embodiment of the ideal. The acute sense of touch almost apparent in the action of the hand, the half-parted lips—nay, the very sightless orbs uplifted, not in vain, to heaven, are instinct with awakening thoughts, and indicative of a radiance within, which burns only the more brightly from the daylight being quite shut out. Indeed the darkness which veils her eyes seems but the shadow of the illumined spirit enshrined in the perishable clay; and we can almost fancy, as we gaze upon her sainted and beaming aspect, that her eyes are closed only that she may receive the words of truth through some diviner sense, and, undisturbed by earthly visions, commune in secret with the angels. The draping is simple and appropriate, and the outline and general effect of the grouping is sweet, expressive, and beautiful." To this critique we may add the following incident, as related by the artist's biographer:—"Two of the best-looking inmates of the Blind Asylum were selected by Mr. Fillans to sit for the model. Delicate as beautiful, neither of them seems to have been capable of resisting those scourges of the sensitive and lovely—consumption and small-pox. The one died, and the other cannot now be recognized as one of the originals in this divine group. A friend who accompanied the sculptor to see the bust of Mr. Alston, saw this girl under very interesting circumstances. She was walking with a companion in front of the asylum, when Mr. Fillans asked if the governess was at home. Knowing his voice she sprang towards him, throwing up her arms with an exclamation of joy; but, instantly recollecting herself, stopped short, hung down her head, and answered his question in a subdued and tremulous voice. Nothing could more forcibly illustrate the impression produced on the mind of the blind and desolate girl at the recollection of the kindness and affability of the warm-hearted and generous sculptor, who seemed much affected at the sight of her altered appear-

ance, and the death of her still more beautiful companion."

In consequence of his high reputation, Fillans was now the sculptor generally employed on the busts and statues of eminent Scotsmen designed as public monuments. They are too numerous to particularize, so that we can only mention the monument at Beith to Captain Wilson, who fell in the Kyber Pass, Afghanistan; the statue of Sir James Shaw for Kilmarnock; and the bust of Professor Wilson for the coffee-room of Paisley. Scotland had now become proud of her favourite sculptor; public bodies united in their admiration of his excellence; and two public dinners were given in his honour; one at Paisley, the other at Burns' cottage, Ayrshire, and at both, the laudations heaped upon the artist, however ample, as post-prandial compliments are wont to be, could only have been called forth by an extraordinary amount of merit. Surely, then, he was securing an ample fortune as the natural fruit of such public distinction! But numerous and well-paid though his productions were, he still continued to be comparatively poor—and for this the nature of his occupations will account. Although his home was in London, his commissions for the greater part came from Scotland, so that his constant journeys thither were a serious drawback upon his funds. He was also liberal perhaps to a fault, so that he bestowed not merely his money but also his art in deeds of benevolence, giving statues or groups as contributions to the funds of charitable institutions. To add to his difficulties, an accident while employed upon a scaffold at Glasgow, by which his knee was sprained, laid him aside from work for a considerable period. On his recovery and return to London, he set himself in earnest to model a series of bas-reliefs under the title of "Taming the Wild Horse," and to represent the animal in its principal attitudes, and the mode of its capture as practised in the pampas of Southern America. The study of the horse was new to him; but the citizens of Glasgow were already talking of an equestrian statue to commemorate the queen's visit to their city, and the friends of Fillans were hopeful that he would be commissioned to execute it. Upon this new attempt, therefore, he laboured night and day in his studio in London; and as the apartment was damp, it is believed that there, and at this time, he laid the foundation of his future ill health. When this splendid series of bas-reliefs was finished, his next work was to model the Flying Dutchman, a celebrated race-horse belonging to the Earl of Eglinton. But the equestrian statue for Glasgow was not consigned to his workmanship after all, but to a foreign artist. This and other professional disappointments damped his spirit, while the failure of occupation induced him to break up his costly establishment in London, and take up his permanent abode in Glasgow. He accordingly removed to that city in December, 1851; but the change was made too late. The sprain of his knee and the effects of his damp London studio settled into a confirmed rheumatism, which gradually ascended from his limbs to the neighbourhood of the heart, and he died in Glasgow on the 27th of September, 1852, aged about forty-four years, leaving behind him a widow and eight young children. Among the many proofs of the affection and esteem in which Fillans was held, the following was of too amiable a character to be omitted. Immediately after his funeral a meeting of the friends of the deceased was called, a committee was formed, and such steps were adopted in raising a fund for the relief of the widow and family as placed them above immediate want. And, in the subsequent exhibition of

the West of Scotland Academy of Artists, where numerous productions of the deceased were exhibited, the academicians exerted themselves in their sale, that Mrs. Fillans and her children might reap the benefit.

Fillans might be called an artist in the widest acceptance of the term: his whole heart was pervaded with a love of the beautiful, and his emotions expressed themselves not merely in statuary, but in painting and poetry, in each of which he might have attained distinction had he not been so highly devoted to his first love. It was therefore as a sculptor that his fame will descend to posterity, and of all his productions, those will be most admired where the subject was of his own choosing, and in the handling of which he was allowed to follow the bent of his own genius. Of this his "Blind Teaching the Blind," "Boy and Fawn," colossal statue of Sir James Shaw, and bust of Professor Wilson, not to mention others, are sufficient evidence.

FLEMING, REV. JOHN, D.D., F.R.S.E., professor of natural science, New College, Edinburgh. This eminent naturalist was the son of Mr. Alexander Fleming, a small farmer in Linlithgowshire, and was born at Kirkroads, near Bathgate, in 1785. Like his father, he might have been destined to the occupation of a hard-working peasant, had he not in early life evinced talents that were worthy of a better condition; and this was aided by the wish of his mother, who, above all things, desired that her son John should be trained for the ministry. Accordingly, after his preliminary education was finished, he, at the age of seventeen, became a student at the university of Edinburgh. But the particular direction of his studies had been already fixed, as from his earliest youth he had shown an exclusive predilection for natural science; and before he went to college he was no ordinary proficient in zoology, botany, and geology. In his researches connected with these departments of science he had made several important discoveries, in consequence of which he had hoped to render the same service to his native Linlithgowshire which White had done for Selborne. Although his intention was frustrated by his lot being cast in a different locality, he partly accomplished it by diffusing the result of his explorations in the *Outline of the Flora of Linlithgowshire*, a paper read to the Wernerian Society in 1809, and several other scientific communications.

While Fleming was a student, the university of Edinburgh was distinguished by the eminence of its professors in natural science, and of such an opportunity he so carefully availed himself, that when little more than twenty years old he was already distinguished by the maturity of his attainments. In consequence of this, when he had been licensed as a preacher, he was commissioned by Sir John Sinclair, in 1807, to undertake a survey of the economical mineralogy of the northern isles. This he willingly did, and while employed in the task it unexpectedly procured for him a church living. That of the parish of Bressay having become vacant, and the patron failing within the specified time to exercise his right of presentation, the right devolved, by the ecclesiastical law of Scotland, upon the presbytery of Lerwick; and its members having been won by the rare attainments and agreeable manners of the young preacher and naturalist who resided among them, unanimously elected him minister of the parish. Soon after his ordination, and before he had completed his twenty-third year, Fleming drew up for publication *The Economical Mineralogy of the Orkney and Zetland Islands*, which is thus characterized by his biographer:

"There are evidences in it of great descriptive power, readiness in the application of the nomenclature of the science, correctness of eye, and such a quick appreciation of the economical value of the rocks described, as would not discredit the ablest mineralogist at the present time." This also was but a portion of his scientific writings in his island seclusion of Bressay, as in the same month in which his mineralogical report was published, he communicated to the Wernerian Society a paper *On the Narwal or Sea-unicorn*. At the close of the same year he also sent to the Wernerian Society several papers, entitled *Contributions to the British Fauna*.

It was fortunate for Fleming as well as for science that he was not long doomed to waste his energies among the listless solitudes of Shetland. In 1810 he was transferred to the parish of Flisk, Fifeshire, where, amidst a wide field for scientific investigation, and numerous associates in such pursuits, he had for his next neighbour Dr. Chalmers, who at that time was minister of the adjacent parish of Kilmany. In Fifeshire Mr. Fleming prosecuted his favourite studies with renewed ardour, and a reputation always increasing; and while faithfully discharging his clerical duties, his eye was continually on the watch for such productions as might enlarge the boundaries of natural science, or throw additional light upon former discoveries. On this account his communications were frequent both in letters to his scientific friends and in papers to the Wernerian Society. In these communications also he occasionally gives scope to that dry sarcastic spirit which had been one of his characteristics from boyhood, and which the theories of the day would not allow to slumber. But this causticity was especially reserved for those theorists who did not trouble themselves about facts, or who concluded from insufficient data. To him the book of nature was a sacred gospel, and woe be to the heretic who misinterpreted or perverted it! While he thus intently prosecuted his investigations in chemistry and mineralogy, in geology, botany, and zoology, he was so fortunate as to find a fit helpmate in Miss Melville Christie, second daughter of Andrew Christie, Esq., banker, Cupar, whom he married in March, 1813, and who entered into his pursuits with a zeal almost equal to his own. Having also artistic skill in a very high degree, she was able to assist him with her pencil, and the plates of his *Philosophy of Zoology* were taken from drawings which she had executed for the purpose. While such a blessing was added both to the comforts of his fireside and the requirements of his study, the honours which his philosophical achievements had merited were not withheld. He was already a member of the Antiquarian Society; in 1813 the university of St. Andrews conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity; and in January, 1814, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Although minister of Flisk, the stipend was not more than £150 per annum, and Dr. Fleming, if he could have found a favourable opportunity, was willing to make the study of science the sole business of his life, instead of a divided occupation. An opportunity for this change seemed to occur in 1815 by the establishment of the Cork Institution, and its advertisement for a lecturer in natural history, which was inserted in the Edinburgh newspapers. He hoped also that in addition to the salary of £100 per annum which was attached to the lectureship, he might have private classes, the fees of which might more than remunerate him for the sacrifice of his parish stipend. On second thoughts, however, the abandonment of such a certainty as Flisk appeared so hazardous, that he resolved to proceed without committing himself, and

with this view offered to the Cork Institution to deliver one course of lectures by way of experimental trial. He accordingly repaired to Ireland in the spring of 1816, and delivered eighteen lectures on botany, his pulpit of Flisk during his absence being supplied by his brethren of the presbytery. Finding, however, no adequate inducement to accept the lectureship, he, greatly to the satisfaction of his friends, returned to his clerical charge in Fifehire. After his return from Ireland he published an outline entitled *Observations on the Mineralogy of the Neighbourhood of Cork*, and soon after read a paper to the Royal Society of *Observations on the Function of the Fresh Water of Rivers and the Salt Water of the Sea*. At this time the increasing expense of living, and the smallness of his income, made it impossible for him to further his studies by the resources of a library and costly apparatus, or even the aids of travelling. All was to be accomplished by his own personal observation, and within the limited sphere of his own district. Writing to a friend he says, "It is my intention to collect facts patiently, to read nature more than books, and trust to Providence more than to politicians." In 1819 Dr. Fleming wrote the article "Ichthyology" for the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, by which his scientific reputation was considerably increased. In producing this elaborate article, its author neglected no opportunity of perfecting his knowledge on the subject, having consulted the writings of twenty-four authors, and examined eighteen systems for the purpose.

Having finished the article on ichthyology, Dr. Fleming resumed his studies, which were directed to the construction of his great work, *The Philosophy of Zoology*. In this way the year 1820 was a busy period, as he communicated several zoological articles to the Wernerian Society, the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, the *Edinburgh Review*, and the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*. For the last-mentioned work he wrote two elaborate articles on *Insecta* and *Helminthology*. The importance of these patient researches, devoted to such insignificant creatures as insects and worms, he thus vindicated, in treating of the despised worm:—"Dew-worms, though in appearance a small and despicable link in the chain of nature, yet, if lost, might make a lamentable chasm. For, to say nothing of half the birds and some quadrupeds which are almost entirely supported by them, worms seem to be the great promoters of vegetation (which would proceed but ill without them), by boring, perforating, and loosening the soil, and rendering it pervious to rains and the fibres of plants; by drawing straws and stalks of leaves and twigs into it; and, most of all, by throwing up such infinite numbers of lumps called worm-casts, which form a fine manure for grain and grass. Worms probably provide new soil for hills and slopes when the rain washes the earth away; and they affect slopes, probably to avoid being flooded." In this philosophic way he broke ground upon a subject which at that time was comparatively new and little understood, but which has now become so greatly amplified and improved. After communicating papers to the Wernerian Society on "Dew-like Drops on Leaves of Corn," "The Water-rail," "Sertularia," "New Species of Vorticella," &c.; to the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* articles on "The Arctic and Skua Gulls," "Sertularia Gelatinosa," "Changes of Colour in the Feathers of Birds," &c., when these exertions made relaxation and change desirable, Dr. Fleming accompanied Robert Stevenson, his friend, the superintendent of Northern Lighthouses in one of his periodical cruises along the western coast in the government lighthouse yacht, and on arriving at Campbeltown the distinguished pair were compli-

mented by the magistrates with the freedom of the town. But in this otherwise delightful trip we find the doctor sighing for the want of a dredge on board, with which he might have fished up the zoophytes of the western sea, and congratulating himself that he had found an *Asterias niger* new to Britain, and a *Terebratula* different from that of Zetland.

On returning from his cruise among the northern lighthouses, Dr. Fleming resumed his clerical and philosophical labours with fresh vigour, and during that and the following year wrote three papers, entitled "Gleanings of Natural History during a Voyage in 1821," for the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*; and a notice of a submarine forest in the Firth of Tay, for the Royal Society. But it was in 1823 that Dr. Fleming's great work, *The Philosophy of Zoology*, appeared. It was upon this that he had been employed for years, and in which the most important of his discoveries and observations were contained. Its reception by the scientific world was gratifying in the highest degree. Baron Cuvier wrote to its author eulogizing its merits; it was translated into Italian by Zendrini, the accomplished professor of mineralogy and zoology at Pavia; and Dr. Turton, the celebrated conchologist, in writing to Dr. Fleming, thus expresses himself on his *Philosophy of Zoology*: "Thirty years and more have I been an anxious inquirer into the progress of natural science, and can safely say that, except from the works of Linné, I have never been so fully gratified. It is just what this department of science wanted: a brief but sufficiently comprehensive display of this attractive department of human knowledge. Lamarck is too diffuse; Stewart is too confined. Your work ranks you not only among the *scriptores feliciores*, but among the *fundatores*." Fleming was now indeed regarded by many competent judges as the first naturalist of the age. In the midst of all this well-merited laudation, instead of reposing under the shade of his own laurels, he was still busy, and still prosecuting his inquiries into the many departments of his beloved sciences; and soon after the publication of his great work, he transmitted several papers to Professor Jameson's philosophical journal. Among these were "The Influence of Society in the Distribution of British Animals," "Remarks on Modern Strata," and "The Geological Deluge, as interpreted by Baron Cuvier and Professor Buckland, inconsistent with the Testimony of Moses and the Phenomena of Nature."

The next separate work of Dr. Fleming, after *The Philosophy of Zoology*, was *The British Animals*, published in 1828. It was a subject upon which he had cogitated from his boyhood, and in his matured age the work was written as a handbook for students, to whom such a help was still wanting. "To this task," writes his biographer, "he had brought rare attainments in the knowledge of the literature of the sciences, and of the habits and habitats of the animals described, as well as of extinct species. It is not saying too much to aver that few, if any, recent British systematic naturalists have not been obliged to it. This is evident from the references to it in almost every monograph in different departments of zoology and palæontology. The palæontological part of the volume was a new feature in a work of this kind. . . . It is in every sense a *history* of British animals; and the strong antiquarian tastes which characterized its author enabled him to bring illustrations from many remote sources." The work was welcomed by the most eminent naturalists of the day. It is true, indeed, that in the progress of natural science many additions have been made to the species there mentioned, and such modifications been effected in systems of classification, that Fleming's work is

now nearly useless to mere beginners in the study; but to those who took from it their early lessons, and who have used it as a manual and book of reference, it is still invaluable.

In 1829 Dr. Fleming wrote a paper for the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* on "The Insufficiency of the Evidence of the Supposed Change of Climate of the Arctic Regions;" and in proof of his position he had referred, among other instances, to ruminating animals. "Observation," he said, "had discovered many animals with cloven hoofs which ruminate; but in such circumstances would it be safe to infer that all cloven-hoofed animals ruminate?" "Conceive ourselves," he added, "contemplating the footmarks of a sheep and sow. Under the guidance of Cuvier's declarations we would conclude that both ruminated—an inference true in the one case, and false in the other." This attack upon a favourite theory of the day excited the indignation of the Rev. W. Conybeare, author of the *Geology of England and Wales*, and a keen controversy between the reverend philosophers was the result, conducted with a severity of language at which the laity might well have been astonished. The debate at last was narrowed to such limits, that it mainly rested upon what Fleming had alleged concerning the sow; and from this circumstance it came to be termed the "pig's-foot controversy." Mr. Conybeare, who lived in the country, and, like other country parsons, kept porkers, thought he had triumphantly settled the question by the following declaration: "Now, my pigs are not bisulcous, but wear four distinct toes on their feet, although the middle ones, being most elongated, and armed with large hoofs, certainly produce an external resemblance to cloven-footed animals, which has occasioned their being classed in the Levitical law (which purports not to be a philosophical arrangement) as dividing the hoof, though chewing not the cud. The impression of their feet in walking may, if carefully examined, as Cuvier says, be distinguished from the genuine bisulca." Here was a question for the Scottish naturalists to settle. Are Scottish pigs bisulcous, or actually four-toed? The facts might be ascertained by watching their footsteps; but these sages had not been wont so to study pigs' feet. In this new dilemma the Wernerians of Edinburgh assembled, but being unable to decide, they referred the matter to a committee, who were to experiment, and report to the next meeting. The committee reported accordingly, and among other things stated, "That with some difficulty they caused the pigs to walk across a board spread over with soft clay—that the impressions were in some places bisulcated—that in others, besides the bisulcous marks, there were those of two posterior toes—that owing to the unruly nature of the animals they could not make them walk along the board when placed as an inclined plane, and that they had to place it horizontally," &c. It was a strange and humbling accident that had reduced the settlement of such an important theory to a question of petticoats. The inquirers awoke from their philosophical reverie—roused, no doubt, by the laughter that surrounded them—while Dr. Fleming, leaving them to settle the question as they might, proceeded to the more serious branches of the argument.

Notwithstanding his many discoveries in natural science, and the distinction they had acquired not only for himself but his country, Dr. Fleming still remained in the obscure parish of Flisk. In writing of this to his friend, Mr. Neil, he says, "But I have no choice. I have been cast by Providence in a secluded situation, with a stinted income, and exposed to the malevolence of those who fancied that

I might interfere with their interests. In this way the best of my life has been lost to the public, but the accompanying discipline has not, I hope, been lost upon myself." Even the results of his geological researches, which he honestly and fearlessly announced, had subjected him to suspicions of being unsound in the faith; and because he demurred at the Mosaic account of the creation, as interpreted by the old-world divines, he was suspected of the wish to remove the foundation-stone of the whole structure of revelation. Alluding to this in the same letter, he says, "If you mean to say that I am *thought* heterodox, I can only reply that it is not intentional if I be so; and I have reason to believe, *aye, good reason*, that I am not thought so by those who have the best opportunities of judging." It was no wonder that he was desirous of change, or that the desire became so strong that sometimes he thought of emigrating to some of our colonies. The prospect of removal to a more eligible locality at length occurred by a vacancy in the parish church of Auchtermuchty, and 400 of the parishioners—every member of the church except *one*—signed a petition for his appointment as their minister. Although the patron did not assent to their desire, Fleming was gratified at what he justly termed "a unanimous call from the parish—the most complete even a worshipper of popularity could desire." It was not long, however, until his wishes for a removal from Flisk were gratified by a presentation to the parish of Clackmannan. This occurred in 1832, and although the removal was from the charge of a parish of less than 300 to one of more than 3000 souls, while much of the zeal and ardour of youth had departed from him, he addressed himself to the duties of his new charge with renewed diligence. Even here, however, he was not long to remain, as a still more congenial field of occupation awaited him. It had long been felt that a university was his proper sphere; and in 1834 a vacancy occurred in the natural philosophy chair of King's College, Aberdeen. The *senatus* of the college, who were patrons of the charge, offered it to Dr. Fleming, and by him it was gratefully accepted.

Occupying so congenial a position, Dr. Fleming entered heartily into its duties, and while instructing his class he continued those studies by which natural science might be improved, and new discoveries made in it. In this manner he quietly continued his course from year to year, and although the life of an Aberdonian professor is seldom abundant in incident, his investigations continued to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge, and add to his reputation. This was manifested in 1840, when Agassiz and Buckland visited him at Aberdeen: on this occasion the celebrated Swiss naturalist acknowledged that Dr. Fleming had the merit of being the first who had discovered the traces of fossil fishes in the old red sandstone. This important scientific discovery, which he had started in earlier life, and prosecuted step by step with increasing conviction, while each fresh conviction had been made the subject of a public announcement, was finally confirmed beyond question by the remains of a fish which he found connected with a bed of coal in Clackmannan. His account of the discovery is interesting, as it shows the patient watchfulness with which he regarded these phenomena of nature, and the caution with which he advanced to a conclusion. Writing of the process and its result to Professor Jameson, he says:—"When this organism was first exhibited to me, I was at no loss to recognize the resemblance between the plates or scales with which it was invested, and which occur in natural juxtaposition, and objects of a similar form

and structure, though detached or unconnected, which twenty years before I had procured in the county of Fife, from a bed covering the marine or mountain limestone on which the coal-formation of that district rests as its fundamental rock. As the consideration of the form, structure, and composition of the organisms from Fife had induced me to consider them as *the scales of a fish*, I was led, under the influence of this opinion, and observing the scales of the Clackmannan petrification occupying both sides of the specimen, to seek for traces of the appearance of the vertebral column, and I soon satisfied myself as to the indications of its existence at both extremities of the mass. In this conviction I despatched the example to Edinburgh, with directions to the lapidary for making a section confirmatory of the views of its nature which I entertained. When in the hands of the lapidary it was inspected by several members of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, whose zeal in the study of organic remains had received a fresh impulse from the numerous specimens which had been found in the limestone of Burdie House. In the opinion of more than one member of the society, labouring at the time under *saurian* or *sauroid* prejudices, my specimen was pronounced to be the fragment of a reptile, not of a fish."

In 1840, the Aberdeen Philosophical Society having been formed, Professor Fleming felt much interest in its progress, and at its first meeting, on the 7th of February, read to it a paper "On a Vein of Animal Origin occurring on a Reef of Rocks called Skerry Vore, on the West Coast of Scotland." In 1841 he communicated to the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* a paper on a more important subject, which was the "Description of a Species of Skate new to the British Fauna." The next subject that occupied the mind of Dr. Fleming was a proposal in which natural science was to be made subservient to the interests of humanity. While residing at Aberdeen he became aware of the yearly loss of life that occurred on the east coast, from the want of safe harbours for vessels overtaken by a storm. In this case he communicated in an extended form, to the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, a paper which he had previously read to the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, "On the Expediency of forming Harbours of Refuge on the East Coast of Scotland, between the Moray Frith and the Frith of Forth." In this communication his geological knowledge was employed both in pointing out the localities which should be chosen and those that were to be avoided, while his patriotism was indignant, and his causticity called forth by the indifference of our government authorities to an evil that had so long invoked the remedy. "That no public inquiry," he said, "should have been instituted respecting the exposed state of the east coast of Scotland, with a view to the formation of harbours of refuge, when it was granted elsewhere, may seem inexplicable, unless we bear in mind that lamentable apathy exhibited by our representatives in parliament whenever Scottish interests of a *general* character are concerned." Attention, although tardily, was directed to the subject, and it is hoped that the appeal will not finally be in vain.

Although Dr. Fleming was so devoted a follower of science, he had never been neglectful of the duties of his clerical office; and this was attested by the affection with which his parishioners of Bressay, Flisk, and Clackmannan had successively regarded him, and the regret they had shown in parting with him. Even when he became a professor, also, he never ceased to remember that he had been a minister, or to be indifferent about the welfare of the church. And now that the church was in difficulties

from which a disruption was inevitable, he was prepared to show, by his sacrifice both of position and emolument, how deeply he had felt upon the question at issue. It is true, indeed, that while the ten years' conflict was going on he had continued his studies as before, and only raised his head at intervals to ascertain the movements of the parties: but it must be remembered that he had neither talent nor liking for controversies of ecclesiastical polity, and he saw that the field was occupied by those who were better fitted for such contests. He therefore continued to find "sermons in stones," and not only sermons, but profound scientific truths, and calmly to announce them to the world while the battle was raging around him. When the time approached he was resolved to join the retiring party, and not abide by his professorship until he should be thrust out of it by those who had won the victory. But must he therefore abandon his beloved pursuits, in which he had hitherto been so successful, and commence life anew? Even this kind of martyrdom he was resolved to endure for what he considered the cause of conscience, and the inalienable rights of the church. Writing to Dr. Chalmers in 1843, soon after the Disruption had occurred, and announcing the likelihood of his departure from King's College, he thus expresses himself in regard to his prospects for the future:—"Now it becomes a measure of necessity to look the evil in the face and provide against it, especially after what has taken place in the House of Lords. . . . I might recommence preaching, and, although an old razor and rather rusty, I might yet get a call and be usefully employed. But while I labour under the conviction that in such a station I could not do *much good* to the Free Church, I have strong bodily and mental objections to such a course, as you may easily conceive, after having been nine years absent from a parish charge." He then suggests the mode in which he might be employed more profitably to the cause and the interests of religion at large. "Were a Free Church College started in Edinburgh, I could, in the chair of *natural history*, bring an amount of influence in that department, in which I formerly published a good deal, likely to be highly useful to the institution. Were a chair of *natural theology* attached to the Divinity Hall, I think I could occupy it with considerable advantage to the Free Church." He then gives his views of a course of this kind extending over three years, of which the first year should comprise the inorganic kingdom; the second biology and phythology, or the structure, functions, and distribution of plants; and the third, zoology. After mentioning the subjects that should be treated under each head of the three years' course, he proceeds to state the advantages that would result from it. "Such a course would qualify for conversing with farmers, miners, fishermen, &c., not merely by a knowledge of facts, but by an acquaintance with the philosophy of the subject, and, viewed in this light, it would give a certain amount of authority, as you are well aware, to a parish minister. But to a missionary what a power would be acquired! . . . I need not expatiate to you on the influence which such a course would exercise on the minds of the students of the Free Church, or the power of pulpit illustration which it would furnish. Multitudes do not see God in his works because they are not qualified to read the book of nature. They have not studied the subject sufficiently in its details to philosophize safely. Now, were the facts sufficiently numerous and varied in their character, the conclusions would be useful and stable. Such a course would supply to the divinity student the place of classes of mineralogy and geo-

logy, phytology and zoology, and constitute a theological commentary on the earth, its contents and inhabitants." After this enthusiastic but not overstrained description of the benefits which such a course would impart to the future teachers of religion, Dr. Fleming disinterestedly adds, "I beg of you, in judging of this scheme of a natural theology chair, to keep me out of view, and to determine respecting it wholly as a new branch of educational preparation exclusively on its own merits." To Dr. Chalmers such an application could not be made in vain. From the taste which had sprung up among the highest intellects for the study of geology and zoology, he saw that the church must keep ahead, or at least abreast, of such a scientific movement, in which the interests of religion were so deeply implicated, and that unless theological students were accomplished in such knowledge, they could no longer be the authoritative teachers and guides of the people. He therefore cordially received the proposal, and entered into it with his wonted enthusiasm. It was submitted to the founders and heads of the contemplated Free Church College, who regarded it with equal partiality. By their desire a new plan was drawn out by Dr. Fleming, in which a single year's course was substituted for one of three, and various modifications introduced into the details, to suit the wants of the age and the difficulties of a newly constructed church. The chair of natural science being established in the Free Church College, there was but one opinion as to the man best fitted to occupy it; and accordingly, in 1845, at the General Assembly of the Free Church held at Inverness, Dr. Fleming was unanimously appointed to the professorship.

After this the life of the venerable professor was spent partly in the duties of his charge, and partly in communicating through the press the discoveries he was still continuing to prosecute; and, in the latter case, his chief medium was the *North British Review*, established chiefly by Free Church influence, and placed under the editorship of Dr. Welsh. Old age, without abating the intellectual energy and activity, or blunting the wit of Dr. Fleming, which always had a keen edge, only mellowed his temper and repressed his pugnacity, so that he was not only at peace with the world at large, but in close friendship with his former rivals and antagonists in science, who now could only wonder why they had quarrelled with him. But to the last his chief intellectual characteristic, and one so necessary for a guide in the investigations of natural science, abode with him—to wit, his love of facts, and contempt for mere hypotheses. What he examined with his own senses, or received from testimony that could not be impeached, he admitted into his system—but theories he despised, and to the theorist he turned a deaf ear let him theorize never so wisely. Among the many incidents illustrative of this scrupulous allegiance to the hard requirements of science with which he startled and sometimes amused his students, was one which occurred while he was professor in the Free Church College. On a scientific excursion with his class he was explaining to them the boulder-clay, and the order of the successive strata that lay beneath it, when a dapper young student, impatient to chip the earth's shell and get to the bottom of things, abruptly asked, "But, doctor, what is at the centre of all?" "I don't know, sir," replied the professor, "for I never was there."

After he had held his professorship in the Free Church College for twelve years, Dr. Fleming died after a short illness; and it was characteristic of his love of science and indefatigable industry, that he was withdrawn while in the midst of active occupa-

tion. He had written his last work, *The Lithology of Edinburgh*, and had passed the whole of it through the press, with the exception of the last half-sheet, when his final brief sickness surprised him. But he scarcely could be said to be surprised who had been living in readiness to die; and he departed in the consciousness that he was removing to a sphere of clearer vision, and a more intimate knowledge of the Creator. His death occurred on the 18th of November, 1857, and his best epitaph is the following notice from the minutes of the Royal Physical Society:—"In his capacity as professor of natural science in the New College, it is believed that Dr. Fleming has been eminently successful in imparting much of his own healthy spirit to the many students who have listened to his prelections, while his own full testimony to the compatibility of a sincere belief in revealed truth with the acceptance of the facts and views of modern science, must have helped not a little to stem the torrent of speculative infidelity which threatened not long ago to break forth in our land."

FLEMING, ROBERT, an eminent divine and theological writer, was the son of the Rev. Robert Fleming, a clergyman, first at Cambuslang, and afterwards at Rotterdam, and author of a well-known work, entitled *The Fulfilling of the Scriptures*. The subject of this memoir received his education partly in his native country, and partly in the universities of Leyden and Utrecht. He first officiated as a clergyman to the English congregation at Leyden, and afterwards he succeeded to the church at Rotterdam, where his father died in 1694. In the year 1698 he removed to London to settle as pastor of the Scottish congregation in Lothbury, not only at the earnest invitation of the people, but by the desire of King William, with whom he had formed an intimacy in Holland. This monarch used frequently to send for Fleming, to consult with him upon Scottish affairs; an intercourse conducted, at the desire of the divine, with the greatest secrecy.

Fleming, though a dissenter from the Church of Scotland as now established, was an admirer of her fundamental and original institution. It was not inconsistent with this profession that he zealously upheld hereditary monarchy as a principle in government. Popery in the church, and tyranny in the state, were what he most detested. In personal character Fleming was a pious, mild, and affable man. In learning he stood very high, being conversant not only with the fathers and councils, and the ecclesiastical and civil historians, but with the oriental languages, the works of the Jewish rabbis, and the whole circle of polite authors, ancient and modern. On account of his amiable manners and extensive knowledge, he was held in great esteem both by the foreign universities and by the most learned persons at home. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and many other eminent dignitaries of the English church, extended their friendship to him. By the dissenting clergymen of the city, though connected with a different national church, he was chosen one of the preacher of the merchants' Tuesday lecture at Salters' Hall. Lord Carmichael, the secretary of state for Scotland, offered him the office of principal of the university of Glasgow, which he declined, from conscientious scruples.

Fleming published various works in divinity; but the most remarkable was a discourse, printed in 1701, on *The Rise and Fall of the Papacy*. Like many other sincerely pious men of that age, he was deeply affected by the position in which the Protestant religion stood in respect of the Papacy, threat-

ened as Great Britain was, by the power of France, and the designs of a Catholic claimant of the throne. Proceeding upon the mysteries of the Apocalypse and other data, he made some calculations of a very striking nature, and which were strangely verified. On the subject of the pouring out of the fourth vial, he says:—"There is ground to hope that, about the beginning of another such century, things may again alter for the better, for I cannot but hope that some new mortification of the chief supporters of antichrist will then happen; and perhaps the French monarchy may begin to be considerably humbled about that time: that, whereas the present French king takes for his motto *Nec pluribus impar*, he may at length, or rather his successors, and the monarchy itself (at least before the year 1794), be forced to acknowledge, that, in respect to neighbouring potentates, he is even *singulis impar*.

"But as to the expiration of this vial," he continues, "I do fear it will not be until the year 1794. The reason of which conjecture is this—that I find the pope got a new foundation of exaltation when Justinian, upon his conquest of Italy, left it in a great measure to the pope's management, being willing to eclipse his own authority to advance that of this haughty prelate. Now, this being in the year 552, this, by the addition of 1260, reaches down to the year 1811, which, according to prophetic account, is the year 1794. And then I do suppose the fourth vial will end, and the fifth commence, by a new mortification of the Papacy, after this vial has lasted 148 years; which indeed is long in comparison with the former vials; but if it be considered in relation to the fourth, fifth, and sixth trumpets, it is but short, seeing the fourth lasted 190 years, the fifth 302, and the sixth 393."

It is important to observe, that Fleming immediately subjoins, that he gave "his speculations of what is future no higher character than guesses." He adds: "therefore, in the fourth and last place, we may justly suppose that the French monarchy, after it has scorched others, will itself consume by doing so; its fire and that which is the fuel that maintains it, resting insensibly till towards the end of this century, as the Spanish monarchy did before, towards the end of the sixteenth age."

In the month of January, 1793, when Louis XVI. was about to suffer on the scaffold, the apparent predictions of Fleming came into notice in the British newspapers. Again, in 1848, the attempt to liberate Italy, and the temporary flight of the pope, attracted attention to Fleming's very remarkable calculation as to the time of the pouring out of the fifth vial. "This judgment," says he, "will probably begin about the year 1794, and expire about the year 1848; . . . for I do suppose that, seeing the pope received the title of supreme bishop no sooner than the year 606, he cannot be supposed to have any vial poured out upon his seat immediately (so as to ruin his authority so signally as this judgment must be supposed to do) until the year 1848, which is the date of the 1260 years in prophetic account, when they are reckoned from the year 606."

The anxiety of this worthy man respecting the fate of Protestantism and the Hanover succession, at length brought on a disease which obstructed his usefulness, and threatened his life. Though he recovered from it, and lived some years, his feeble constitution finally sank under his grief for the loss of some dear friends, the death of some noble patriots, the divisions amongst Protestants, and the confederacy of France and Rome to bind Europe in chains. He died May 24, 1716.

FLETCHER, ANDREW, so much celebrated for his patriotism and political knowledge, was the son of Sir Robert Fletcher of Salton and Innerpeffer, by Catharine Bruce, daughter of Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan, and was born in the year 1653. His descent was truly noble, his father being the fifth in a direct line from Sir Bernard Fletcher of the county of York, and his mother of the noble race of Bruce; the patriarch of the family of Clackmannan having been the third son of Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annandale, grandfather of Robert de Bruce, King of Scots. The subject of this memoir had the misfortune to lose his father in early youth; but he was, by that parent, on his death-bed, consigned to the care of Gilbert Burnet, then minister of Salton, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who carefully instructed him in literature and religion, as well as in the principles of free government, of which Fletcher became afterwards such an eminent advocate. After completing his course of education under his excellent preceptor, he went upon his travels, and spent several years in surveying the manners and examining the institutions of the principal continental states. His first appearance as a public character was in the parliament held by James, Duke of York, as royal commissioner in the year 1681. In this parliament Fletcher sat as commissioner for the shire of East Lothian, and manifested the most determined opposition to the arbitrary and tyrannical measures of the court. In a short time he found it necessary to withdraw himself, first into England, to consult with his reverend preceptor, Dr. Burnet, and afterwards, by his advice, to Holland. For his opposition to the test, and to the general spirit of the government, he was, not long after, summoned to appear before the lords of his majesty's privy-council at Edinburgh. Of the spirit of this court, the most abominable that has disgraced the annals of Great Britain, Fletcher was too well aware to put himself in its power; and for his non-appearance he was outlawed and his estate confiscated. Holland was at this time the resort of many of the best men of both kingdoms who had been obliged to expatriate themselves to escape the fury of an infatuated government, and with these Fletcher formed the closest intimacy. In the year 1683 he accompanied Baillie of Jerviswood to England, in order to concert measures with the friends of liberty there, and was admitted into the secrets of Lord Russell's council of six. This assembly consisted of the Duke of Monmouth, the Lords Russell, Essex, and Howard, Algernon Sydney, and John Hampden, grandson to the immortal patriot of that name. Tyranny was, however, at this time triumphant. Monmouth was obliged to abscond; Russell was apprehended, tried, and executed, principally through the evidence of his associate, the unprincipled Lord Howard. Essex was imprisoned, and either cut his own throat, or had it cut by assassins—history has never determined which. Sydney was executed, and Howard subjected to a fine of £40,000 sterling. Many other persons of inferior note were executed for this plot. Jerviswood fell into the hands of the Scottish administration, and was most illegally and iniquitously put to death. Fletcher too was eagerly sought after, and, had he been apprehended, would certainly have shared the same fate. He, however, escaped again to the Continent, where he devoted his time to the study of public law, and for some time seems to have had little correspondence with his native country.

In the beginning of the year 1685, when James VII. acceded to the throne of Britain, Fletcher came to the Hague, where were assembled Monmouth,

Argyle, Melville, Polworth, Torwoodlie, Mr. James Stuart, Lord Stair, and many other gentlemen, both Scottish and English, when the unfortunate expeditions of Argyle and Monmouth were concerted. It does not appear, however, that Fletcher was a leader among these gentlemen. His temper was of the most stern and unaccommodating character, and he was bent upon setting up a commonwealth in Scotland, or at least a monarchy so limited as to bear very little resemblance to a kingdom. He had drunk deep of the spirit of ancient Greece, with which the greater part of his associates, patriots though they were, had no great acquaintance; and he had a consciousness of his own superiority that could not go well down with those feudal chieftains who supposed that their birth alone entitled them to precedence in council, as well as to command in the field. His own country was certainly dearer to him than any other, and in it he was likely to put forth his energies with the greatest effect; yet from his dissatisfaction with their plans of operation, he did not embark with his countrymen but with the Duke of Monmouth, in whom, if successful, he expected less obstruction to his republican views. Fletcher was certainly at the outset warmly attached to Monmouth's scheme of landing in England, though he subsequently wished it to be laid aside; and he afterwards told Burnet that Monmouth, though a weak young man, was sensible of the imprudence of his adventure, but that he was pushed on to it against his own sense and reason, and was piqued upon the point of honour in hazarding his person with his friends. He accordingly landed at Lynn, in Dorsetshire, on the 11th of June, 1685, with about 100 followers, of whom the subject of this memoir was one of the most distinguished. Crowds of people soon flocked to join the standard of Monmouth, and had he been qualified for such an enterprise as that he had now undertaken the Revolution of 1688 might perhaps have been anticipated. He, however, possessed no such qualifications, nor did those on whom he had principally depended. Lord Gray, to whom he had given the command of the horse, was sent out with a small party to disperse a detachment of militia that had been assembled to oppose him. The militia retreated before the troops of Monmouth, who stood firm; but Gray their general fled, carrying back to his camp the news of a defeat, which was in a short time contradicted by the return of the troops in good order. Monmouth had intended to join Fletcher along with Gray in the command of his cavalry, and the Scottish patriot certainly would not have fled, so long as one man stood by him; but unfortunately, at the very time when Gray was out on the service in which he so completely disgraced his character, Fletcher was sent out in another direction, in which he was scarcely less unfortunate, having, in a personal quarrel about a horse which he had too hastily laid hold of for his own use, killed the mayor of Lynn, who had newly come in to join the insurgent army, in consequence of which he was under the necessity of leaving the camp immediately. The melancholy fate of Monmouth is generally known.

Though there cannot be a doubt that the shooting of the mayor of Lynn was the real cause of Fletcher's abandoning the enterprise so early, he himself never admitted it. He had joined, he said, the Duke of Monmouth on the footing of his manifestations, which promised to provide for the permanent security of civil liberty and the Protestant religion, by the calling of a general congress of delegates from the people at large, to form a free constitution of government, in which no claim to the throne was to be ad-

mitted, but with the free choice of the representatives of the people. From the proclaiming of Monmouth king, which was done at Taunton, he saw, he said, that he had been deceived, and resolved to proceed no further, every step from that moment being treason against the just rights of the nation, and deep treachery on the part of Monmouth. At any rate, finding that he could be no longer useful, he left Taunton, and embarked aboard a vessel for Spain, where he no sooner arrived, than he was thrown into prison, and, on the application of the British ambassador, was ordered to be delivered up and transmitted to London in a Spanish ship fitted up for that purpose. In this hopeless situation, looking one morning through the bars of his dungeon, he was accosted by a person who made signs that he wished to speak with him. Looking around him Fletcher perceived an open door, at which he was met by his deliverer, with whom he passed unmolested through three different military guards, all of whom seemed to be fast asleep, and without being permitted to return thanks to his guide, made good his escape, with the assistance of one who evidently had been sent for the express purpose, but of whom he never obtained the smallest information. Travelling in disguise, he proceeded through Spain, and considering himself out of danger, made a leisurely pilgrimage through the country, amusing himself in the libraries of the convents, where he had the good fortune to find many rare and curious books, some of which he was enabled to purchase and bring along with him, to the enriching of the excellent library he had already formed at his seat of Salton, in East Lothian. In the course of his peregrinations he made several very narrow escapes, among which the following is remarkable, as having apparently furnished the hint for a similar incident in a well-known fiction. He was proceeding to a town where he intended to have passed the night; but in the skirts of a wood, a few miles from thence, upon entering a road to the right, he was warned by a woman of respectable appearance to take the left-hand road, as there would be danger in the other direction. Upon his arrival he found the citizens alarmed by the news of a robbery and murder, which had taken place on the road against which he had been cautioned, and in which he would have certainly been implicated, through an absurd Spanish law, even although not seen to commit any crime. After leaving Spain he proceeded into Hungary, where he entered as a volunteer into the army, and distinguished himself by his gallantry and military talents. From this distant scene of activity, however, he was soon recalled by the efforts that at length were making to break the yoke of tyranny and the staff of the oppressor that had so long lain heavy on the kingdom of Britain. Coming to the Hague he found there his old friends, Stair, Melville, Polworth, Cardross, Stuart of Coltness, Stuart of Goodtrees, Dr. Burnet, and Mr. Cunningham, who still thought his principles high and extravagant, though they associated with him, and were happy to have the influence of his name and the weight of his talents to aid them on so momentous an occasion. Though not permitted to be a leader in the great work of the Revolution—for which, indeed, his principles, which were so different from those of the men who effected it, disqualified him—he came home in the train of his countrymen, who by that great event were restored to their country and to their rightful possessions; and, according to the statement of the Earl of Buchan,¹ made a noble appearance in the convention

¹ *Life of Fletcher of Salton.*

which met in Scotland after the Revolution for settling the new government. Lockhart of Carnwath, who was no friend to the new government, nor of the principles upon which it was founded, takes no notice of this portion of the life of Fletcher, though he is copious upon his speeches, and indeed every part of his conduct, when he afterwards became a violent oppositionist.

In the year 1692, when every effort to bring about a counter revolution was made, Fletcher, though strongly, and perhaps justly, disgusted with King William, renouncing every selfish principle, and anxious to promote the welfare of the country, exerted himself to the utmost to preserve what had been already attained in the way of a free government, though it came far short of what he wished, and what he fondly, too fondly, hoped the nation had been ripe to bear. In all that regarded the public welfare he was indeed indefatigable, and that without any appearance of interested motives. He was the first friend and patron of that extraordinary man William Paterson, to whom the honour of the formation of the Bank of England ought, in justice, to be ascribed, and who projected the Darien Company, the most splendid idea of colonization that was ever attempted to be put in practice. "Paterson," says Sir John Dalrymple, "on his return to London, formed a friendship with Mr. Fletcher of Salton, whose mind was inflamed with the love of public good, and all of whose ideas to procure it had a sublimity in them. Fletcher disliked England, merely because he loved Scotland to excess, and therefore the report common in Scotland is probably true, that he was the person who persuaded Paterson to trust the fate of his project to his own countrymen alone, and to let them have the sole benefit, glory, and danger in it, for in its danger Fletcher deemed some of its glory to consist. Although Fletcher had nothing to hope for, and nothing to fear, because he had a good estate and no children, and though he was of the country party, yet, in all his schemes for the public good, he was in use to go as readily to the king's ministers as to his own friends, being indifferent who had the honour of doing good, provided it was done. His house of Salton, in East Lothian, was near to that of the Marquis of Tweeddale, then minister for Scotland, and they were often together. Fletcher brought Paterson down to Scotland with him, presented him to the marquis, and then, with that power which a vehement spirit always possesses over a diffident one, persuaded the statesman, by arguments of public good, and of the honour that would redound to his administration, to adopt the project. Lord Stair and Mr. Johnston, the two secretaries of state, patronized those abilities in Paterson which they possessed in themselves, and the lord-advocate, Sir James Stewart, the same man who had adjusted the Prince of Orange's declaration at the Revolution, and whose son was married to a daughter of Lord Stair, went naturally along with his connections." From the above it appears that Fletcher, next to the projector Paterson, who was, like himself, an ardent lover of liberty, had the principal hand in forwarding the colonization of Darien, and to his ardent and expansive mind we have no doubt that the plan owed some, at least, of its excellencies, and also perhaps the greatest of its defects. "From this period," remarks Lord Buchan, "till the meeting of the union parliament, Fletcher was uniform and indefatigable in his parliamentary conduct, continually attentive to the rights of the people, and jealous, as every friend of his country ought to be, of their invasion by the king and his ministers; for it is as much of the nature of kings

and ministers to invade and destroy the rights of the people, as it is of foxes and weasels to rifle a poultry-yard, and destroy the poultry. All of them, therefore," continues his lordship, "ought to be muzzled." Among other things that Fletcher judged necessary for the preservation of public liberty, was that of national militia. In a discourse upon this subject he says, "A good and effective militia is of such importance to a nation, that it is the chief part of the constitution of any free government. For though, as to other things, the constitution be never so slight, a good militia will always preserve the public liberty; but in the best constitution that ever was, as to all other parts of government, if the militia be not upon a right footing, the liberty of that people must perish."

Scotland, ever since the union of crowns, had been stripped of all her importance in a national point of view, and the great object at this time was to exclude English influence from her councils, and to restore her to her original state of independence—a thing which could never be accomplished so long as the King of Scotland was the King of England. James VI., when he succeeded to the English crown, wiser than any of his statesmen, saw this difficulty, and proposed to obviate it by the only possible means, a union of the two kingdoms; but, owing to the inveterate prejudices of so many ages, neither of the kingdoms could at that time be brought to submit to the judicious proposal. Fletcher and his compatriots saw what had been the miserable evils, but they saw not the proper remedy; hence they pursued a plan that, but for the superior wisdom of the English, would have separated the crowns, brought on hostilities, and the entire subjection of the country by force of arms. In all the measures which had for their object the annihilating of English influence, Fletcher had the principal hand, and there were some of them of singular boldness. In case of the crowns of the two kingdoms continuing to be worn by one person, the following, after pointing out in strong terms the evils that had accrued to Scotland from this unfortunate association, were the limitations proposed by Fletcher:—"1st, That elections shall be made at every Michaelmas head court, for a new parliament every year, to sit the 1st of November next following, and adjourn themselves from time to time till next Michaelmas—that they choose their own president—and that everything shall be determined by balloting, in place of voting. 2d, That so many lesser barons shall be added to the parliament, as there have been noblemen created since the last augmentation of the number of the barons; and that in all time coming, for every nobleman that shall be created, there shall be a baron added to the parliament. 3d, That no man have a vote in parliament but a nobleman or elected members. 4th, That the kings shall give the sanction to all laws offered by the estates, and that the president of the parliament be empowered by his majesty to give the sanction in his absence, and have ten pounds sterling a day of salary. 5th, That a committee of one-and-thirty members, of which nine to be a quorum, chosen out of their own number by every parliament, shall, during the intervals of parliament, under the king, have the administration of the government, be his council, and accountable to the next parliament, with power on extraordinary occasions to call the parliament together, and that, in said council, all things be determined by balloting in place of voting. 6th, That the king, without consent of parliament, shall not have the power of making peace and war, or that of concluding any treaty with any other state or potentate. 7th, That

all places and offices, both civil and military, and all pensions, formerly conferred by our kings, shall ever after be given by parliament. 8th, That no regiment or company of horse, foot, or dragoons, be kept on foot in peace or war but by consent of parliament. 9th, That all the fencible men of the nation betwixt sixty and sixteen, be with all diligence possible armed with bayonets and firelocks all of a calibre, and continue always provided in such arms, with ammunition suitable. 10th, That no general indemnity nor pardon for any transgression against the public shall be valid without consent of parliament. 11th, That the fifteen senators of the college of justice shall be incapable of being members of parliament, or of any other office or pension, but the salary that belongs to their place to be increased as the parliament shall think fit; that the office of president shall be in three of their number, to be named by parliament; and that there be no extraordinary lords. And also, that the lords of the justice court shall be distinct from that of the session, and under the same restrictions. 12th, That if any king break in upon any of these conditions of government, he shall, by the estates, be declared to have forfeited the crown." The above limitations did not pass the house, though they met with very general support; yet, something little short of them was really passed, and received the royal assent. The so much applauded Act of Security made many provisions respecting the mode of proceeding in parliament in case of the queen's death, with the conditions under which the successor to the crown of England was to be allowed to succeed to that of Scotland, which were to be "at least, freedom of navigation, free communication of trade and liberty of the plantations to the kingdom and subjects of Scotland, established by the parliament of England." It also provided, "that the whole Protestant heritors, with all the burghs of the kingdom, should forthwith provide themselves with fire-arms for all the fencible men who were Protestants within their respective bounds; and they were further ordained and appointed to exercise the said fencible men once a month, at least." The same parliament passed an act anent peace and war, which provided, among other things, that after her majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person, at the same time King or Queen of Scotland and England, shall have sole power of making war with any prince, state, or potentate whatsoever, without consent of parliament. A proposal made at this time for settling the succession, as the English parliament had done, in the house of Hanover, was treated with the utmost contempt, some proposing to burn it, and others insisting that the member who proposed it should be sent to the castle; and it was at last thrown out by a majority of fifty-seven voices. Another limitation proposed by Fletcher was, that all places, offices, and pensions, which had been formerly given by our king, should after her majesty and heirs of her body, be conferred only by parliament so long as the crowns remained united. "Without this limitation," he continues, "our poverty and subjection to the court of England will every day increase, and the question we have now before us is, whether we will be free men, or slaves for ever? whether we will continue to defend or break the yoke of our independence? and whether we will choose to live poor and miserable, or rich, free, and happy? Let no man think to object that this limitation takes away the whole power of the prince; for the same condition of government is found in one of the most absolute monarchies of the world, China." Quoting the authority of Sir William Temple for this fact, he continues, "and if, under the greatest absolute monarchy of

the world, in a country where the prince actually resides—if among heathens this be accounted a necessary part of government for the encouragement of virtue, shall it be denied to Christians living under a prince who resides in another nation? Shall it be denied to people who have a right to liberty, and yet are not capable of any, in their present circumstances, without this limitation?" We cannot refrain copying the following sentences on the benefits he anticipated from the measure:—"This limitation will undoubtedly enrich the nation by stopping that perpetual issue of money to England, which has reduced this country to extreme poverty. This limitation does not flatter us with the hopes of riches, by an uncertain project—does not require so much as the condition of our own industry; but by saving great sums to the country, will every year furnish a stock sufficient to carry on a considerable trade, or to establish some useful manufacture at home with the highest probability of success: because our ministers, by this rule of government, would be freed from the influence of English councils, and our trade be entirely in our own hands, and not under the power of the court, as it was in the affair of Darien. If we do not attain this limitation, our attendance at London will continue to drain this nation of all those sums which should be a stock for trade. Besides, by frequenting that court, we not only spend our money, but learn the expensive modes and ways of living of a rich and luxurious nation; we lay out, yearly, great sums in furniture and equipage, to the unspeakable prejudice of the trade and manufactures of our own country. Not that I think it amiss to travel into England, in order to see and learn their industry in trade and husbandry; but at court what can we learn, except a horrid corruption of manners and an expensive way of living, that we may for ever after be both poor and profligate? This limitation will secure to us our freedom and independence. It has been often said in this house, that our princes are captives in England, and, indeed, one would not wonder if, when our interest happens to be different from that of England, our kings, who must be supported by the riches and power of that nation in all their undertakings, should prefer an English interest before that of this country; it is yet less strange that English ministers should advise and procure the advancement of such persons to the ministry of Scotland, as will comply with their measures and the king's orders, and to surmount the difficulties they may meet with from a true Scottish interest, that places and pensions should be bestowed upon parliament men and others. I say, these things are so far from wonder, that they are inevitable in the present state of our affairs; but I hope they likewise show us that we ought not to continue any longer in this condition. Now, this limitation is advantageous to all. The prince will no more be put upon the hardship of deciding between an English and a Scottish interest, or the difficulty of reconciling what he owes to each nation in consequence of his coronation oath. Even English ministers will no longer lie under the temptation of meddling in Scottish affairs, nor the ministers of this kingdom, together with all those who have places and pensions, be any more subject to the worst of all slavery. But if the influences I mentioned before still continue, what will any other limitation avail us? What shall we be the better for our act concerning the power of war and peace, since by the force of an English interest and influence, we cannot fail of being engaged in every war and neglected in every peace? By this limitation our parliament will become the most uncorrupted senate of all Europe. No man will be tempted to vote against the interest of his

country, when his country shall have all the bribes in her own hands—offices, places, and pensions. It will be no longer necessary to lose one half of the customs, that parliament men may be made collectors; we will not desire to exclude the officers of state from sitting in this house, when the country shall have the nomination of them; and our parliament, free from corruption, cannot fail to redress all our grievances. We shall then have no cause to fear a refusal of the royal assent to our acts, for we shall have no evil counsellor nor enemy of his country to advise it. When this condition of government shall take place, the royal assent will be the ornament of the prince, and never be refused to the desires of the people; a general unanimity will be found in this house, in every part of the government, and among all ranks and conditions of men. The distinctions of court and country party shall no more be heard in this nation, nor shall the prince and people any longer have a different interest. Rewards and punishments will be in the hands of those who live among us, and consequently best know the merit of men, by which means virtue will be recompensed and vice discouraged, and the reign and government of the prince will flourish in peace and justice. I should never make an end if I should prosecute all the great advantages of this limitation, which, like a divine influence, turns all to good, as the want of it has hitherto poisoned everything, and brought all to ruin.”

If Fletcher really believed the one half of what he ascribes in this speech to his favourite limitation, he was an enthusiast of no common order. We suspect, however, that his design was in the first place to render the king insignificant, and then to dismiss him altogether, it being one of his favourite maxims, that the trappings of a monarchy and a great aristocracy would patch up a very clever little commonwealth. The high-flying Tories of that day, however, or, in other words, the Jacobites, in the heat of their rage and the bitterness of their disappointment, clung to him as their last hope, supporting even his most deadly attacks upon the royal prerogative, from the desperate pleasure of seeing the kingly office, since they could not preserve it for their own idol, rendered useless, ridiculous, or intolerable to any one else who should enjoy it. By this means there was a seeming consistency in those ebullitions of national independence, and a strength and vigour which they really did not possess, but which alarmed the English ministry; and the union of the kingdoms, which good sense and good feeling ought to have accomplished at least one century earlier, was effected at last as a work of political necessity fully as much as of mercy. In every stage of this important business Fletcher was its most determined opponent, in which he was, as usual, seconded by the whole strength of the Jacobites. Happily, however, through the prudence of the English ministry, the richness of her treasury, and the imbecility of the Duke of Hamilton, the leader of the Jacobites, he was unsuccessful, and retired from public life under the melancholy idea that he had outlived not only his country's glory, but her very existence, having witnessed, as he thought, the last glimmering of hope, and heard the last sounds of freedom that were ever to make glad the hearts of her unfortunate children. He died at London in 1716.

The character of Fletcher has been the subject of almost universal and unlimited panegyric. “He was,” says the Earl of Buchan, “by far the most nervous and correct speaker in the parliament of Scotland, for he drew his style from the pure models of antiquity, and not from the grosser practical ora-

tory of his contemporaries; so that his speeches will bear a comparison with the best speeches of the reign of Queen Anne, the Augustan age of Great Britain.” Lockhart says, “He was always an admirer of both ancient and modern republics, but that he showed a sincere and honest inclination towards the honour and interest of his country. The idea of England's domineering over Scotland was what his generous soul could not endure. The indignities and oppression Scotland lay under galled him to the heart, so that, in his learned and elaborate discourses, he exposed them with undaunted courage and pathetic eloquence. He was blessed with a soul that hated and despised whatever was mean and unbecoming a gentleman, and was so steadfast to what he thought right, that no hazard nor advantage—not the universal empire, nor the gold of America—could tempt him to yield or desert it. And I may affirm that in all his life he never once pursued a measure with the least prospect of anything by end to himself, nor farther than he judged it for the common benefit and advantage of his country. He was master of the English, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages, and well versed in history, the civil law, and all kinds of learning. He was a strict and nice observer of all the points of honour, and had some experience of the art of war, having been some time a volunteer in both the land and sea service. He was in his private conversation affable to his friends (but could not endure to converse with those he thought enemies to their country), and free of all manner of vice. He had a penetrating, clear, and lively apprehension, but so exceedingly wedded to his own opinions, that there were few (and these too must be his beloved friends, and of whom he had a good opinion) he could endure to reason against him, and did for the most part so closely and unalterably adhere to what he advanced, which was frequently very singular, that he'd break with his party before he'd alter the least jot of his scheme and maxims; and therefore it was impossible for any set of men, that did not give up themselves to be absolutely directed by him, to please him, so as to carry him along in all points: and thence it came to pass, that he often in parliament acted a part by himself, though in the main he stuck close to the country party, and was their Cicero. He was no doubt an enemy to all monarchical governments; but I do very well believe, his aversion to the English and the union was so great, that in revenge to them he'd have sided with the royal family. But as that was a subject not fit to be entered on with him, this is only a conjecture from some innuendoes I have heard him make. So far is certain, he liked, commended, and conversed with high-flying Tories more than any other set of men, acknowledging them to be the best countrymen, and of most honour and integrity. To sum up all, he was a learned, gallant, honest, and every other way well accomplished gentleman; and if ever a man proposes to serve and merit well of his country, let him place his courage, zeal, and constancy as a pattern before him, and think himself sufficiently applauded and rewarded by obtaining the character of being like Andrew Fletcher of Salton.”

—Of the general truth of these descriptions we have no doubt; but they are strongly coloured through a national prejudice that was a principal defect in Fletcher's own character. That he was an ardent lover of liberty and of his country his whole life bore witness; but he was of a temper so fiery and ungovernable, and besides so excessively dogmatic, that he was of little service as a coadjutor in carrying on public affairs. His shooting the mayor of Lynn on a trifling dispute, and his collaring Lord

Stair in the parliament house for a word which he thought reflected upon him, showed a mind not sufficiently disciplined for the business of life; and his national partialities clouded his otherwise perspicacious faculties, contracted his views, and rendered his most philosophical speculations, and his most ardent personal exertions, of little utility. Upon the whole, he was a man, we think, rather to be admired than imitated; and, like many other popular characters, owes his reputation to the defects, rather than to the excellencies, of his character.

FLETCHER, ANDREW, a distinguished judge, under the designation of Lord Milton, and for many years *sous ministre* of Scotland, under Archibald Duke of Argyle, was a nephew of the subject of the preceding memoir. His father, Henry Fletcher of Salton, was the immediate younger brother of the patriot, but, distinguished by none of the public spirit of that individual, was only known as a good country gentleman. The genius of Lord Milton appeared to have been derived from his mother, who was a daughter of Sir David Carnegie of Pitarrow, and granddaughter of David Earl of Southesk. During the troubles in which the family were involved, in consequence of their liberal principles, this lady went to Holland, taking with her a weaver and a millwright, both men of genius and enterprise in their respective departments, and by their means she secretly obtained the art of weaving and dressing the fine linen called *Holland*, of which she established the manufacture at Salton. Andrew, the son of this extraordinary woman, was born in 1692, and educated for the bar. He was admitted advocate in 1717, one of the lords of session in 1724, when only thirty-two years of age, and lord justice-clerk, or president of the criminal court, in 1735, which office, on being appointed keeper of the signet in 1743, he relinquished.

The acuteness of Lord Milton's understanding, his judgment and address, and his intimate knowledge of the laws, customs, and temper of Scotland, recommended him early to the notice and confidence of Lord Ilay, afterwards Duke of Argyle, who, under Sir Robert Walpole and subsequent ministers, was intrusted with the chief management of Scottish affairs. As Lord Ilay resided chiefly at the court, he required a confidential agent in Scotland, who might give him all necessary information, and act as his guide in the dispensation of the government patronage. In this capacity Lord Milton served for a considerable number of years; during which his house was, in its way, a kind of court, and himself looked up to as a person little short of a king. It is universally allowed that nothing could exceed the discretion with which his lordship managed his delicate and difficult duties; especially during the civil war of 1745. Even the Jacobites admitted that they owed many obligations to the humanity and good sense of Lord Milton.

In February, 1746, when the Highland army had retired to the north, and the Duke of Cumberland arrived at Edinburgh to put himself at the head of the forces in Scotland, he was indebted to Lord Milton for the advice which induced him to march northward in pursuit; without which proceeding the war would probably have been protracted a considerable time. After the suppression of the insurrection, Milton applied himself with immense zeal to the grand design which he had chiefly at heart—the promotion of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture in his native country; and it would be difficult to estimate exactly the gratitude due to his memory for his exertions towards that noble object. After a

truly useful and meritorious life of seventy-four years, his lordship expired at his house of Brunstane, near Musselburgh, on the 13th of December, 1766.

FORBES, ALEXANDER, Lord Pitsligo, was the only son of Alexander, third Lord Pitsligo, and Lady Sophia Erskine, daughter of John, ninth Earl of Marr. He was born on the 22d of May, 1678, and succeeded his father in his titles and estates in 1691, while yet a minor. He soon after went to France; and during his residence in that country, embraced the opinions of Madame Guion, to whom he had been introduced by Fenelon. On his return to Scotland he took the oaths and his seat in parliament, and commenced his political career as an oppositionist to the court party. He joined the Duke of Athole in opposing the union; but on the extension of the oath of abjuration to Scotland, he withdrew from public business. A Jacobite in principle, he took an active part in the rebellion of 1715; but escaped attainder, though he found it expedient to withdraw for a time to the Continent, after the suppression of that ill-judged attempt. In 1720 he returned to his native country, and devoted himself to the study of literature and the mystical writings of the Quietists, at his castle of Pitsligo, in Aberdeenshire. His age and infirmities, as well as experience, might have prevailed upon him to abide in silence the result of Prince Charles' enterprise in 1745; but, actuated by a sense of duty, he joined that enterprise, and was the means, by his example, of drawing many of the gentlemen of Aberdeenshire into the tide of insurrection; no one thinking he could be wrong in taking the same course with a man of so much prudence and sagacity. Lord Pitsligo arrived at Holyrood House some time after the battle of Prestonpans, and was appointed by Prince Charles to command a troop of horse, chiefly raised out of the Aberdeenshire gentry, and which was called Pitsligo's regiment. He accompanied the army through all its subsequent adventures, and having survived the disastrous affair of Culloden, was attainted by the government, and eagerly sought for by its truculent emissaries. The subsequent life of this unfortunate nobleman was a very extraordinary one, as will appear from the following anecdotes, which we extract from a memoir of his lordship published in connection with his *Thoughts on Man's Condition*, Edinburgh, 1829:—

"After the battle of Culloden, Lord Pitsligo concealed himself for some time in the mountainous district of the country, and a second time experienced the kindly dispositions of the country people, even the lowest, to misfortune. The country had been much exhausted for the supply of the prince's army, and the people who gave him shelter and protection were extremely poor, yet they freely shared their humble and scanty fare with the unknown stranger. This fare was what is called *water-brose*, that is, oatmeal moistened with hot water, on which he occasionally subsisted for some time; and when, on one occasion, he remarked that its taste would be much improved by a little salt, the reply was, 'Ay, man, but sa't's touchy,' meaning it was too expensive an indulgence for them. However, he was not always in such bad quarters; for he was concealed for some days at the house of Newmiln, near Elgin, along with his friends, Mr. Cummine of Pitullie, Mr. Irvine of Drum, and Mr. Mercer of Aberdeen, where Mrs. King, Pitullie's sister, herself made their beds, and waited upon them.

"It was known in London that about the end of April, 1746, he was lurking about the coast of Buchan, as it was supposed, with the view of finding an oppor-



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tunity of making his escape to France; and it required the utmost caution on his part to elude the search that was made for him. To such an extremity was he reduced, that he was actually obliged on one occasion to conceal himself in a hollow place in the earth, under the arch of a small bridge at Craigmaud, upon his own estate, about nine miles up into the country from Fraserburgh, and about two and a half from where New Pitsligo now is, which was scarcely large enough to contain him; and this most uncomfortable place seems to have been selected for his retreat just because there was little chance of detection, as no one could conceive it possible that a human being could be concealed in it. At this time he lay sometimes in the daytime concealed in the mosses near Craigmaud, and was much annoyed by the lapwings flying about the place, lest they should attract notice to the spot, and direct those who were in search of him in their pursuit.

"As yet, the estate of Pitsligo was not taken possession of by government, and Lady Pitsligo continued to reside at the castle. Lord Pitsligo occasionally paid secret visits to it in disguise. The disguise that he assumed was that of a mendicant, and Lady Pitsligo's maid was employed to provide him with two bags to put under his arms, after the fashion of the *Edie Ochiltrees* of those days. He sat beside her while she made them, and she long related with wonder how cheerful he was while thus superintending this work which betokened the ruin of his fortune and the forfeiture of his life.

"When walking out in his disguise one day, he was suddenly overtaken by a party of dragoons scouring the country in pursuit of him. The increased exertion, from his desire to elude them, brought on a fit of asthmatic coughing which completely overpowered him. He could proceed no further, and was obliged to sit down by the road-side, where he calmly waited their approach. The idea suggested by his disguise and infirmity was acted upon, and, in his character of a mendicant, he begged alms of the dragoons who came to apprehend him. His calmness and resignation did not forsake him, no perturbation betrayed him, and one of the dragoons stopped, and, with great kindness of heart, actually bestowed a mite on the venerable old man, condoling with him at the same time on the severity of his cough.

"On another occasion Lord Pitsligo had sought and obtained shelter in a shoemaker's house, and shortly after a party of dragoons were seen approaching. Their errand was not doubtful; and the shoemaker, who had recognized the stranger, was in the greatest trepidation, and advised him to put on one of the workmen's aprons and some more of his clothes, and to sit down on one of the stools and pretend to be mending a shoe. The party came into the shop in the course of their search; and the shoemaker, observing that the soldiers looked as if they thought the hands of this workman were not very like those of a practised son of King Crispin, and fearing that a narrower inspection would betray him, with great presence of mind gave orders to Lord Pitsligo, as if he had been one of his workmen, to go to the door and hold one of the horses, which he did accordingly. His own composure and entire absence of hurry allayed suspicion, and he escaped this danger. He used afterwards jocularly to say, 'he had been at one time a Buchan cobbler.'

"One of the narrowest escapes which he made from discovery, when met in his mendicant's dress by those who were in search of him, was attended with circumstances which made the adventure singularly romantic and interesting. At that time there lived in that district of the country a fool called Sandy An-

nand, a well-known character. The kindly feelings of the peasantry of Scotland to persons of weak intellect are well known, and are strongly marked by the name of 'the innocent,' which is given to them. They are generally harmless creatures, contented with the enjoyment of the sun and air as their highest luxuries, and privileged to the hospitality of every house, so far as their humble wants require. There is often, too, a mixture of shrewdness with their folly, and they are always singularly attached to those who are kind to them. Lord Pitsligo, disguised as usual, had gone into a house where the fool happened to be at the time. He immediately recognized him, and did not restrain his feelings as others did in the same situation, but was busily employed in showing his respect for his lordship in his own peculiar and grotesque manner, expressing his great grief at seeing him in such a fallen state, when a party entered the house to search for him. They asked the fool who was the person that he was lamenting thus? What a moment of intense anxiety both to Lord Pitsligo and the inmates of the house! It was impossible to expect any other answer from the poor weak creature but one which would betray the unfortunate nobleman. Sandy, however, with that shrewdness which men of his intellect often exhibit on the most trying occasions, said, 'He kent him aince a muckle farmer, but his sheep a' dee'd in the '40.' It was looked upon as a special interposition of Providence which put such an answer into the mouth of the fool.

"In March, 1756, and, of course, long after all apprehension of a search had ceased, information having been given to the commanding officer at Fraserburgh that Lord Pitsligo was at that moment in the house of Auchiries, it was acted upon with so much promptness and secrecy, that the search must have proved successful but for a very singular occurrence. Mrs. Sophia Donaldson, a lady who lived much with the family, repeatedly dreamed on that particular night that the house was surrounded by soldiers. Her mind became so haunted with the idea, that she got out of bed, and was walking through the room in hopes of giving a different current to her thoughts before she lay down again, when, day beginning to dawn, she accidentally looked out at the window as she passed it in traversing the room, and was astonished at actually observing the figures of soldiers among some trees near the house. So completely had all idea of a search been by that time laid asleep, that she supposed they had come to steal poultry—Jacobite poultry yards affording a safe object of pillage for the English soldiers in those days. Under this impression Mrs. Sophia was proceeding to rouse the servants, when her sister having awakened, and inquired what was the matter, and being told of soldiers near the house, exclaimed in great alarm that she feared they wanted something more than hens. She begged Mrs. Sophia to look out at a window on the other side of the house, when not only soldiers were seen in that direction, but also an officer giving instructions by signals, and frequently putting his fingers on his lips, as if enjoining silence. There was now no time to be lost in rousing the family; and all the haste that could be made was scarcely sufficient to hurry the venerable man from his bed into a small recess behind the wainscot of an adjoining room, which was concealed by a bed, in which a lady, Miss Gordon of Towie, who was there on a visit, lay before the soldiers obtained admission. A most minute search took place. The room in which Lord Pitsligo was concealed did not escape. Miss Gordon's bed was carefully examined, and she was obliged to suffer the rude scrutiny of one of the party by feeling her chin, to ascertain that it was not a man in a

lady's night-dress. Before the soldiers had finished their examination in this room, the confinement and anxiety increased Lord Pitsligo's asthma so much, and his breathing became so loud, that it cost Miss Gordon, lying in bed, much and violent coughing, which she counterfeited in order to prevent the high breathings behind the wainscot from being heard. It may easily be conceived what agony she would suffer, lest, by overdoing her part, she should increase suspicion and in fact lead to a discovery. The *ruse* was fortunately successful. On the search through the house being given over, Lord Pitsligo was hastily taken from his confined situation, and again placed in bed; and as soon as he was able to speak, his accustomed kindness of heart made him say to his servant, 'James, go and see that these poor fellows get some breakfast, and a drink of warm ale, for this is a cold morning; they are only doing their duty, and cannot bear me any ill will.' When the family were felicitating each other on his escape, he pleasantly observed, 'A poor prize, had they obtained it—an old dying man.'

After this he resided constantly at Auchiries, overlooked, or at least unmolested, by the government, till the 21st of December, 1762, when he breathed his last in peace, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He left behind him a work entitled, *Thoughts concerning Man's Condition and Duties in this Life, and his Hopes in the World to Come*, the production evidently of a calm and highly devotional mind, but nowise remarkable in other respects.

FORBES, DUNCAN, a man whose memory is justly entitled to the veneration of his country, was born at Bunchrew, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, on the 10th of November, 1685. His great-grandfather, Duncan Forbes, was of the family of Lord Forbes, through that of Tolquhoun, and purchased the barony of Culloden from the laird of Mackintosh in 1625. His great-grandmother was Janet Forbes, of the family of Corsindy, also descended from Lord Forbes. But this early patriot was not more distinguished for honourable descent, than for public spirit and nobility of conduct during the struggle for religion and liberty that marked the reign of Charles I., in which he took a decided part against the court; and, being a member of parliament, and lord-provost of Inverness, must have been a partisan of no small consequence. He died in 1654, leaving his estate to his eldest son, John, who inherited his offices as well as his principles. Having acted in concert with the Marquis of Argyle, he was, upon the Restoration, excepted from the act of indemnity, and had a large share of the barbarous inflictions which disgraced the reign of the restored despot. He somehow, however, contrived to accumulate money, and about the year 1670 doubled his landed estate by purchasing the barony of Ferintosh and the estate of Bunchrew. He died a little before the Revolution, leaving, by his wife, Ann Dunbar, a daughter of Dunbar of Hemprigs, in the county of Moray, a large family, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Duncan, who had received a liberal education on the Continent, by which he was eminently qualified for performing a conspicuous part in that most auspicious of modern transactions. He was a member of the convention parliament, a decided Presbyterian, and strongly condemned those temporizing measures which clogged the wheels of government at the time, and in consequence of which many of the national grievances remained afterwards unredressed. He was, of course, highly obnoxious to the Jacobites, who, under Buchan and Cannon, in 1689, ravaged his estates of Culloden and Ferintosh;

destroying, particularly in the latter district, where distillation was even then carried on upon an extensive scale, property to the amount of £54,000 Scots. In consequence of this immense loss, the Scottish parliament granted him a perpetual license to distil, duty free, the whole grain that might be raised in the barony of Ferintosh, a valuable privilege, by which Ferintosh very soon became the most populous and wealthy district in the north of Scotland. He died in 1704, leaving, by his wife, Mary Innes, daughter to the laird of Innes, two sons: John, who succeeded him in his estates; and Duncan, the subject of this memoir; besides several daughters.

Of the early habits or studies of Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord-president, little has been recorded. The military profession is said to have been the object of his first choice, influenced by the example of his uncle John Forbes, who was a lieutenant-colonel in the army. He had also an uncle eminent in the law, Sir David Forbes of Newhall, and, whether influenced by his example or not, we find that he entered upon the study of that science at Edinburgh, in the chambers of Professor Spottiswood, in the year that his father died, 1704. The university of Edinburgh had as yet attained nothing of that celebrity by which it is now distinguished, its teachers being few in number, and by no means remarkable for acquirements; of course, all young Scotsmen of fortune, especially for the study of law, were sent to the Continent. Bourges had long been famous for this species of learning, and at that university Scotsmen had been accustomed to study. Leyden, however, had now eclipsed it, and at that famous seat of learning Duncan Forbes took up his residence in 1705. Here he pursued his studies for two years with the most unremitting diligence; having, besides the science of law, made no inconsiderable progress in the Hebrew and several other oriental languages. He returned to Scotland in 1707, where he continued the study of Scottish law till the summer of 1709, when he was, upon the 26th of July, admitted an advocate, being in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

The closest friendship had all along subsisted between the families of Argyle and Culloden; and the former, being at this time in the zenith of power, displayed its fidelity by bestowing upon Mr. Forbes, as soon as he had taken his place at the bar, the respectable appointment of sheriff of Mid-Lothian. The duke and his brother the Earl of Ilay, from the very outset of his career, trusted him with the management of their Scottish estates, which he is said frankly to have undertaken, though, from professional delicacy, he declined receiving anything in the shape of fee or reward, for services which ought to have brought him some hundreds a year.

Mr. Forbes, from his first appearance at the bar, was distinguished for the depth of his judgment, the strength of his eloquence, and the extent of his practice, which was such as must have precluded him from performing anything like the duties of a mere factor, which the above statement evidently supposes. That he gave his opinion generally, when asked, upon the modes that ought to be adopted for improving the value of his grace's property, and the comfort of his vassals in the Highlands, there can be no doubt; for he continued to do this, not only to the duke, but to his neighbours generally, even after the highest duties of the judge had devolved upon him; and this was probably the utmost extent of his concern with the Argyle estate at any period of his life. That he was in a high degree generous, there cannot be a doubt; but we see no reason for supposing that he was in the habit of employing his legal talents gratuitously. He was but a younger brother,







JOHN B. COLE

1780-1850

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and is said to have lost the greater part of his little patrimony by an unguarded or an unfortunate speculation; yet it is certain that he lived in a splendid and rather expensive manner, the first wits and the highest noblemen of the age finding their enjoyments heightened by his company; and it is equally certain that the fruits of his professional toil were all that he could depend upon for supporting a spirit that breathed nothing but honour, and a state that knew nothing but the most stubborn independence. His business, however, rapidly rose with his rising reputation, and his fortune probably kept pace with his fame, and he very soon added to his domestic felicity, by forming a matrimonial connection with Mary Rose, daughter to the laird of Kilravock, to whom he had been warmly attached almost from her earliest infancy.¹ She was a lady of great beauty, and highly accomplished; but she died not long after their marriage, leaving him an only son, John, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Culloden. The early demise of this lady, for whom Mr. Forbes seems to have had more than an ordinary passion, deeply affected him, and he never again entered into the married state.

Domestic calamity, operating upon a keen sensibility, has often withered minds of great promise, and cut off the fairest prospects of future usefulness. Happily, however, Mr. Forbes did not resign himself to solitude and the indulgence of unavailing sorrow. The circumstances of his family, and of his country, in both of which he felt a deep interest, did not indeed allow him to do so, had he been willing. The violence of party had been very great ever since the Revolution: it had latterly been heightened by the Union, and had reached nearly its acme at this time, when the unexpected death of the queen opened the way for the peaceable accession of the new dynasty.

With a very few exceptions, such as the Grants, the Monroes, and the Rosses, who had been gained over by the Forbeses of Culloden, the Highland clans were engaged to devote their lives and fortunes in behalf of the expatriated house of Stuart; and only waited for an opportunity of asserting the cause of the Pretender. The loyal clans, and gentlemen, and particularly Forbes of Culloden, were of course highly obnoxious to the Jacobite clans; and, for their own preservation, were obliged to be continually on the watch, and frequently saw the brooding of the storm, when others apprehended no danger. This was eminently the case in the year after the accession of the house of Brunswick; and, accordingly, so early as the month of February, we find Monro of Fowlis writing to Culloden:—"I find the Jacobites are verie uppish, both in Edinburgh and in England, so that, if ye go to the parliament, as I hope ye will, you will recommend to some trusty, faithful friend, to take care of your house of Culloden, and leave orders with your people at Ferintosh, to receive directions from me, or from your cousin George (my son), as you are pleased to call him, which you may be sure will be calculate to the support of your interest, in subordination to the public cause;"—and he adds, in a postscript to the same letter,—"The vanity, insolence, arrogance, and madness of the Jacobites is beyond all measure insupportable. I believe they must be let blood. They still have the trick of presuming upon the lenity of a moderate government. It seems God either destines them for destruction, or infatuates others to allow them to be pricks in our sides and thorns in our eyes. I have accounts from

very good hands from Edinburgh, that, to their certain knowledge, saddles were making in that city for dragoons to serve the Pretender, and that all the Popish lords, and very many Popish and Jacobite gentlemen, are assembled there now; so that all friends and loyal subjects to his present majesty are advised to be upon their guard from thence against an invasion or an insurrection, which is suddenly expected, which the Jacobites expect will interrupt the meeting of the parliament." In the month of March, the same year, Culloden, writing to his brother, the subject of this memoir, has the following observation:—"You say you have no news; but we abound with them in this country. The Pretender is expected every moment, and his friends all ready; but since our statesmen take no notice of this, I let it alone, and wish they may not repent it when they cannot help it." Culloden was returned a member of parliament, and went up the following month (April) to London, whence he again writes to his brother as follows:—"As for your Highland neighbours, their trysts and meetings, I know not what to say; I wish we be not too secure: I can assure you the Tories here were never higher in their looks and hopes, which they found upon a speedy invasion. Whatever be in the matter, let things be so ordered, that my house be not surprised."

Had those who were intrusted with the government been equally sharp-sighted, much of the evil that ensued might undoubtedly have been prevented; but they were so intent upon their places, and the pursuit of little, low intrigues, that they were caught by the insurrection, in Scotland at least, as if it had been a clap of thunder in a clear day. John Forbes's direction, however, must have been attended to; for, when his house was surrounded by the insurgents, under Mackenzie of Coul, and Macintosh, with their retainers, his wife refused all accommodation with them, saying, with the spirit of an ancient Roman, "She had received the keys of the house, and the charge of all that was in it, from her husband, and she would deliver them up to no one but himself." In the absence of his brother, Duncan Forbes displayed, along with Hugh Rose of Kilravock, the most indefatigable zeal, and great judgment in the disposal of the men they could command, who were chiefly the retainers of Culloden, Kilravock, Culcairn, and the Grants, and by the assistance of Lord Lovat and the Frasers finally triumphed over the insurgents in that quarter. Nothing, indeed, could excel the spirit displayed by the two brothers of Culloden, the eldest of whom, John, spent on the occasion upwards of £3000 sterling out of his own pocket for the public service; of which, to the disgrace of the British government, he never received in repayment one single farthing.

Though they were ardent for the cause of religion and liberty, and zealous in the hour of danger, yet, when that was over, the two brothers strongly felt the impropriety of tarnishing the triumphs of order and liberality by a violent and vindictive inquisition into the conduct of persons, for whom so many circumstances conspired to plead, if not for mercy, at least for a candid construction of their motives. As a Scotsman and lawyer, Duncan Forbes was averse to the project of carrying the prisoners out of the country to be tried by juries of foreigners, and he wrote to Lord Ilay, when he heard of a design to appoint him lord-advocate, in order to carry on these prosecutions, that he was determined to refuse that employment. He also wrote to his brother in behalf of a contribution for the poor prisoners who had been carried to Carlisle, and were there waiting for trial. "It is certainly Christian," says he, "and by

¹ Her husband is said to have composed, in her honour, the beautiful Scottish song, *Ah, Chloris*.

no means disloyal, to sustain them in their indigent state until they are found guilty. The law has brought them to England to be tried by foreign juries—so far it is well—but no law can hinder a Scotsman to wish that his countrymen, not hitherto condemned, should not be a derision to strangers, or perish for want of necessary defence or sustenance out of their own country." To the forfeitures he was also decidedly hostile, and some of his reasons for this hostility threw a particular light upon the state of Scotland at that period. "There are," he says, "none of the rebels who have not friends among the king's faithful subjects, and it is not easy to guess how far a security of this kind, unnecessarily pushed, may alienate the affections even of these from the government. But in particular, as this relates to Scotland, the difficulty will be insurmountable. I may venture to say, there are not two hundred gentlemen in the whole kingdom who are not very nearly related to some one or other of the rebels. Is it possible that a man can see his daughter, his grandchildren, his nephews, or cousins, reduced to beggary and starving unnecessarily by a government, without thinking very ill of it? and where this is the case of a whole nation, I tremble to think what dissatisfactions it will produce against a settlement so necessary for the happiness of Britain. If all the rebels, with their wives and children and immediate dependants, could be at once rooted out of the earth, the shock would be astonishing; but time would commit it to oblivion, and the danger would be less to the constitution than when thousands of innocents, punished with misery and want for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country sighing out their complaints to Heaven, and drawing at once the compassion and moving the indignation of every human creature." "To satisfy," he adds, "any person that the forfeitures in Scotland will scarce defray the charges of the commission, if the saving clause in favour of the creditors takes place, I offer but two considerations that, upon inquiry, will be found incontestable. First, it is certain, that of all the gentlemen who launched out into the late rebellion, the tenth man was not easy in his circumstances, and if you abate a dozen of gentlemen, the remainder, upon paying their debts, could not produce much money clear; nor was there anything more open to observation, than that the men of estates, however disaffected in their principles, kept themselves within the law, when at the same time men supposed loyal, in hopes of bettering their low fortunes, broke loose. Besides, it is known that the titles by which almost all the estates in Scotland are possessed are diligences upon debts affecting those estates purchased in the proprietors' own name or in that of some trustee: now, it is certain, that when the commissioners of inquiry begin to seize such estates, besides the debts truly due to real creditors, such a number of latent debts will be trumped up, not distinguishable from the true ones by any else than the proprietors, as will make the inquiry fruitless and the commission a charge upon the treasury, as well as a nuisance to the nation."

Such were the arguments, drawn from expediency and the state of the country, by which forbearance on the part of the government was recommended by this excellent man, though it appears that they had little effect but to excite a suspicion of his own loyalty. In spite of all this, his character made him too powerful to be resisted. In 1716 he was rewarded for his services by the office of advocate-depute; that is, he became one of the inferior prosecutors for the crown. On the 20th of March he is found writing thus to his principal, the lord-advocate:—"Yester-

day I was qualified, the Lord knows how, as your depute. The justice-clerk shows a grim sort of civility towards me, because he finds me *plaguey stubborn*. I waited upon him, however, and on the other lords, to the end they might fix on a dyet for the tryall of the Episcopall clergy. The justice-clerk does not smile on their prosecution, because it is not his own contrivance; and declared it could not come on sooner than the first of June; but I told him that if, as I understood was designed, the May circuit were suspended this year by act of parliament, I would require his lordship to assign a dyet sooner." In 1722, with the acquiescence of the ministry, he was returned to sit in parliament for the Inverness district of burghs; and in 1725 he obtained the high and responsible appointment of lord-advocate. As the office of secretary of state for Scotland was at this time discontinued, it became part of his duty to carry on with his majesty's ministers, the correspondence regarding the improvements necessary to be made in her civil establishments, which he did in a manner highly creditable to himself, and with the happiest effect for his country. The year in which he was appointed lord-advocate was marked by the introduction of the malt-tax into Scotland, and the mob at Glasgow, known by the name of Shawfield's rabble, by which its introduction was attended. This was a riot of a very scandalous character (the magistrates of the city being deeply implicated in fomenting it), in which nine persons were killed outright, and the soldiers, who had been brought from Edinburgh for its suppression, were chased out of the city, and were glad to take refuge in Dumbarton Castle. General Wade, who was in Edinburgh at the time, on his way to the Highlands, was immediately ordered to Glasgow with all the troops he could muster, and he was accompanied by the lord-advocate in person, who first committed the whole of the magistrates to their own tolbooth, and afterwards, under a strong guard, sent them to Edinburgh, where they were thrown into the common jail, and it was certainly intended to proceed against them before the judiciary court. Doubts, however, were entertained of the legality of the proceedings, and whether the lord-advocate had not exceeded his powers in committing the whole magistracy of a city, upon the warrant of a justice of peace, to their own jail; public feeling at the same time recovering strongly in their favour, they were by the judiciary admitted to bail, nor was their case ever again called.

In 1734 he lost his brother, John Forbes, in consequence of whose death he fell heir to the extensive and valuable estate of Culloden. In 1736 a disgraceful affair, termed the Porteous mob, occurred in Edinburgh, in consequence of which it was resolved to deprive the city of her privileges. Mr. Forbes, on this occasion, exerted himself to the utmost in behalf of the city, and was successful in procuring many modifications to be made upon the bill before it passed the two houses of parliament. When we contemplate the condition of Scotland in those days, we scarcely know whether to wonder most at the good which Forbes was able to achieve, or the means by which he accomplished it. The period might properly be called the dark age of Scottish history, though it contained, at the same time, the germs of all the good that has since sprung up in the land. The pretensions of the house of Stuart were universally received, either with favour from direct affection to their cause, or at least without disfavour, the result of a justifiable disgust at the political status into which the country had been thrown by the union, and the unpopularity of the two first Brunswick

princes. The commencement of a strict system of general taxation was new; while the miserable poverty of the country rendered it unproductive and unpopular. The great families still lorded it over their dependants, and exercised legal jurisdiction within their own domains, by which the general police of the kingdom was crippled, and the grossest local oppression practised. The remedy adopted for all these evils, which was to abate nothing and to enforce everything, under the direction of English counsels and of Englishmen, completed the national wretchedness, and infused its bitterest ingredient into the brimful cup. How Forbes got his views or his character amidst such a scene, from the very heart of the very worst part of which he came, it is difficult to conceive; for with only one or two occasional exceptions, his papers prove that he had scarcely an associate, either in his patriotic toils or enjoyments.¹ However, it is sometimes true in the political, as it generally is in the commercial world, that supply is created by demand; and the very degradation of the country held out an immense reward to the man who should raise it up. No man, especially the hired servant of a disputed monarchy, could have achieved this work, except one whose heart was as amiable as his judgment was sound, and whose patriotism was as pure as it was strong. Forbes cultivated all these qualities, and not only directed the spirit of the nation, but conciliated its discordant members with a degree of skill that was truly astonishing.

The leading objects of his official and parliamentary life were suggested to him by the necessities of the country, and they are thus ably summed up in the work just quoted:—

1. To extinguish the embers of rebellion, by gaining over the Jacobites. He did not try to win them, however, in the ordinary way in which alleged rebels are won; but by showing them what he called the *folly* of their designs, by seeking their society, by excluding them from no place for which their talents or characters gave them a fair claim, and, above all, by protecting them from proscription. It is delightful to perceive how much this policy, equally the dictate of his heart and of his head, made him be consulted and revered even by his enemies; and how purely he kept his private affections open to good men, and especially to old friends, in spite of all political acrimony or alienation. He derived from this habit one satisfaction, which seems to have greatly diverted him, that of being occasionally abused by both sides, and sometimes suspected of secret Jacobitism by his own party.

2. Having thus, by commanding universal esteem as an upright and liberal man, enabled himself to do something for the country at large, his next object seems to have been, to habituate the people to the equal and regular control of the laws. It may appear at first sight unnecessary or inglorious to have been reduced to labour for an end so essential and obvious in all communities as this. But the state of Scotland must be recollected. The provincial despotism of the barons was common and horrid. Old Lovat, for example, more than once writes to him, as lord-advocate, not to trouble himself about certain acts of violence done in his neighbourhood, because he was very soon to take vengeance with his own hands.

Nor was this insubordination confined to individuals or to the provinces, for it seems to have extended to the capital, and to have touched the seats

of justice. There is a letter from Forbes to Mr. Scroope, in the year 1732, in which he complains "that it would surely provoke any man living, as it did me, to see the last day of our term in exchequer. The effect of every verdict we recovered from the crown, stopped upon the triflingest pretences that false popularity and want of sense could suggest. If some remedy be not found for this evil we must shut up shop. It's a pity, that when we have argued the juries out of their mistaken notions of popularity, the behaviour of the court should give any handle to their relapsing." He persevered to prevent this by argument, and by endeavouring to get the laws, especially those concerning the revenue, altered, so as to be less unacceptable to the people.

It is chiefly on account of his adherence to this principle, that it is important to notice this subject as a distinct part of his system. If he had been disposed to govern, as is usual in turbulent times, by mere force, he had pretences enough to have made scarlet uniforms deform every hamlet in the kingdom—but, except when rebellion or riot was raging, we cannot discover from his papers that he ever, on any one occasion, required any other assistance except the ordinary authority of which law is always possessed, when administered fairly. He rigidly investigated, though he did not severely punish, popular outrages; but he was unsparing in his prosecution of the provincial injustice by which the people were generally oppressed. The consequence of this was, that he not only introduced a comparative state of good order, but made his name a sanction that whatever he proposed was right, and that in him the injured was sure to find a friend. When Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman who was engaged in a mining concern in Glengarry (and who by-the-bye is said to have been the first person who introduced the philibeg into the Highlands), had two of his servants murdered by the natives there, the lord-advocate was the only individual to whom it ever occurred to him to apply for protection. But his power in thus taming the people can only be fairly estimated by perceiving how universally he was feared by the higher ranks, as the certain foe of all sorts of partial, sinister, unfair, or illiberal projects. Few men ever wrote, or were written to, with less idea of publication than he. His correspondence has only come accidentally to light about seventy years after his death. Yet we have not been able to detect a single one of his advices or proceedings, by the exposure of which even a private gentleman of the most delicate honour and the most reasonable views, would have cause to feel a moment's uneasiness. On the contrary, though living in ferocious times—in public life—the avowed organ of a party—and obliged to sway his country by managing its greatest and greediest families, he uniformly maintains that native gentleness and fairness of mind with which it is probable that most of the men who are afterwards hardened into corruption, begin, and resolve to continue their career. How many other public men are there, of whose general correspondence above 500 letters could be published indiscriminately, without alarming themselves if they were alive, or their friends if they were dead?

Having thus freed himself from the shackles of party, and impressed all ranks with a conviction of the necessity of sinking their subordinate contests in a common respect for the law, his next great view seems to have been, to turn this state of security to its proper account, in improving the trade and agriculture of the kingdom. Of these two sources of national wealth, the last seems to have engaged the smallest portion of his attention; and it was perhaps

¹ We here pursue a train of remarks in the *Edinburgh Review* of the Culloden papers, an ample collection of the letters, &c., of the lord-president, published in 1816.

natural that it should do so. For, though agriculture precedes manufactures in the order of things, yet, for this very reason, that the cultivation of the land has gone on for ages, it is only in a more advanced era of refinement that the attention of legislators is called to the resources it supplies and the virtues it inspires. But projectors are immediately attracted towards improvements in manufactures, which are directly convenient by employing industry, and highly captivating, because their commencement and growth can be distinctly traced; so that they appear more the result of preparation and design than agriculture does; as to which, one generation seems only to follow the example of another, in passively taking what the scarcely assisted powers of nature give. Several efforts at trade had been made by Scotland before Forbes appeared; but it was both the cause and the evidence of the national poverty, that, slender as they were, they had failed, and that their failure almost extinguished the commercial hopes of the people. He was no sooner called into public life, than he saw what trade, chiefly internal, could do, by giving employment to the hordes of idlers who infested the country, by interesting proprietors in the improvement of their estates, and by furnishing the means both of paying and of levying taxes, and thereby consolidating the whole island into one compact body, instead of keeping the northern part a burden on the southern.

His exertions in prosecution of this great object were long and unceasing. We cannot enter here into any details; and therefore we shall only state, in general, that he appears to have made himself master of the nature and history of almost every manufacture, and to have corresponded largely both with the statesmen, the philosophers, and the merchants of his day, about the means of introducing them into Scotland. The result was that he not only planted the roots of those establishments which are now flourishing all over the country, but had the pleasure (as he states in a memorial to government) of seeing "a commendable spirit of launching into new branches" excited. He was so successful in this way, that the manufactures of Scotland are called, by more than one of his correspondents, "his ain bairns;"—an expression which he himself uses in one of his letters to Mr. Scroope, in which he says that one of his proposals "was disliked by certain chiefs, from its being a child of mine."

Notwithstanding the immense good which he thus accomplished, and the great judgment and forbearance he evinced in furthering his improvements, it is amusing to observe the errors into which he fell with respect to what are now some of the clearest principles of taxation and of political economy. These, in general, were the common errors of too much regulation, errors which it requires the firmest hold of the latest discoveries in these sciences to resist, and which were peculiarly liable to beset a man who had been obliged to do so much himself in the way of direction and planning. One example may suffice, being the strongest we have been able to find. In order to encourage agriculture by promoting the use of malt, he presented to government a long detailed scheme for preventing, or rather punishing, the use of tea.

"The cause," says he, "of the mischief we complain of is evidently the excessive use of tea; which is now become so common, that the meanest families, even of labouring people, particularly in boroughs, make their morning's meal of it, and thereby wholly disuse the ale which heretofore was their accustomed drink: and the same drug supplies all the labouring

women with their afternoon's entertainments, to the exclusion of the twopenny."

The remedy for this, is to impose a prohibitory duty on tea, and a penalty on those who shall use this seducing poison, "if they belong to that class of mankind in this country whose circumstances do not permit them to come at tea that pays the duty." The obvious difficulty attending this scheme strikes him at once, and he removes it by a series of provisions calculated to describe those who are within the tea line, and those who are beyond it. The essence of the system is, that when any person is suspected, "the *onus probandi* of the extent of his yearly income may be laid on him;" and that his own oath may be demanded, and that of the prosecutor taken. "These provisions," the worthy author acknowledges, "are pretty severe;" and most of his readers may be inclined to think them pretty absurd. But it must be recollected that he is not the only person (especially about his own time, when the first duty of a statesman was to promote the malt-tax) who has been eloquent and vituperative on the subject of this famous plant. Its progress, on the contrary, has been something like the progress of truth: suspected at first, though very palatable to those who had courage to taste it; resisted as it encroached; abused as its popularity seemed to spread; and establishing its triumph at last, in cheering the whole land, from the palace to the cottage, only by the slow and resistless efforts of time and its own virtues. Nor are the provisions for enforcing his scheme so extraordinary as may at first sight appear. The object of one half of our existing commercial regulations is to insure the use of our own produce and the encouragement of our own industry; and his personal restrictions, and domiciliary visits, are utterly harmless when compared with many excise regulations of the present day; and still more so when contrasted with certain parts of the earlier system for levying the tax upon property. We have noticed this example chiefly for the sake of showing that Forbes's views were as sound upon these subjects as those of the persons by whom he has been succeeded, and that if we could oftener withdraw our eyes from the objects of their habitual contemplation we should oftener see the folly of many things, which appear to us correct merely because they are common.

Being appointed president of the Court of Session in 1737, he applied himself with great zeal to a duty which has conferred lasting service on his country, that of improving the regulations of his court. Previously the chief judge, by having it in his power to postpone a cause, or to call it at his pleasure, was enabled sometimes to choose a particular time for its decision, when certain judges whom he knew to have made up their minds were absent. Forbes put an end to this flagrant error in the constitution of the court, by rendering it impossible for the judges to take up a case except as it stood on the roll. He also exerted himself to prevent any accumulation of undetermined causes.

The character of the Highlanders, and the improvement of the Highlands, had all along been objects of the first magnitude with the lord-president, nor did he lose sight of them when his elevation to the first place in Scottish society brought him to be conversant with others equally important. Viewing the aspect of the political horizon, and aware that the clans, in such times as appeared to be approaching, could scarcely fail to fall into the hands of political agitators, he digested a plan (the very same for which Chatham received so much applause for carrying into effect) for embodying the most disaffected of them into regiments, under colonels of tried loyalty, but

offered by their own chieftains, who would thus be less liable to be tampered with by the emissaries of the Stuarts, and be insensibly led to respect an order of things which, it might be presumed, they disliked chiefly because they did not comprehend it, and from which, as yet, they did not suppose they had derived any benefit. This proposal the lord-president communicated to the lord justice-clerk, Milton, who reported it to Lord Ilay, by whom it was laid before Sir Robert Walpole, who at once comprehended and admired it. When, however, he laid it before the council, recommending it to be carried into immediate effect, the council declared unanimously against it. "Were the plan of the Scottish judge," said they, "adopted, what would the patriots say? Would they not exclaim, Sir Robert Walpole had all along a design upon the constitution? He has already imposed upon us a standing army, in addition to which he is now raising an army of barbarians, for the sole purpose of enslaving the people of England." Walpole was too well acquainted with the temper of the patriots, as they called themselves, not to feel the full force of this reasoning; and the measure was given up, though he was fully convinced that it was conceived in wisdom, and would have been infallibly successful in its operation.

Though his advice was neglected, the event showed that his suspicions were well founded. The disturbed state of Europe encouraged the Jacobites, particularly in the Highlands, to sign an association for the restoration of the Pretender, which was sent to him at Rome, in the year 1742. During the following years there was a perpetual passing and repassing between the court of France, the Pretender, and the association, without the knowledge of the most vigilant observers on the part of the government. So cautiously, indeed, did the Highland chieftains conduct themselves, that even the lord-president, who was intimately acquainted with their characters and propensities, seems to have been perfectly unaware of any immediate rising, when he was acquainted by a letter from Macleod of Macleod, that Charles was actually arrived, and had by young Clanronald summoned himself and Sir Alexander Macdonald to join his standard. The truth was, both Macleod and Macdonald had pledged themselves to Prince Charles; but a French army to accompany him, and military stores, were positive parts of the engagement, which, not being fulfilled, led them to hesitate, and they were willing to fortify their hesitation by the advice of the president; whom they had long found to be an excellent counsellor, and whose views upon the subject they were probably anxious in a covert way to ascertain. Macleod of course wrote to the president that such a person was on the coast, with so many Irish or French officers, stating them greatly beyond the real number, and he adds, "His views, I need not tell you, was to raise all the Highlands to assist him. Sir Alexander Macdonald and I not only gave no sort of countenance to these people, but we used all the interest we had with our neighbours to follow the same prudent method, and I am persuaded we have done it with that success, that not a man north of the Grampians will give any sort of assistance to this mad rebellious attempt. As it can be of no use to the public to know whence you have this information, it is, I fancy, needless to mention either of us; but this we leave in your own breast, as you are a much better judge of what is or what is not proper to be done. I have wrote to none other, and as our friendship and confidence in you is without reserve, so we doubt not of your supplying our defects properly. Sir Alexander is here and has seen this scrawl. Young Clanronald has been here with us, and has

given us all possible assurances of his prudence." The above letter was dated August 3d, 1745, and speaks of Charles as only on the coast, though he had in reality landed, and the assurance of young Clanronald's prudence was a perfect farce. It was indeed, for obvious reasons, the aim of the rebels to lull the friends of government in their fatal security, and we have no doubt that Clanronald, acting upon this principle, gave the assurance to Macleod and Macdonald for the very purpose of being communicated to the lord-president, and it has been supposed that the misstatements in this letter laid the foundation for that pernicious counsel which sent Sir John Cope to the north, leaving the low country open to Charles, in consequence of which he overcame at once the most serious difficulties he had to contend with—want of provisions and want of money, made himself master of the capital of Scotland, and, to the astonishment of himself as well as of all Europe, penetrated into the very heart of England.

Being now certain that there was danger, though its extent was cautiously concealed from him, the lord-president, after pointing out to the Marquis of Tweeddale, who at that time was a principal manager in Scottish affairs, a few things necessary to be done in order to give full effect to his exertions, hastened to the north, and arrived at Culloden House on the 13th of August, six days before Charles unfurled his standard in Glenfinnan, and while many of his most devoted admirers were yet at a great loss whether to come forward to his assistance, or to remain undeclared till circumstances should enable them more accurately to calculate probabilities. To all these nothing could have been more unwelcome than the presence of the lord-president, to whom they, almost to a man, were under personal obligations. Lovat waited upon and dined with his lordship the very day after his arrival, and requested his advice, assuring him that his wishes, as well as his interest, still led him to support the present royal family. Macleod of Macleod and Sir Alexander Macdonald of Skye also wrote to him immediately on his arrival, in a loyal strain, though their presence was certainly expected at the unfurling of the insurgent standard at Glenfinnan, which was so soon to take place. The letters are not so very explicit as might have been wished, and, till the advice and the presence of the lord-president encouraged them, these gentlemen were undoubtedly not cordial for the government. Lovat most certainly was not, and had Charles, according to his advice, come east by Inverness, he would no doubt have joined him on the instant. But the clans having rushed down into the Lowlands, while Sir John Cope, with the whole regular troops that were in Scotland, came north, added weight to the lord-president's remonstrances, and for a time neutralized all who were not previously committed, till the unfortunate affair of Gladsmuir gave a new impulse to their hopes. Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of Macleod were assured by a special messenger, that their past conduct was not imputed to any want of zeal for the cause or want of affection to the person of Charles, who considered their services to be now more useful to him than ever, and was ready to receive them as his best friends. Lovat had a message of the same kind, and, sure that now his right master, as he called him, would prevail, set himself to forward the marching of his Frasers without delay. Still he continued his correspondence with the president, and laboured hard to keep up the farce of loyalty, as did Macleod of Macleod, at the very moment when he was pledging his faith to that arch-hypocrite to send his Macleods to join the

Fraser, the Mackintoshes, and the Mackenzies at Corryarrack, within a given number of days. Happily for Macleod, he was greatly under the influence of Sir Alexander Macdonald, whose judgment the lord-president had completely opened upon the subject, and he not only did not fulfil his engagement with Lovat, but actually raised and headed his men to fight on the opposite side.

The Frasers, in the meantime, formed a scheme for seizing upon the house of Culloden, and either killing or making the president a prisoner. The execution of this plot was intrusted to the laird of Foyers, who made the attempt on the night of Tuesday, the 15th of October, the day when the clans were engaged upon honour to assemble at the pass of Corryarrack, for the purpose of reinforcing the army of Charles at Edinburgh. The president, however, who, had arms been his profession, would probably have been as celebrated a soldier as he was a lawyer, knew his situation, and the men he lived among, better than to suffer himself to be so surprised. The castle itself was naturally strong; several pieces of cannon were planted upon its rampart; and it was occupied by a garrison able and willing to defend it; so that, leaving behind them one of their number wounded, the assailants were obliged to content themselves with carrying off some sheep and cattle, and robbing the gardener and the house of an honest weaver, who, it would appear, lived under the protection of the president. Like all other projectors of wicked things which fail in the execution, Lovat seems to have been very much ashamed of this affair, and he was probably the more so, that the Macleods, the Macdonalds, &c., who, that same day, were to have joined his clan at Corryarrack, had not only not kept their word, but were actually on the road to take their orders from the president, which compelled him once more to send, in place of troops, an apology to Charles, with an abundance of fair promises, in which he was at all times sufficiently liberal. The president had assured him that, by killing and eating his sheep in broad daylight, the men who had made the attack upon his house were all known, but that if they did no more harm he forgave them; only he wished they would send back the poor gardener and weaver their things, and if they sent not back the tenant his cattle, they knew he must pay for them. Lovat, with well-affected concern and high eulogiums upon his lordship's goodness, declares the actors in this villanous attempt to have been ruffians without the fear of God or man, and that he has ordered his son, and Gortuleg his kinsman and factor, to send back all the plunder, particularly his lordship's sheep, which he was ready to give double value for, rather than that his lordship should want them, and, in case they should not be found, offered to divide with him one hundred fat widders, seeing that he was under greater obligations to him and his family than all the sheep, oxen, cows, and horses he ever possessed were worth. "And I beg, my lord," he adds, "that you may not be in the least apprehensive that any of those rogues, or any in my country, go and disturb your tenants, for I solemnly swore to Gortuleg that if any villain or rascal of my country durst presume to hurt or disturb any of your lordship's tenants, I would go personally, though carried in a litter, and see them seized and hanged. So, my dear lord, I beg you may have no apprehension that any of your tenants will meet with disturbance so long as I live in this country; and I hope that my son that represents me will follow my example: so let monarchies, government, and commonwealths take up fits of revolutions and wars, for God's sake, my dear lord, let us live in good friend-

ship and peace together." It was but a short time when, after the retreat from England, Charles was met at Glasgow by a messenger from Lovat, requesting him to send north a party to seize Inverness, and if possible secure the lord-president, who, he affirmed, had done him more harm than any man living, having by his influence prevented more than 10,000 men from joining him. Circumstances of another kind than Lovat's advice or request brought Charles to Inverness, and the lord-president, along with Lord Loudon, was under the necessity of taking refuge in the Island of Skye, where he remained till after the battle of Culloden, when he returned to reap, as many other good men have done, neglect and ingratitude for all his services. Of these services and of this neglect the reader will not be displeased to find the following graphic description from his own pen. It is a letter to Mr. George Ross, then at London, inclosing letters on the same subject to Mr. Pelham, Mr. Scroope, and the Duke of Newcastle, date Inverness, May 13th, 1746.

"Dear George, my peregrinations are now over. Some account of my adventures you surely have had from different hands; to give an exact one is the work of more time than I can at present afford. The difficulties I had to struggle with were many; the issue, on the main, has been favourable; and, upon a strict review, I am satisfied with my own conduct. I neither know nor care what critics, who have enjoyed ease in safety, may think. The commissions for the independent companies I disposed of in the way that, to me, seemed the most frugal and profitable to the public; the use they have already been of to the public is very great; preventing any accession of strength to the rebels, before they marched into England, was no small service; the like prevention, in some degree, and the distraction of their forces when the duke was advancing, was of considerable use; and now they are, by the duke, employed, under the command of E. Loudon, in Glengarry, and must be the hands by which the rebels are to be hunted in their recesses. My other letter of this date gives the reason why the returns of the officers' names, &c., was not sooner made. I hope the certificate will be sufficient to put them upon the establishment, and to procure the issuing of money for them. The returns of the several companies in the military way E. Loudon will take care of. What distressed us most in this country, and was the real cause why the rebels came to head after their flight from Stirling, was the want of arms and money, which, God knows, had been enough called for and expected. Had these come in time, we could have armed a force sufficient to have prevented them looking at us on this side Drumachter. The men were prepared, several hundreds assembled in their own counties, and some hundreds actually on the march; but unluckily the ship that brought the few arms that were sent, and the sum of money that came, did not arrive in our road sooner than the very day on which the rebels made themselves master of the barrack of Ruthven. It was then too late to fetch unarmed men from distances, it was even unsafe to land the arms and the money; so we were forced to suffer them remain on board and to retreat with the force we had, to preserve them for the further annoyance of the enemy. Another ill consequence the scrimping us of money had, was that—as there were a great many contingent services absolutely necessary, and as all the money that could be raised upon Lord Loudon's credit and mine was not sufficient to answer these extraordinary services—we were obliged to make free with the cash remitted for the subsistence of the companies. This at the long run will

come out as broad as it is long when accounts are made up and allowances made for the contingent expense; but in the meantime it saddles us with the trouble of settling and passing an account.

"If any one will reflect on the situation I was in, and consider what I had to do, he will soon be convinced that the expense I laid out could not be small. So far as I could command money of my own, you will easily believe it was employed without hesitation; and of that I say nothing at present. But when the expedient proposed by the Marquis of Tweeddale of taking bills to be drawn on Mr. Pelham failed, I had no resource but to take up money where I could find it, from well-disposed persons, on my own proper notes. That money so picked up was at the time of great service; and now that peace is restored, the gentlemen with great reason expect to be repaid. You can guess how ill I like a dun, and I should hope now that the confusions are over, there can be no great difficulty in procuring me a remittance, or leave to draw upon Mr. Pelham or some other proper person, to the extent of the sum thus borrowed, which does not exceed £1500 sterling. . . . I am heartily tired of this erratic course I have been in, but as the prevention of any future disturbance is a matter of great moment, and which requires much deliberation and some skill, if those on whom it lies to frame the scheme for that purpose imagine I can be of any use to them, I should not grudge the additional fatigue of another journey; but it is not improbable their resolutions may be already taken," &c. There is in this letter an honest feeling, and a frankly expressed conviction of the value of his services; and though possessed with a prophetic anticipation of their being latterly to be overlooked, an equally open and straightforwardly expressed determination to continue them as long as they should be useful to his country, strongly indicative of that high-minded devotion to the best interests of his species, which peculiarly characterized this great man. At the same time, there is manifested the most delicate feeling with regard to the money part of the transaction. What portion, and that was a large one, had been advanced from his own treasury he makes for the present no account of; but he pleads in the most gentlemanly manner in behalf of those who had assisted him at the time, and could scarcely be expected to have the same disinterested regard to the public service, and the same degree of philosophic patience. They expect with reason, he remarks, to be paid, and he interposes in the most delicate manner his own repugnance to be dunned, as the most pressing of all arguments in their favour. Surely never was so small a request, and so exceedingly well founded, so modestly prepared, yet never perhaps did a reasonable one meet with a more careless reception. Upwards of a month elapsed before he had an answer from George Ross, with a bill for £500, which perhaps was not for his own use. It has been generally said that he never received one farthing, and to his generous spirit, if he received only this small portion, which we dare not affirm he did, taken in connection with the manner in which he did receive it, it must have been nearly, if not more mortifying than if he had not. His grace of Newcastle took no notice of his letter till he was under the necessity of writing to him upon another subject, two months afterwards, and then in the most cold and formal manner imaginable. Of any reply from Pelham and Scroope we have not found a vestige, and would fondly hope that, courtiers as they were, they had so much grace remaining as to be

unable to put pen to paper upon a business so disgraceful.

To a mind so pure and so gentle as was that of President Forbes, this ingratitude on the part of the government must have been exceedingly painful; but we do not believe that it was the only or the principal thing that weighed down his spirit. To the morality of courts and the gratitude of courtiers he was, in theory at least, no stranger, and as a prudent and practical man, must have been in some measure prepared to grapple with them; but for the base duplicity and the ingratitude of his friends and neighbours, many of whom had betrayed his confidence in the grossest manner, he could scarcely be prepared, and they must have affected him deeply. These, while they wrung his heart with the most pungent feelings of sorrow, furnished to the ignorant, the suspicious, and the envious, fruitful topics of detraction and misrepresentation, against which, he must have been aware, the best intentions and the most upright actions have too often been found to afford no protection. The care of the Highlands had been imposed upon him for many years, he had been a father and a friend to almost every principal family they contained, and, with few exceptions, these families had in return made the strongest professions of loyalty to the government, and of friendship and affection to himself. This they had done too with such apparent sincerity, as induced him to report them perfectly loyal at the very moment they were signing associations, purchasing arms, and ready to appear in the field against the government. How must he have felt to see the very men he had saved from total destruction, procured them the favourable notice of the government, and even high and honourable situations, rushing, from mistaken views of their own or their country's interests, upon the ruin of both! It was this, we have no doubt, gave the secret but incurable wound, which, though he continued to perform the duties of his station with inflexible firmness, and with imperturbable patience, brought him by slow degrees to an untimely grave.

Though the lord-president continued to discharge his office with his usual fidelity and diligence, and though he uttered no complaints, it had long been matter of grief to his friends to observe his health rapidly declining, and in the month of November it was judged necessary to send for his son from England, who arrived only in time to receive his last advice and blessing. He died on the 10th day of December, 1747, in the sixty-second year of his age. The same day he died the following memorandum was made by his son:—"My father entered into the everlasting life of God, trusting, hoping, and believing through the blood of Christ, eternal life and happiness. When I first saw my father upon the bed of death, his blessing and prayer to me was—'My dear John, you have just come in time to see me die. May the great God of heaven and earth bless and preserve you! You have come to a very poor fortune, partly through my own extravagance, and partly through the oppression of power. I am sure you will forgive me, because what I did was with a good intention. I know you to be an honest-hearted lad. Andrew Mitchell loves you affectionately; he will advise you, and do what he can for you. I depend upon Scroope, too, which you may let him know. I will advise you never to think of coming into parliament. I left some notes with the two William Forbeses in case I had not seen you. They are two affectionate lads, and will be able to help you in some affairs better than you would have done yourself. John Hossack will help you in your affairs in the north. My heart bleeds for poor John

come so powerful an organ for the diffusion of sound medical information, was in its earliest state so ably conducted by Dr. Forbes, that in literary power alone it was as able and distinguished as the highest quarterly reviews of the day. In its management it mainly owed its rise to the assiduity of Forbes, who introduced into it articles written by the most eminent and ingenious medical writers of the period—and to his independent spirit, which would admit nothing inferior into its pages, however influentially patronized. But this very disinterestedness and independence of spirit not only created umbrage, but occasioned him pecuniary loss, and he retired from the editorship of the *British and Foreign Medical Quarterly* before he could reap the fruits of its success. He was not allowed, however, to depart into obscurity, or remain unrewarded. In 1840 he removed to London, where his well-established professional reputation had preceded his arrival, and he was appointed physician in ordinary to her majesty's household, and physician extraordinary to his royal highness Prince Albert. He was early elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him by the university of Oxford.

The last years in the life of Sir John Forbes were crowned with the honours he had merited, and passed in activity and usefulness. His love of literature abode with him to the last, and this he indulged by writing works of a lighter description than those in which he had hitherto been engaged. In 1849 he published *A Physician's Holiday, or a Month in Switzerland*, containing an interesting account of the principal localities in that romantic country. In 1852 he published an account of a tour he made in Ireland, under the title of *Memoranda made in Ireland in the Autumn of 1852*; and in 1856 the notice of another tour, under the title of *Sight-seeing in Germany and the Tyrol, in the Autumn of 1855*. Reverting again more immediately to his profession and past studies, he published in 1857 his treatise on *Nature and Art in the Cure of Disease*, which may be regarded as a confession of his medical creed; with this his public labours may be said to have terminated. He had already been subject to vertigo, from the sudden attacks of which he sometimes fell to the ground; his memory was impaired, so that he had but a dim recollection of objects and places; and he had a tendency to turn to the right side. Under such circumstances it was necessary to relinquish his practice, and this he did three years before he died, presenting at the same time his large and valuable library to Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he had first been educated. In the same spirit of benevolence and mindfulness of early benefits, he had two years before that period, in conjunction with Sir James Clark, established a library at Fordyce, where he had received his education as a school-boy. Sir John died at Whitchurch, Oxfordshire, on the 13th of November, 1861, aged seventy-four years.

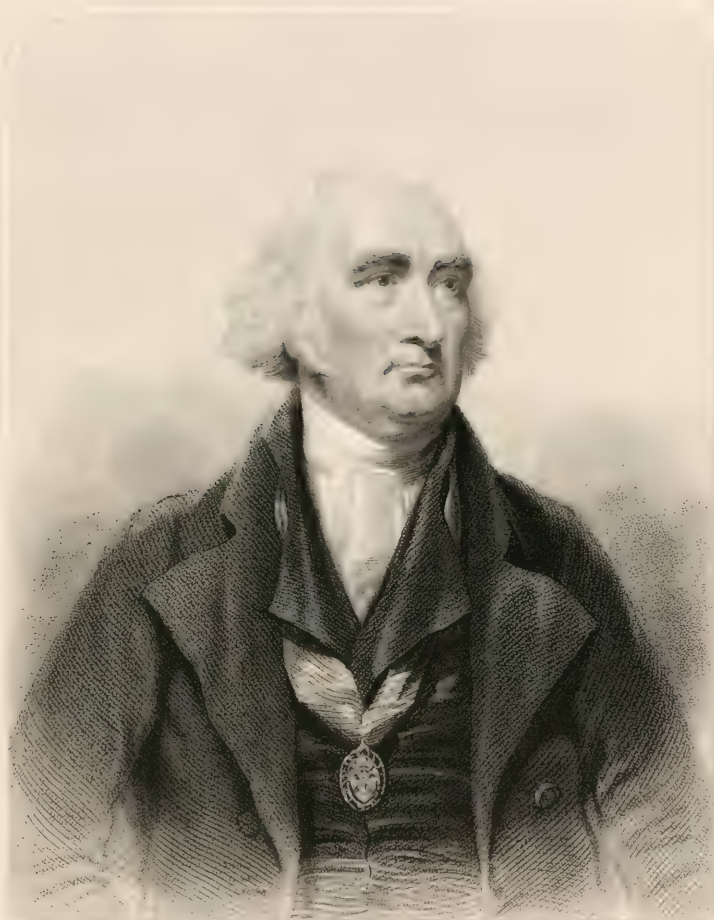
FORBES, PATRICK, an eminent prelate, was by birth laird of Corse and O'Neil, in Aberdeenshire, and descended from Sir Patrick Forbes (third son of James, second Lord Forbes) armour-bearer to King James II., from whom in 1482 he got a charter of the barony of O'Neil. From the same branch of the noble family of Forbes are descended the Forbeses baronets of Craigievar, and the Forbeses earls of Granard in Ireland. The subject of this memoir was born in 1564, and received the rudiments of his education under Thomas Buchanan (nephew of the author of *The History of Scotland*), who was then schoolmaster of Stirling. He next studied philosophy

under Andrew Melville at Glasgow; and when that eminent reformer and learned man was removed to be principal of St. Andrews, Forbes followed him thither, and was his pupil in Hebrew and theology. Such was the progress he made in these studies, and such his gravity, wisdom, and blamelessness of life, that at an uncommonly early age he was solicited to become a professor in the college. His father, however, suddenly recalled his son, in order that he might settle in life as a country gentleman; and he soon after married Lucretia Spens, daughter of David Spens of Wormiston, in Fife. He lived for some time in rural retirement near Montrose, where his learning and piety attracted a great concourse of visitors, especially of the clergy. At the death of his father he removed to the family seat of Corse, where, to use the quaint phrase of his Latin biographer, Garden, he at once cultivated his books and his fields, regularly performing the duties of a clergyman every Sunday before his domestics.

At the time when Patrick Forbes entered into public life, the reformed Church of Scotland had not settled down into any regular system of ecclesiastical polity, and sometimes things were allowed to be done which would now be considered as at least eccentric, if not indecent. At the same time, the profession of a clergyman, though holding forth little pecuniary advantage, was invested with so much popular power as to be highly inviting. We hence find, in the instances of Erskine of Dun, Bruce of Kinnaird, and others, that it had temptations even for gentlemen of good estates. It appears that, in the loose system of polity then acted upon, the laird of Corse, merely because he was a devout man, and possessed of some territorial influence, was repeatedly entreated to perform the duties of a clergyman, as if it had been supposed that any little deficiency in point of clerical ordination that could be urged against him would be fully compensated by his weight as the laird of Corse. He accordingly did act temporarily as a minister during the time when the clergymen who had attended the proscribed General Assembly at Aberdeen in 1605 were suffering exile from their parishes. Instead of this exciting episcopal interference, we are told that Patrick Blackburn, Bishop of Aberdeen, no sooner heard of the excellent ministrations of the laird of Corse than he, in concurrence with the synod of his diocese, entreated him to take ordination, and become the minister of his own parish. Although this request was made oftener than once, Forbes steadily resisted it, alleging as a reason his sense of the weight of the priestly duties, and of the difficulty of the times. These things, however, being conveyed by some malevolent person to the ear of the primate (Gladstones, Archbishop of St. Andrews), that dignitary sent an order prohibiting Corse from preaching any more until he should take ordination. Having no alternative, the laird returned to his former practice of family worship, attending the church every Sunday as a private individual, and afterwards exercising upon a portion of the Scriptures before his servants. He went on thus for seven years, and was so far from exciting schism by his well-meant exertions, that no one in the neighbourhood was a more regular or respectable attendant upon parochial ordinances. At length the neighbouring gentlemen, and even the clergy, frequented the family worship at Corse, where they heard most able elucidations of the epistles of St. Paul, and also those commentaries on the Revelations of which an abridgment was afterwards published.

At the end of the period alluded to the minister of Keith, though a pious and worthy man, fell into a





WILLIAM PITT, ESQ.

1734-1804

Portrait of William Pitt, Esq.

By Sir Joshua Reynolds

Engraved by J. Smith

fit of melancholy, and, after suffering for some time, made an attempt upon his own life. He had hardly inflicted the fatal wound when he was overtaken by deep remorse, and, having sent for the laird of Corse, was immediately attended by that devout man, who proceeded to reason with him in so earnest a manner as to open his soul fully to a sense of spiritual influences. The unfortunate man with his dying breath renewed the request which had so often been proffered to Forbes, that he would consent to undertake the pastoral charge of the parish; which request, taking place under such impressive circumstances, and enforced at the same time by the eloquence of the neighbouring clergymen and gentry, at length prevailed, and the laird of Corse immediately became minister of Keith. He was at this time forty-eight years of age.

In 1618 Forbes was appointed Bishop of Aberdeen, with the sincere approbation of all classes of the people. Attached from principle to the Episcopal form of church government, he concurred in the five articles of Perth, which were that year imposed upon the Scottish church. It does not appear, however, that Bishop Forbes used any severe means to carry these articles into practice, for we are informed by Burnet (*Life of Bedell*) that, by his remarkable prudence, he "greatly allayed, and almost conquered, not only the distempered judgments, but the perverse and turbulent humours, of divers in his diocese." In his whole conduct as a bishop he appears to have been uniformly influenced by an honest and conscientious regard to the obligations of the character which he had assumed, and what he conceived to be the best means of promoting the interests of piety and virtue. He was not only careful to fix worthy clergymen in his diocese, but to make proper provision for their support and that of their successors. He succeeded in recovering many of the revenues which, in the tumults of the reforming period, had been lost or neglected; and he used all proper methods with heritors and titulars of teinds and others to make augmentation of stipends, which he had no sooner effected in some cases than he dissolved the pernicious union of parishes, and established a clergyman in each. Even from his own income, limited as it must have been, he bestowed much upon the poorer clergy. He was very strict in examining those who applied for ordination, and thus secured for future times a superior body of clergy. He was also indefatigable in visiting and inspecting the clergymen of his diocese—a duty which he generally performed in a somewhat singular manner. "It was his custom," says Burnet, "to go without pomp or noise, attended only by one servant, that he might the more easily be informed of what belonged to his cure. When he was told of the weakness or negligence of any of his clergy, he would go and lodge near his church on Saturday, in the evening, without making himself known, and the next day, when he was in the pulpit, he would go and hear him, that by this he might be able to judge what his common sermons were; and as they appeared to him, he encouraged or admonished him."

Sometime after his promotion to the bishopric he was appointed chancellor of King's College, Aberdeen, which institution he raised from a state of utter desolation and neglect, to be one of the most flourishing in the kingdom. He fully repaired the buildings; he increased the library, revived the professorships of divinity, canon law, and physic; and procured the addition of a new professorship in divinity. At length, finding himself drawing near his latter end, he sent for all the clergy of Aberdeen to receive the sacrament along with him, and two

days after, March 28th, 1635, breathed his last, with the most pious expressions of hope, and full of religious consolation. At his funeral, which took place in the cathedral church of Aberdeen, Dr. Barron preached an appropriate sermon to a numerous auditory, which was afterwards published.¹

This great ornament of the Episcopal church in Scotland is characterized, in the manner of the time, as a man of singularly clear genius, solid judgment, the highest prudence, piety, and integrity, of much authority in counsel, and invincible fortitude and constancy of mind. Bishop Burnet informs us that he "scarce ever suffered any man of merit to ask anything at his hands, but anticipated them; while those whose characters would not bear a severe scrutiny never dared to solicit him. He had a quick eye and sprightly countenance, which proved an additional ornament to his expressions, which were grave and majestic, and of peculiar insinuation and grace. In parliament he was elected one of the lords of the articles, and his judgment there and in council was considered as an oracle."

FORBES, SIR WILLIAM, of Pitsligo, an eminent banker and citizen, was born at Edinburgh on the 5th of April, 1739. He was descended, by the father's side, from a younger branch of the ancient and respectable family of Forbes of Monmusk, the proprietors, at the close of the seventeenth century, of the noble barony of that name on the banks of the Don, in Aberdeenshire; and by his paternal grandmother, from the still older and more dignified family of the Lords Pitsligo, in the same county. His mother was also a branch of the family of Forbes of Monmusk, one of the first families in Scotland who were invested with the badge of Nova Scotia baronets, which still is worn by their descendants. His father, who was bred to the bar, and was rising into eminence in that profession, died when he was only four years of age, leaving his mother, then a young woman, with two infant sons, and very slender means of support. She lived at first at Milne of Forgue, on the estate of Bogny in Aberdeenshire, with the proprietor of which territory she was connected through her mother, and afterwards fixed her residence at Aberdeen with her two sons, where she remained for several years, superintending their education. While there the younger son, who is represented as having been a most engaging boy, died, leaving her remaining hopes to centre on Sir William, then her only child.

Though reared in straitened circumstances, Sir William had not only the benefit of an excellent education, but was under the immediate care and superintendence of the most respectable gentlemen in Aberdeenshire. His guardians were Lord Forbes, his uncle Lord Pitsligo, his maternal uncle Mr. Morrison of Bogny, and his aunt's husband Mr. Urquhart of Meldrum, who were not only most attentive to the duties of their trust, but habituated him from his earliest years to the habits and ideas of good society, and laid the foundation of that highly honourable and gentlemanlike character which so remarkably distinguished him in after-life. It has been often observed, that the source of everything which is pure and upright in subsequent years, is to be found in the lessons instilled into the infant mind by maternal love; and of this truth the character of Sir William Forbes affords a signal example. He

¹ The only works of Bishop Forbes which have been published, are his *Commentary on the Revelation*, printed at London in 1613; republished in Latin after his death by his son; and a treatise entitled *Exercitationes de Verbo Dei, et Dissertatio de Versionibus Vernaculis*.

himself uniformly declared, and solemnly repeated on his death-bed, that he owed everything to the upright character, pious habits, and sedulous care of his mother. She belonged to a class formerly well known in this country, who, though descended from ancient and honourable families, and intimate with the best society in Scotland, lived in privacy, and what would now be deemed poverty, solely engaged in the care of their children and the discharge of their social and religious duties. Both Sir William's father and his mother were members of the Scottish Episcopal church—a religious body which, although exposed to many vexations and disabilities since the Revolution in 1688, continued to number among its members many of the most respectable and conscientious inhabitants of the country. To this communion Sir William continued ever after to belong, and to his humane and beneficent exertions its present comparatively prosperous and enlarged state may be in a great measure ascribed.

As soon as the education of her son was so far advanced as to permit of his entering upon some profession, his mother, Lady Forbes, removed to Edinburgh in October, 1753, where an esteemed and excellent friend, Mr. Farquharson of Haughton, prevailed on the Messrs. Coutts soon after to receive him as an apprentice into their highly respectable banking-house—among the earliest establishments of the kind in Edinburgh. The mother and son did not, in the first instance, keep house for themselves, but boarded with a respectable widow lady; and it is worthy of being recorded as a proof of the difference in the style of living and the value of money between that time and the present, that the sum paid for the board of the two was only £40 a year. At Whitsunday, 1754, as Sir William was bound an apprentice to the banking-house, she removed to a small house in Forrester's Wynd, consisting only of a single floor. Even in these humble premises she was visited by persons of the very first distinction in Scotland, and frequently entertained them at tea parties in the afternoon—a mode of seeing society which, although almost gone into disuse with the increasing wealth and luxury of modern manners, was then very prevalent. At that period also, when dinner or supper parties were given by ladies of rank or opulence, which was sometimes though seldom the case, their drawing-rooms were frequented in the afternoon by the young and the old of both sexes, and opportunities afforded for the acquisition of elegance of manner, and a taste for polite and superior conversation, of which Sir William did not fail to profit in the very highest degree.

It was an early impression of Sir William's, that one of his principal duties in life consisted in restoring his ancient but now dilapidated family; and it was under this feeling of duty that he engaged in the mercantile profession. His apprenticeship lasted seven years, during which he continued to live with Lady Forbes in the same frugal and retired manner, but in the enjoyment of the same dignified and excellent society which they had cultivated upon their first coming to Edinburgh. After its expiry he acted for two years as clerk in the establishment, during which time his increasing emoluments enabled him to make a considerable addition to the comforts of his mother. In 1761 his excellent abilities and application to business induced the Messrs. Coutts to admit him as a partner, with a small share in the banking-house, and he ever after ascribed his good fortune in life to the fortunate connection thus formed with that great mercantile family. But without being insensible to the benefits arising from such a

connection, it is perhaps more just to ascribe it to his own undeviating purity and integrity of character, which enabled him to turn to the best advantage those fortunate incidents which at one time or other occur to all in life, but which so many suffer to escape from negligence, instability, or a mistaken exercise of their talents.

In 1763 one of the Messrs. Coutts died; another retired from business through ill health, and the two others were settled in London. A new company was therefore formed, consisting of Sir William Forbes, Sir James Hunter Blair, and Sir Robert Herries; and although none of the Messrs. Coutts retained any connection with the firm, their name was retained out of respect to the eminent gentlemen of that name who had preceded them. The business was conducted on this footing till 1773, when the name of the firm was changed to that of Forbes, Hunter, & Co., which it has ever since retained; Sir Robert Herries having formed a separate establishment in St. James Street, London. Of the new firm Sir William Forbes continued to be the head from that time till the period of his death; and to his sound judgment and practical sagacity in business, much of its subsequent prosperity was owing. His first care was to withdraw the concern altogether from the alluring but dangerous speculations in corn in which all the private bankers of Scotland were at that period so much engaged, and to restrict their transactions to the proper business of banking. They commenced issuing notes in 1783, and rapidly rose, from the respect and esteem entertained for all the members of the firm, as well as the prudence and judgment with which their business was conducted, to a degree of public confidence and prosperity almost unprecedented in this country. In 1770 he married Miss Elizabeth Hay, eldest daughter of Dr. (afterwards Sir James) Hay—a union productive of unbroken happiness to his future life. This event obliged him to separate from his mother, as her habits of privacy and retirement were inconsistent with the more extended circle of society in which he was now to engage. Blessed with a serene and contented disposition, enjoying the kindness, and gratified by the rising prosperity and high character which her son had obtained; and fortunate in seeing the fortunes of her own and her husband's family rapidly reviving under his successful exertions, she lived happy and contented to an extreme old age, until she died on the 26th December, 1789.

The benevolence of Sir William Forbes' character, his unvaried charity and activity of disposition, naturally led to his taking a very prominent share in the numerous public charities of Edinburgh. The first public duty of this kind which he undertook, was that of a manager of the charity workhouse, to which he was appointed in 1771. At this period the expenditure of that useful establishment was greater than its income, and it was necessary for the managers to communicate for several years after with the magistrates and other public bodies, as to providing for the deficits, and the state and management of the poor. Sir William Forbes was one of the sub-committee appointed by the managers to arrange this important matter, and upon him was devolved the duty of drawing up the reports and memorials respecting that charity, which, during the years 1772 and 1773, were printed and circulated to induce the public to come forward and aid the establishment—a duty which he performed with equal ability and success. The means of improving this institution, in which he ever through life took the warmest interest, occupied about this period a very large share of his thoughts, and in 1777 he embodied them in

the form of a pamphlet, which he published in reference to the subject, abounding both in practical knowledge and enlightened benevolence.

Another most important institution about the same period was deeply indebted to his activity and perseverance for the successful termination of its difficulties. The high-school having become ruinous, and unfit for the increasing number of scholars who attended it, a few public-spirited individuals formed a committee in conjunction with the magistrates of the city, to build a new one. Of this committee Sir William Forbes was chairman; and besides contributing largely himself, it was to his activity and perseverance that the success of the undertaking was mainly to be ascribed. The amount subscribed was £2300, a very large sum in those days, but still insufficient to meet the expenses of the work. By his exertions the debt of £1100 was gradually liquidated, and he had the satisfaction of laying the foundation-stone of the edifice destined to be the scene of the early efforts of Sir Walter Scott, and many of the greatest men whom Scotland has produced.

He was admitted a member of the Orphan Hospital directory on the 8th of August, 1774, and acted as manager from 1783 to 1788, and from 1797 to 1801. He always took a warm interest in the concerns of that excellent charity, and devoted a considerable part of his time to the care and education of the infants who were thus brought under his superintendence. He became a member of the Merchant Company in 1784, and in 1786 was elected master—an office which, though held only for a year, was repeatedly conferred upon him during the remainder of his life. He always took an active share in the management of that great company, and was the promoter of a plan adopted long after, of rendering the annuities to widows belonging to it a matter of right, and not of favour or solicitation. The same situation made him a leading member of the committee of merchants, appointed in 1772, to confer with Sir James Montgomery, then lord-advocate, on the new bankrupt act introduced in that year, and many of its most valuable clauses were suggested by his experience. In that character he took a leading part in the affairs of the Merchant Maidens' Hospital, which is governed by the officers of the Merchant Company, and was elected governor of that charity in 1786. The same causes made him governor of Watson's Hospital during the year that he was president or assistant of the Merchant Company; and president of the governors of Gillespie's Hospital, when that charity was opened in 1802. He faithfully and assiduously discharged the duties connected with the management of these hospitals during all the time that he was at their head, and devoted to these truly benevolent objects a degree of time which, considering his multifarious engagements in business, is truly surprising, and affords the best proof how much may be done, even by those most engaged, by a proper economy in that important particular.

From the first institution of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Royal Society in 1783, he was a constituted member of both, and took an active share in their formation and management. From 1785 downwards he was constantly a manager of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to ameliorate the situation and assuage the sufferings of the unfortunate inmates of that admirable establishment. At his death he left £200 to the institution, to be applied to the fund for the benefit of patients.

In 1787 he was appointed one of the trustees for the encouragement of manufactures and fisheries, of

which his friend Mr. Arbuthnot was secretary, and he continued for the remainder of his life to be one of its most active and efficient members.

One of the greatest improvements which Edinburgh received was the formation of the South Bridge in 1784, under the auspices and direction of his friend Sir James Hunter Blair. In the management and guidance of this great work that enterprising citizen was mainly guided by the advice of his friend Sir William Forbes, and he was afterwards one of the most active and zealous trustees who, under the 25 Geo. III. c. 28, carried into full execution after his death that great public undertaking. In selecting the plan to be adopted, the more plain design which afforded the accommodation required was preferred to the costly and magnificent one furnished by the Messrs. Adams: and with such judgment and wisdom was the work carried into effect, that it was completed not only without any loss, but with a large surplus to the public. Of this surplus £3000 was applied to another very great improvement, the draining of the Meadows, while the ten per cent. addition to the land-tax, which had been levied under authority of the act as a guarantee fund, and not being required for the purposes of the trust, was paid over to the city of Edinburgh for the use of the community. When these results are contrasted with those of similar undertakings of the present age, the sagacity of the subject of this memoir and his partner, Sir James Hunter Blair, receives a new lustre far above what was reflected upon them even at the time when the benefits of their exertions were more immediately felt.

In 1785 he was prevailed on to accept the situation of chairman of the sub-committee of delegates from the Highland counties for obtaining an alteration of the law passed the year before in regard to small stills within the Highland line. Nearly the whole labour connected with this most important subject, and all the correspondence with the gentlemen who were to support the desired alteration in parliament, fell upon Sir William Forbes. By his indefatigable efforts, however, aided by those of the Duke of Athol, the object was at length attained, and by the 25 Geo. III. this important matter was put upon an improved footing.

Ever alive to the call of humanity and the sufferings of the afflicted, he early directed his attention to the formation of a lunatic asylum in Edinburgh—an institution the want of which was at that time severely felt by all, but especially the poorer classes of society. Having collected the printed accounts of similar institutions in other places, he drew up a sketch of the intended establishment, and an advertisement for its support, in March, 1788. Though a sufficient sum could not be collected to set the design on foot at that time, a foundation was laid, on which, under the auspices of his son, Sir William, and other benevolent and public-spirited individuals, the present excellent structure at Morningside was ultimately reared.

The benevolent Dr. Johnston of Leith having formed in 1792 a plan for the establishment of a blind asylum in Edinburgh, Sir William Forbes, both by liberal subscription and active exertion, greatly contributed to the success of the undertaking. He was the chairman of the committee appointed by the subscribers to draw up regulations for the establishment, and when the committee of management was appointed, he was nominated vice-president, which situation he continued to hold till the time of his death. Without descending farther into detail, it is sufficient to observe that, for the last thirty years of his life, Sir William was either at the head,

or actively engaged in the management, of all the charitable establishments of Edinburgh, and that many of the most valuable of them owed their existence or success to his exertions.

Nor was it only to his native city that his beneficent exertions were confined. The family estate of Pitsligo having been forfeited to the crown in 1746, was sold to sale in 1758, and bought by Mr. Forbes, Lord Pitsligo's only son. His embarrassments, however, soon compelled him to bring the lower barony of Pitsligo to sale, and it was bought by Mr. Garden of Troup: Sir William Forbes being the nearest heir of the family, soon after purchased seventy acres of the upper barony, including the old mansion of Pitsligo, now roofless and deserted. By the death of Mr. Forbes in 1781 Sir William succeeded to the lower barony, with which he had now connected the old mansion house, and thus saw realized his early and favourite wish of restoring to his ancient family their paternal inheritance.

The acquisition of this property, which, though extensive, was, from the embarrassments of the family, in a most neglected state, opened a boundless field for Sir William's active benevolence of disposition. In his character of landlord he was most anxious for the improvement and happiness of the people on his estates, and spared neither time nor expense to effect it. He early commenced their improvement on a most liberal scale, and bent his attention in an especial manner to the cultivation of a large tract of moss which still remained in a state of nature. With this view he laid out in 1783 the village of New Pitsligo, and gave every assistance, by lending money, and forbearance in the exaction of rent, to the incipient exertions of the farmers. Numbers of poor cottars were established by his care on the most uncultivated parts of the estate, most of whom not only paid no rent for the land they occupied, but were pensioners on his bounty—a mode of proceeding which, although it brought only burdens on the estate at first, has since been productive of the greatest benefit by the continual application of that greatest of all improvements to a barren soil—the labour of the human hand. The value of this property, and the means of improvement to the tenantry, were further increased by the judicious purchase in 1787 of the contiguous estates of Pittulie and Pittendrum, which, by their situation on the sea-shore, afforded the means of obtaining in great abundance sea-ware for the lands. The liberal encouragement which he afforded soon brought settlers from all quarters; the great improvements which he made himself served both as a model and an incitement to his tenantry; the formation of the great road from Peterhead to Banff, which passed through the village of New Pitsligo, and to which he largely contributed, connected the new farmers with those thriving seaports; and before his death he had the satisfaction of seeing assembled on a spot which, at his acquisition of the estate, was a barren waste, a thriving population of 300 souls, and several thousand acres smiling with cultivation which were formerly the abode only of the moor-fowl or the curlew.

In order to encourage industry on his estate, he established a spinning-school at New Pitsligo, introduced the linen manufacture, and erected a bleach-field—undertakings which have since been attended with the greatest success. At the same time, to promote the education of the young, he built a school-house, where the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge established a teacher; and in order to afford to persons of all persuasions the means of attending that species of worship to which they were inclined, he built and endowed not only a chapel

of ease, with a manse for the minister, connected with the Established Church, but a chapel, with a dwelling-house for an Episcopal clergyman, for the benefit of those who belonged to that persuasion. Admirable acts of beneficence, hardly credible in one who resided above two hundred miles from this scene of his bounty, and was incessantly occupied in projects of improvements or charity in his own city!

To most men it would appear that such support and attention to these multifarious objects of benevolence, both in Edinburgh and on his Aberdeenshire estates, would have absorbed the whole of both his fortune and his time which could be devoted to objects of beneficence. But that was not Sir William Forbes' character. Indefatigable in activity, unwearied in doing good, he was not less strenuous in private than in public charity; and no human eye will ever know, no human ear ever learn, the extensive and invaluable deeds of kindness and benevolence which he performed, not merely to all the unfortunate who fell within his own observation, but all who were led by his character for beneficence to apply to him for relief. Perhaps no person ever combined to so great a degree the most unbounded pecuniary generosity with delicacy in the bestowal of the gift, and discrimination in the mode in which it was applied. Without giving way to the weakness of indiscriminately relieving all who apply for charity, which so soon surrounds those who indulge in it with a mass of idle or profligate indigence, he made it a rule to inquire personally, or by means of those he could trust, into the character and circumstances of those who were partakers of his bounty; and when he found that it was really deserved, that virtue had been reduced by suffering, or industry blasted by misfortune, he put no bounds to the splendid extent of his benefactions. To one class in particular, in whom the sufferings of poverty are perhaps more severely felt than by any other in society, the remnants of old and respectable families who had survived their relations, or been broken down by misfortune, his charity was in a most signal manner exerted; and numerous aged and respectable individuals who had once known better days would have been reduced by his death to absolute ruin if they had not been fortunate enough to find in his descendants the heirs not only of his fortune, but of his virtue and generosity.

Both Sir William's father and mother were of Episcopalian families, as most of those of the higher class in Aberdeenshire at that period were; and he was early and strictly educated in the tenets of that persuasion. He attended Chief-baron Smith's chapel in Blackfriars' Wynd, of which he was one of the vestry, along with the esteemed Sir Adolphus Oughton, then commander-in-chief in Scotland. In 1771 it was resolved to join this congregation with that of two other chapels in Carruber's Close and Skinner's Close, and build a more spacious and commodious place of worship for them all united. In this undertaking, as in most others of the sort, the labouring oar fell to Sir William Forbes; and by his personal exertions, and the liberal subscriptions of himself and his friends, the Cowgate Chapel was at length completed, afterwards so well known as one of the most popular places of worship in Edinburgh.

When the new bankrupt act, which had been enacted only for a limited time, expired in 1783, Sir William Forbes was appointed convener of the mercantile committee in Edinburgh, which corresponded with the committees of Glasgow and Aberdeen, of which Provost Colquhoun and Mr. Milne were respectively conveners; and their united efforts and intelligence produced the great improvement upon the law which was effected by that act. By it the

sequestration law, which under the old statute had extended to all descriptions of debtors, was confined to merchants, traders, and others properly falling under its spirit; the well-known regulations for the equalization of arrestments and poindings within sixty days, were introduced; sequestrations, which included at first only the personal estate, were extended to the whole property; and the greatest improvement of all was introduced, namely, the restriction of what was formerly alternative to a system of private trust, under judicial control. Sir William Forbes, who corresponded with the London solicitor who drew the bill, had the principal share in suggesting these the great outlines of the system of mercantile bankruptcy in this country; and accordingly, when the convention of royal burghs, who paid the expense attending it, voted thanks to the lord-advocate for carrying it through parliament, they at the same time (10th July, 1783) directed their preses to "convey the thanks of the convention to Sir William Forbes, Ilay Campbell, Esq., solicitor-general for Scotland, and Mr. Milne, for their great and uncommon attention to the bill."

On the death of Mr. Forbes of Pitsligo, only son of Lord Pitsligo, in 1782, whose estate and title were forfeited for his accession to the rebellion in 1745, Sir William Forbes, as the nearest heir in the female line of the eldest branch of the family of Forbes, claimed and obtained from the Lyon-court the designation and arms of Pitsligo. He was the heir of the peerage under the destination in the patent, if it had not been forfeited.

Hitherto Sir William Forbes' character has been considered merely as that of a public-spirited, active, and benevolent gentleman, who, by great activity and spotless integrity, had been eminently prosperous in life, and devoted, in the true spirit of Christian charity, a large portion of his ample means and valuable time to the relief of his fellow-creatures, or works of public utility and improvement; but this was not his only character—he was also a gentleman of the highest breeding, and most dignified manners; the life of every scene of innocent amusement or recreation, the head of the most cultivated and elegant society in the capital; and a link between the old Scottish aristocratical families, to which he belonged by birth, and the rising commercial opulence with which he was connected by profession, as well as the literary circle with which he was intimate from his acquirements. His intimate acquaintance with the first literary characters of the day, and the extensive correspondence which had fallen into his hands, probably suggested to Sir William Forbes the idea of writing the life of Dr. Beattie, one of his earliest and most valued friends, and whose eminence was not only such as to call for such an effort of biography, but whose acquaintance with all the eminent writers of the time, rendered his life the most favourable opportunity for portraying the constellation of illustrious men who shed a glory over Scotland at the close of the eighteenth century. He executed this work accordingly, which appeared in 1805, shortly before his death, in such a way as to give the most favourable impression of the distinction which he would have attained as an author, had his path in general not lain in a more extended and peculiar sphere of usefulness. It rapidly went through a second edition, and is now deservedly ranked high among the biographical and historical remains of the last century.

One peculiar and most salutary species of benevolence was practised by Sir William Forbes to the greatest extent. His situation as head of a great banking establishment led to his receiving frequent

applications in the way of business for assistance, from young men not as yet possessed of capital. By a happy combination of caution with liberality in making these advances, by inquiring minutely into the habits and moral character of the individuals assisted, and proportioning the advance to their means and circumstances, he was enabled, to an almost incredible extent, to assist the early efforts of industry, without in the least endangering the funds committed by others to his care. Hundreds in every rank in Edinburgh were enabled, by his paternal assistance, to commence life with advantage, who otherwise could never have been established in the world; and numbers who afterwards rose to affluence and prosperity, never ceased in after-years to acknowledge with the warmest gratitude the timely assistance which first gave the turn to their heretofore adverse fortunes, and laid the foundation of all the success which they afterwards attained.

The benevolence of his disposition and the warmth of his heart seemed to expand with the advance of life and the increase of his wealth. Unlike most other men, he grew even more indulgent and humane, if that were possible, in his older than his earlier years. The intercourse of life, and the experience of a most extensive business, had no effect in diminishing his favourable opinion of mankind, or cooling his ardour in the pursuit of beneficence. Viewing others in the pure and unsullied mirror of his own mind, he imputed to them the warm and benevolent feelings with which he himself was actuated; and thought they were influenced by the same high springs of conduct which directed his own life. It was an early rule with him to set aside every year a certain portion of his income to works of charity, and this proportion increasing with the growth of his fortune, ultimately reached an almost incredible amount. Unsatisfied even with the immense extent and growing weight of his public and private charities, he had, for many years before his death, distributed large sums annually to individuals on whom he could rely to be the almoners of his bounty; and his revered friend Bishop Jolly received in this way £100 a year, to be distributed around the remote village of Fraserburgh, in Aberdeenshire. These sums were bestowed under the most solemn promise of secrecy, and without any one but the person charged with the bounty being aware who the donor was. Numbers in this way in every part of the country partook of his charity, without then knowing whose was the hand which blessed them; and it frequently happened that the same persons who had been succoured by his almoners, afterwards applied to himself; but on such occasions, he invariably relieved them if they really seemed to require assistance; holding, as he himself expressed it, that his public and private charities were distinct; and that his right hand should not know what his left hand had given.

But the end of a life of so much dignity and usefulness, the pattern of benevolence, refinement, and courtesy, was at length approaching. He had a long and dangerous illness in 1791, from which, at the time, he had no hopes of recovery; and which he bore with the resignation and meekness which might have been expected from his character. Though that complaint yielded to the skill of his medical friends, it left the seeds of a still more dangerous malady, in a tendency to water in the chest. In 1802 he had the misfortune to lose Lady Forbes, the loved and worthy partner of his virtues; which sensibly affected his spirits, though he bore the bereavement with the firmness and hope which his strong religious principles inspired. In May, 1806, shortly after his return from London, whither he

had been summoned as a witness on Lord Melville's trial, he began to feel symptoms of shortness of breath; and the last house where he dined was that of his son, Lord Medwyn, on occasion of the christening of one of his children, on the 28th of June, 1806. After that time he was constantly confined to the house; the difficulty of breathing increased, and his sufferings for many months were very severe. During all this trying period not a complaint ever escaped his lips. He constantly prayed for assistance to be enabled to bear whatever the Almighty might send; and at length death closed his memorable career, on the 12th November, 1806, when surrounded by his family, and supported by all the hopes and consolations of religion, amidst the tears of his relations, and the blessings of his country.

Sir William Forbes was succeeded in his title and estates by his son, Sir William, a man of the most amiable and upright character, who having been cut off in the middle of his years and usefulness, was succeeded by his son, Sir John Stuart Forbes. The subject of our memoir left two other sons, Mr. John Hay Forbes (Lord Medwyn) and Mr. George Forbes, and five daughters, four of whom were married: Lady Wood, wife of Sir Alexander Wood; Mrs. Macdonald of Glengarry; Mrs. Skene of Rubislaw; and Mrs. Mackenzie of Portmore. We close this notice of Sir William Forbes, in the words of Sir Walter Scott, who, in his notes to *Marmion*, remarks of him, that he was "unequalled, perhaps, in the degree of individual affection entertained for him by his friends, as well as in the general esteem and respect of Scotland at large;" and who, in that noble poem, commemorates his virtues with equal truth and tenderness:—

"Far may we search before we find
A heart so manly and so kind."

FORDUN, or DE FORDUN, JOHN, the celebrated author of the *Scotchchronicon*, was probably born about the middle of the fourteenth century, and at the village of Fordun, in Kincardineshire, from which he seems to have taken his name. Walter Bower, the continuator of his history, speaks of him as a simple man, who never graduated in the schools. It would appear, however, that he possessed sufficient learning to fit him for the profession of a priest and the composition of a Latin history, as these two various kinds of labour were then practised. He was a priest of the diocese of St. Andrews, and a canon of the church of Aberdeen, where he is said to have resided at the time when he composed his history. This great composition was in progress, as he himself informs us, in the reign of Richard II. of England, which extended between the years 1387 and 1399; and this, vague as it is, is one of the few dates that can be supplied respecting the life of the chronicler. The work produced by Fordun, though deformed by the superstitious and incorrect ideas of the age, is nevertheless a respectable production, fully qualified to bear comparison with the works of the contemporary English historians. The merit of the author is increased in no mean degree by the motive which prompted him to undertake the composition—a desire of supplying the want of those historical monuments which Edward I. carried away to England. To quote the quaint words of a monkish writer: "After the loss of these chronicles, a venerable Scottish priest, by name John Fordun, arose, and feeling his heart titillated and effervescent with patriotic zeal, he applied his hand boldly to

the work; nor did he desist from the undertaking until, by the most laborious study and perseverance, traversing England and the adjacent provinces of his own country, he had recovered so much of the lost materials as enabled him to compose five volumes of the delectable gests of the Scots, which he drew up in a sufficiently chronicle-like style, as they are to be found in the great volume entitled the *Scotchchronicon*. In this undertaking it is impossible to refrain from bestowing great praise upon the industry of the author. For, adverting to the fact that to commit all the records of past ages to the memory is the attribute of God rather than man; he, upon this consideration, travelled on foot, like an unwearied and investigating bee, through the flowery meadows of Britain, and into the oracular recesses of Ireland; taking his way through provinces and towns, through universities and colleges, through churches and monasteries, entering into conversation, and not unfrequently sharing at bed and board, with historians and chronologists; turning over their books, debating and disputing with them, and pricking down, or intitulating in his descriptive tablets, all that most pleased him; in this manner, and by pursuing indefatigable investigation, he became possessed of the knowledge which was before unknown to him, and collecting it with studious care in the revolving sinuosities of his parchment code, like rich honeycombs in a historical hive, he, as I have already premised, divided them into five books of elegant composition, which brought down the history to the death of the sainted King David."

The result of Fordun's labours is, that we possess an account of several ages of Scottish history which otherwise would have been in a great measure blank. The two first of the five books into which he divides his work may be laid aside as relating only to the fabulous part of the narrative; the last refers to the period between 1056 and 1153, and is a valuable piece of history. Posterior to the year last mentioned Fordun has only written detached notes, which, however, are themselves of no small value for the facts which they contain. When the venerable canon found himself too infirm to continue his labours, he committed the materials which he had collected to Walter Bower, who, as noticed elsewhere, became abbot of Inchcolm in 1418, and by whom the work was brought down to the year 1436. The *Scotchchronicon* was afterwards copied in various monasteries, and has accordingly been handed down in several shapes, each slightly different from the other, under the titles of the *Book of Scone*, the *Book of Paisley*, and other denominations. Finally, the earlier part formed a substructure for the amplified work of Hector Boece, and the elegant one of Buchanan. The work itself has been twice printed, first at Oxford, by Hearne, in five vols. 8vo, and afterwards at Edinburgh in one volume folio, with a preface by Goodal; but a translation is still a desideratum in Scottish historical literature.

FORDYCE, DAVID, professor of philosophy in the Marischal College, Aberdeen, and author of several esteemed works, was one of the twenty-one children of Provost Fordyce of that city, and whose wife was a sister of Alexander and Thomas Blackwell, whose lives have appeared previously in this work. The father of the Blackwells was professor of divinity, Dr. Thomas Blackwell became professor of Greek, and his widow founded a chemical chair in Marischal College, which has thus become identified with the history of both the Fordyces and the Blackwells. David Fordyce was born in 1711, and was the second son of his parents. To quote the

¹ As translated by Mr. P. F. Tytler, in his *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, article "Fordun."

only accessible authority respecting him!—After being educated at the grammar-school of his native city, he was entered of Marischal College in 1724, where he went through a course of philosophy under Professor Daniel Jarden, and of mathematics under Mr. John Stewart. He took his degree of A.M. in 1728, when he was but little more than seventeen years old. Being intended for the church, his next application was to the study of divinity, under the professor of that branch, Mr. James Chalmers, a man of great learning and piety, and ancestor of the individuals who have so long carried on the *Aberdeen Journal* newspaper. Mr. Fordyce studied divinity with great ardour, and in time obtained a license as a preacher of the gospel, though he was not so fortunate as to procure a living. In 1742 he was appointed professor of moral philosophy in Marischal College, a chair which then demanded a greater range of accomplishments than now. It was the duty of Mr. Fordyce, not only to deliver the usual philosophic lectures, but to give instructions in a similar manner on natural history, chronology, Greek and Roman antiquities, mechanics, optics, and astronomy; and it is acknowledged that he acquitted himself of this laborious task in a very respectable manner. The connection of some of his colleagues with the literary system of the metropolis appears to have introduced Mr. Fordyce to the celebrated Dodsley, by whom he was employed to write the article "Moral Philosophy" for the *Modern Preceptor*; a task which he performed in so creditable a manner, that it was afterwards found necessary to publish his work in an independent form, under the title of *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*. It appeared in 1754, and was undoubtedly the most elegant and useful compendium of moral science which had then been given to the public. Previously to this, Mr. Fordyce had attracted some notice as an author, though without his name, in *Dialogues concerning Education*, the first volume of which was published in 1745, and the second in 1748. It is a work of very considerable merit, but somewhat tinged by the fopperies of the school of Shaftesbury, although entirely free from its more injurious notions. He was engaged in other literary designs, and afforded the promise of rising to great eminence in the world, when he was cut off by a premature death. In 1750 he made a tour through France, Italy, and other countries, with a particular view to visit Rome, and was returning home in 1751 when he unhappily lost his life in the forty-first year of his age, by a storm on the coast of Holland.² His death is pathetically noticed by his brother Dr. James Fordyce, in his *Addresses to the Deity*, and an epitaph from the same pen, conceived in a somewhat bombastical style, will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1796.

FORDYCE, GEORGE, a distinguished physician and lecturer on medicine, was born at Aberdeen, November 18, 1736, and was the only and posthumous child of Mr. George Fordyce, a brother of the other three distinguished persons of the same name recorded in the present work, and the proprietor of a small landed estate, called Broadford,

in the neighbourhood of that city. His mother, not long after, marrying again, he was taken from her, when about two years old, and sent to Foveran, at which place he received his school education. He was removed thence to the university of Aberdeen, where he was made M.A. when only fourteen years of age. In his childhood he had taken great delight in looking at vials of coloured liquids which were placed at the windows of an apothecary's shop. To this circumstance, and to his acquaintance with the learned Alexander Garden, M.D., many years a physician in South Carolina, and latterly in London, but then apprentice to a surgeon and apothecary in Aberdeen, he used to attribute the resolution he very early formed to study medicine. He was in consequence sent, when about fifteen years old, to his uncle, Dr. John Fordyce, who, at that time, practised medicine at Uppingham, in Northamptonshire. With him he remained several years, and then went to the university of Edinburgh, where, after a residence of about three years, he received the degree of M.D., in October, 1758. His inaugural dissertation was upon catarrh. While at Edinburgh, Dr. Cullen was so much pleased with his diligence and ingenuity, that, besides showing him many other marks of regard, he used frequently to give him private assistance in his studies. The pupil was ever after grateful for this kindness, and was accustomed to speak of his preceptor in terms of the highest respect, calling him often "his learned and revered master." About the end of 1758 he came to London, but went shortly after to Leyden, for the purpose chiefly of studying anatomy under Albinus. He returned in 1759 to London, where he soon determined to fix himself as a teacher and practitioner of medicine. When he made known this intention to his relations, they highly disapproved of it, as the whole of his patrimony had been expended upon his education. Inspired, however, with that confidence which frequently attends the conscious possession of great talents, he persisted in his purpose, and, before the end of 1759, commenced a course of lectures upon chemistry. This was attended by nine pupils. In 1764 he began to lecture also upon *materia medica* and the practice of physic. These three subjects he continued to teach nearly thirty years, giving, for the most part, three courses of lectures on each of them every year. A course lasted nearly four months; and, during it, a lecture of nearly an hour was delivered six times in the week. His time of teaching commenced about seven o'clock in the morning, and ended at ten; his lecture upon the three above-mentioned subjects being given, one immediately after the other. In 1765 he was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians. In 1770 he was chosen physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, after a considerable contest with Sir William (then Dr.) Watson; the number of votes in his favour being 109, in that of Dr. Watson 106. In 1774 he became a member of the Literary Club; and in 1776 was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1787 he was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians. No circumstance can demonstrate more strongly the high opinion entertained of his abilities by the rest of the profession in London, than his reception into that body. He had been particularly active in the dispute which had existed about twenty years before between the fellows and licentiates, and had, for this reason, it was thought, forfeited all title to be admitted into the fellowship through favour. But the college, in 1787, were preparing a new edition of their *Pharmacopœia*; and there was confessedly no one of their own number well acquainted with pharmaceutical chemistry. They wisely, therefore, sup-

¹ An unpublished article of the *Biographia Britannica*, quoted in Chalmers' *General Biographical Dictionary*.

² The posthumous works of this ingenious person were—*Theodorus, a Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching*, 12mo, which is a work of considerable utility to young divines, and has been repeatedly printed, along with his brother, Dr. James Fordyce's sermon on *The Elogium of the Pulpit*; and *The Temple of Virtue, a Dream*, which was given to the world in 1757, with some additions by the same distinguished relative.

pressed their resentment of his former conduct, and, by admitting him into their body, secured his assistance in a work which they were unable to perform well themselves. In 1793 he assisted in forming a small society of physicians and surgeons, which afterwards published several volumes, under the title of *Medical and Chirurgical Transactions*; and continued to attend its meetings most punctually till within a month or two of his death.

Having thus mentioned some of the principal events of his literary life, we shall next give a list of his various medical and philosophical works; and first, of those which were published by himself:—1. *Elements of Agriculture and Vegetation*. He had given a course of lectures on these subjects to some young men of rank; soon after the close of which one of his hearers, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, presented him with a copy of them from notes he had taken while they were delivered. Dr. Fordyce corrected the copy, and afterwards published it under the above-mentioned title.—2. *Elements of the Practice of Physic*. This was used by him as a text-book for a part of his course of lectures on that subject.—3. *A Treatise on the Digestion of Food*. It was originally read before the College of Physicians as the Guelstonian Lecture.—4. *Four Dissertations on Fever*. A fifth, which completes the subject, was left by him in manuscript, and afterwards published. His other works appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and the *Medical and Chirurgical Transactions*. In the former are eight papers by him, with the following titles:—1. "Of the Light produced by Inflammation." 2. "Examination of various Ores in the Museum of Dr. W. Hunter." 3. "A New Method of assaying Copper Ores." 4. "An Account of some Experiments on the Loss of Weight in Bodies on being Melted or Heated." 5. "An Account of an Experiment on Heat." 6. "The Cronian Lecture on Muscular Motion." 7. "On the Cause of the Additional Weight which Metals acquire on being Calcined." 8. "Account of a New Pendulum, being the Bakerian Lecture." His papers in the *Medical and Chirurgical Transactions* are:—1. "Observations on the Small-pox, and Causes of Fever." 2. "An Attempt to improve the Evidence of Medicine." 3. Some Observations upon the Composition of Medicines." He was, besides, the inventor of the experiments in heated rooms, an account of which was given to the Royal Society by Sir Charles Bladgen; and was the author of many improvements in various arts connected with chemistry, on which he used frequently to be consulted by manufacturers.

Though the subject of this memoir had projected various literary works in addition to those which have been mentioned, nothing was left by him in manuscript, except the *Dissertations on Fever* already spoken of, and two introductory lectures, one to his course of *materia medica*, the other to that of the practice of physic. This will not appear extraordinary to those who knew what confidence he had in the accuracy of his memory. He gave all his lectures without notes, and perhaps never possessed any; he took no memorandum in writing of the engagements he formed, whether of business or pleasure, and was always most punctual in observing them; and when he composed his works for the public, even such as describe successions of events bound together, as far as we can perceive, by no necessary tie, his materials, such at least as were his own, were altogether drawn from stores in his memory, which had often been laid up there many years before. In consequence of this retentiveness of memory, and of great reading and a most inventive mind, he was, perhaps, more generally skilled in the sciences which are either

directly subservient to medicine, or remotely connected with it, than any other person of his time. One fault in his character as an author probably arose, either wholly or in part, from the very excellence which has been mentioned. This was his deficiency in the art of literary composition, the knowledge of which he might have insensibly acquired to a much greater degree than was possessed by him, had he felt the necessity in his youth of frequently committing his thoughts to writing, for the purpose of preserving them. But, whether this be just or not, it must be confessed that, notwithstanding his great learning, which embraced many subjects no way allied to medicine, he seldom wrote elegantly, often obscurely and inaccurately; and that he frequently erred with respect even to orthography. His language, however, in conversation, which confirms the preceding conjecture, was not less correct than that of most other persons of good education. As a lecturer, his delivery was slow and hesitating, and frequently interrupted by pauses not required by his subject. Sometimes, indeed, these continued so long, that persons unaccustomed to his manner were apt to fear that he was embarrassed. But these disadvantages did not prevent his having a considerable number of pupils, actuated by the expectation of receiving from him more full and accurate instruction than they could elsewhere obtain. His person is said to have been handsome in his youth; but his countenance, from its fulness, must have been always inexpressive of the great powers of his mind. His manners too were less refined, and his dress in general less studied, than what most persons in this country regard as proper for a physician. From these causes, and from his spending no more time with his patients than what was sufficient for his forming a just opinion of their ailments, he had for many years but little private employment in his profession; and never, even in the latter part of his life, when his reputation was at its height, enjoyed nearly so much as many of his contemporaries. It is worthy of mention, however, that the amount of his fees during the year immediately preceding his decease, was greater, notwithstanding his advanced age and infirm health, than it had ever been before in the same space of time. He had always been fond of the pleasures of society; and in his youth, to render the enjoyment of them compatible with his pursuits after knowledge, he used to sleep very little. He has often, indeed, been known to lecture for three hours in a morning without having undressed himself the preceding night. The vigour of his constitution enabled him to sustain, for a considerable time, without apparent injury, this debilitating mode of life. But at length he was attacked with gout, which afterwards became irregular, and for many years frequently affected him with excruciating pains in his stomach and bowels. In the latter part of his life, also, his feet and ankles were almost constantly swollen; and, shortly before his death, he had symptoms of water in the chest. But these he disregarded, and uniformly attributed his situation, which for several weeks previous to his death he knew to be hopeless, to the presence of the first-mentioned disease. Death ultimately relieved him from his sufferings, May 25, 1802, when he was in the sixty-fourth year of his age. By his wife, who was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Esq., conservator of Scots privileges in the United Netherlands, and whom he had married in 1762, he left four children—two sons and two daughters.

FORDYCE, JAMES, D.D., author of the *Sermons to Young Women*, was a younger brother of the sub-

jects of two separate articles, and the fourth son of his parents. He was born at Aberdeen in 1720, and received the education requisite for a minister of the Scottish church at the Marischal College. In 1752 he was appointed minister of Brechin, but soon after was removed to Alloa, where at first he had many prejudices to encounter, though his popular manners and captivating style of pulpit oratory enabled him very speedily to overcome them. During his brief residence in this parish he published three occasional sermons, which attracted much notice; and in 1760 he increased his fame to a great degree by a discourse *On the Folly, Infamy, and Misery of Unlawful Pleasures*, which he preached before the General Assembly, and afterwards gave to the public. The novelty of this sermon in a country where all the best sermons were evangelical, and the elegance of its style and sentiments, produced a great impression throughout the country. The preacher soon after went to London, and notwithstanding the difference between the Scottish Confession of Faith and the tenets of the English dissenters, offered himself on a vacancy at the meeting in Carter Lane, but without success. About this time he received the degree of D.D. from the university of Glasgow, and was invited by the meeting in Monkwell Street to be co-pastor with Dr. Lawrence, then aged and infirm. This invitation he accepted, and upon Dr. Lawrence's death, which happened soon after, he became sole pastor, and entered into the enjoyment of a very respectable income. During his ministry in this place he acquired a higher degree of popularity than probably ever was attained by the same means. The strong force of his eloquence drew men of all ranks and all persuasions to hear him. His action and elocution were original and peculiarly striking, being not a little assisted by his figure, which was tall beyond the common standard, and by a set of features which in preaching displayed great variety of expression and animation. Besides his regular attendants, who subscribed to his support, his meeting was frequented by men curious in eloquence; and it is said that the celebrated David Garrick was more than once a hearer, and spoke of Dr. Fordyce's skill in oratory with great approbation. With respect to his theological sentiments, he appears to have possessed that general liberality which is civil to all systems, without being attached to any. From his printed works it would be easier to prove that he belonged to no sect, than that he held the principles of any. As to the matter, morality appears to have been his chief object; and as to the manner, he ardently studied a polish and a spirit which was then seldom met with in English pulpits, although it had not been unusual in those of France.

In 1771 Dr. Fordyce married Miss Henrietta Cummings; and in 1775 he was involved in an unhappy dispute with his coadjutor, Mr. Toller, son-in-law to Dr. Lawrence. This misunderstanding originated in some omission of ceremonial politeness between the two reverend gentlemen, and from the want of mutual concession the breach widened, till reconciliation became impossible. Dr. Fordyce appears, indeed, to have been of an irritable temper, which led him on this occasion to be guilty of an act which ultimately he had reason deeply to regret, as it proved most injurious to his own interest. For, on undertaking to perform the whole duty of the chapel, he possessed sufficient influence to have Mr. Toller ejected from the pastoral charge. The consequence was, that the congregation became dissatisfied, split into parties, and gradually dispersed, when Dr. Fordyce was obliged to resign the ministry. It is true that bad health and the infirmities of old age had

their share in constraining him to this step, but the congregation had previously almost entirely deserted the chapel, which was soon after shut up. Finding himself no longer useful as a preacher, Dr. Fordyce, in the year 1783, left London, and retired first to Hampshire, and finally to Bath, where he continued to reside until his death, which took place on the 1st of October, 1796, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. We have in the following letter from Mrs. Fordyce a very interesting and instructing narrative of this melancholy event, while it presents, at the same time, a lively picture of Dr. Fordyce's piety and of some of the more amiable traits of his character.

"My dear Sir,—Being now able to sit up, I can only say, that had the state of my health when your last soothing but affecting letter came to hand admitted of my writing at all, such a letter from a favourite friend would have impelled me to give it an immediate reply. Accept, dear sir, of my gratitude for what it contained, especially for that sympathy I so much stand in need of; it is the balm of true friendship; and though it reaches me from various quarters, still the wound bleeds, and will continue to bleed till God shall heal it by that reunion of souls which must take place ere long.

"Hardly two people accost each other without a eulogium on his character, and a sigh for his death; but death it was not. To all human appearance he was translated. We spent a most agreeable evening together in my dressing-room, in which he was fond of sitting, on account of the fine air of the vale behind and the prospect; for he still kept his relish for all that was beautiful in nature. We were both engrossed with William Cowper's sermon to the Jews.

"I read the hymns and psalms in the little pamphlet. 'Ah!' said he, 'this carries me back to Monkwell Street, where we sang it together with my beloved flock; the strain shall be exalted when next we sing it.' Then turning to me, he said, 'We have read enough for to-night; before you call for supper let us have some music.' My niece is a very fine performer; she immediately sat down to accompany him in some of his favourite airs on the piano-forte; and a very fine cadence she sung so delighted him, that he made her do it over again, and turning to me, he said, 'How many things have we to be grateful for! The musical ear is a gift peculiar to some, withheld from others; there are many things in life richly to be enjoyed; all that leads up to God we may delight in, but whatever has no reference to him we should avoid. There are books called religious offices, preparations for the sacrament, and preparations for death, &c.; but for my own part, I never could think that such preparations consisted in such times being set apart for offices, and then returning to the world as having done with heaven for the time being. A man is not truly prepared for death unless by the tenor of his life he feels himself so wholly given up to God that his mind is in heaven before he goes hence; and he can only bring himself to that by the perpetual silent reference in all his words, thoughts, and actions to his Creator, which I have so often mentioned to you.' I replied, 'That indeed, doctor, is the test or criterion to judge himself by, for a man dare have no reference or appeal for his actions to God if his deeds condemn him to his own conscience.' 'God be praised!' said he; 'if I should leave you, I desire you may avail yourself of them. In addition to religion and the Scriptures there are books, friendships, and music: I would name more, but these are sufficient; cast yourself on God through your Redeemer. He will care for you

and raise you up friends.' I aimed at changing the conversation, and said, 'But you are better, my dear.' 'I am certainly easier,' he replied, 'and have had less pain and better symptoms for two or three weeks past; and I assure you, my beloved, I am not tired of life at all: for though the Almighty knows I have been long ready for the summons, yet if it is his pleasure to let the lamp of life burn on a little longer, I am satisfied, and I am his.'

"He sat his usual time after supper, which he partook in a moderate way, without any disrelish. About eleven he rang for the servants, who with my niece and myself attended him every night to his bed-chamber. To my unspeakable joy it seemed to cost him much less effort than common to mount the stairs, which formerly was so painful a task, that at every landing-place a chair was set for him to rest on ere he could ascend to the next. He joined us all in observing with gratitude and wonder that he should gain more ease by living longer. He and I conversed in a very pleasing style on various subjects till about one o'clock, and then he urged my going to bed, lest I should be hurt by such late hours. He also forbade me to get up in the night, as anxiety about him had often made me do, unless I should hear him call me; he made me promise I would not, after which we embraced. I left him very happy, comfortable, and serene, I might add even cheerful. We both slept in our different apartments, and mine had a door of communication with his, so he could not stir without my hearing. He awoke about two o'clock and lighted a wax bougie at his lamp, one of which stood on a dumb-waiter at his bed-side with his medicines and cordials. He lighted it to take the ethereal spirit; but forgetting to blow it out, it unfortunately took fire in the bunch, the smell of which awoke him perhaps in some alarm. He then called to me, who was just in my first sleep, and springing up eagerly in the dark I stumbled, and struck my head against the door; the blow for a few minutes stunned me, and made me reel in coming up to him. I affected to be well that he might not be alarmed. 'I called to you, my love, lest the smell of fire which the bougie occasioned might have frightened you. You have paid dear for coming to me by this blow.' Saying so he got up, and calling the women with a firm voice three or four times, they and my niece were all at once with us. I was praying him to return to bed, but he refused until he should get me, from their hands, some sal volatile. He then said, 'Are you better?' I answered, 'O well, well.' 'God be praised,' said he, raising his hands, and with the words in his mouth he fell in our arms without a groan, a sigh, or so much as the rattle in the throat. The spirit was instantly fled, and for ever, to the God that gave it. He was taken from my arms who will ever live in my heart, and I saw him no more."

Dr. Fordyce's first literary attempt was made as editor of the posthumous work of his brother, Mr. David Fordyce, published in 1752, entitled *The Art of Preaching*. But he is best known to the world by the ingenious and elegant sermons which he addressed to young women, and his addresses to young men. He was author, however, of several other publications,¹ and was remarkable for the energy and use-

fulness of his pulpit instructions. His private character was amiable, his manners those of a gentleman and Christian. He blended great cheerfulness with sincere and ardent piety. He possessed a cultivated understanding, a warm heart, and great liberality of sentiment. He was a steady friend of civil and religious toleration—not from indifference, but from a true spirit of Christian philanthropy.

FORDYCE, COLONEL JOHN, a brave and pious officer, who fell in the Kaffir war in 1851, was the eldest son of Thomas J. Fordyce, Esq., of Ayton, Berwickshire, an extensive landed proprietor of great worth and intelligence. Under the parental roof he was trained from his earliest years in the best lessons of a religious education. His accomplished and truly Christian mother, who "had no greater joy than to see her children walking in the truth," was her son's faithful instructress in that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation. A portion of the sacred volume was committed each morning to memory, and around the family altar prayer was offered daily to the Lord. At the age of twelve the subject of this memoir had mastered several of the higher Latin classics, and acquired a tolerable knowledge of Greek. For the acquisition of languages he discovered peculiar aptitude, analyzing with much facility the passages of his favourite authors. It was manifest, from the enthusiasm with which he followed Cæsar and Hannibal, and other heroes of antiquity, through their respective fields of conflict, that he was destined for a military life. The writer of these observations has a vivid recollection of the graphic skill with which, after rising from the pages of Livy or Tacitus, he described the successes or discomfitures of the combatants, and pronounced on the equity or injustice of the causes of warfare. Before leaving home for a private seminary in England, he was thoroughly conversant with the works of our best modern historians, travellers, and poets. After his return, he completed his literary curriculum in Edinburgh, and was resident for some time with Doctor (now Bishop) Terrot, enjoying under his able superintendence advantages equivalent to those of an English university.

His first commission as an ensign in the 34th regiment was dated in 1828. He served with that corps (then in Nova Scotia) until 1832, when he obtained an unattached lieutenancy. The same year, however, he returned to full pay, first in the 94th, and soon after in the 21st. He served with the 21st North British fusiliers until 1836, when he obtained his company in the 35th regiment, from which he

These were delivered at the ordination of Mr. John Gibson, minister of St. Ninians, May 9th, 1754.

4. "The Temple of Virtue," a Dream, 12mo, 1747. 2d edition, much altered, 1755.

5. "The Folly, Infamy, and Misery of Unlawful Pleasures," a Sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 25th May, 1760—8vo, 1760.

6. "A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Lawrence, who departed this Life 1st October, 1760, with an Address at his Interment," 8vo, 1760.

7. "Sermons to Young Women," 2 vols. 12mo, 1766.

8. "The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex, and the Advantages to be derived by Young Men from the Society of Virtuous Young Women;" a Discourse in three parts, delivered in Monkwell Street Chapel, 1st January, 1776: 8vo, 1776.

9. "Addresses to Young Men," 2 vols. 12mo, 1777.

10. "The Delusive and Persecuting Spirit of Popery;" a Sermon preached in the Monkwell Street Chapel on the 10th of February, being the day appointed for the General Fast, 8vo, 1779.

11. "Charge delivered in Monkwell Street Chapel, at the Ordination of the Rev. James Lindsay," 8vo, 1783. Printed with the Sermon delivered by Dr. Hunter on that occasion.

12. "Addresses to the Deity," 12mo.

13. "Poems," 12mo, 1786.

¹ The following is a list of Dr. Fordyce's works:—

1. "The Eloquence of the Pulpit, an Ordination Sermon, to which is added a Charge," 12mo, 1752.

2. "An Essay on the Action proper for the Pulpit," 12mo. Both these are published at the end of "Theodorus, a Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching, by David Fordyce," 3d edition, 12mo, 1755.

3. "The Method of Edification by Public Instruction," an Ordination Sermon, to which is added a Charge, 12mo, 1754.

exchanged into the 11th foot in 1839. Having in 1844 obtained his step as major in the latter regiment, he exchanged the same year into the 74th Highlanders. In 1846 he became lieutenant-colonel and commanding officer of this regiment, in which important position he gained the esteem of the military authorities, and the affection of all who served under him. Though possessed of a good private fortune, so strong was his *esprit de corps*, that in March, 1851, he embarked with his regiment for the Cape of Good Hope, where, after months of severe and harassing warfare, he fell at the head of his beloved Highlanders, in the prime of manhood, and with a name already one of renown.

Endowed with a masculine understanding, a capacious and retentive memory, an indomitable perseverance, ample promise was afforded of literary distinction. Highly gifted as was his intellect, which, as if by intuition, separated the accessories from the essentials of any subject, his moral qualities commanded still higher admiration. His bosom was the very home of honour and generosity. "Truth in the inward parts," manly independence in forming his opinions, and unflinching courage in expressing them, were united with the meekness of wisdom and an unaffected modesty of demeanour which shrank with sensitive aversion from all ostentatious display. In personal appearance Colonel Fordyce was considerably above the ordinary height, with a high massive forehead, and a countenance which revealed profound thought, calm decision of purpose, and delicate sensibility. There was frequently also a look of pensive reflection, which indicated that he had been no stranger to the afflictions and sorrows of life. By a stranger, indeed, he might sometimes appear chargeable with a degree of reserve, bordering even on *hauteur*; but those who knew him thoroughly could best appreciate the depth and constancy of his friendships, and his warm-hearted sympathy with his fellow-men, both "of high and of low degree."

Deprived in youth of his excellent parents, to whom he was ever a dutiful and loving son, he fulfilled with unwearied fidelity and tenderness the part of an elder brother towards all the other members of the family.

In no feature of character was Colonel Fordyce more remarkable than in his strict conscientiousness. Every transaction, private or public, was conducted with a sacred regard to the authority and the glory of God. This profound sense of responsibility for his stewardship distinguished him not only in the more prominent departments of duty, but in the most minute details of every-day life. As an officer who had been called to occupy a high position in the British army, he was ardently and indefatigably devoted to his professional avocations; cheerfully expending time and strength and pecuniary resources in promoting the temporal and spiritual welfare of the regiment which he commanded. Whilst stationed in Glasgow, opportunities were incidentally afforded for marking the solicitude which he evinced in regard to the intellectual and moral improvement of soldiers' children; using all practicable means, by week-day and Sabbath schools, that they might be trained to a virtuous life.

The 74th, with their gallant colonel, were ordered from Glasgow to Clonmel, Ireland. The following notice from the Rev. Mr. Dill testifies to the estimation in which he was held in that place:—

"Sir,—The death of Lieutenant-colonel Fordyce, 74th Highlanders, has been felt as a personal bereavement by all who knew him. Clonmel was the last home-station of the 74th, where, after eight

months' residence, they received orders for foreign service in November, 1850. To those even slightly acquainted with the army it will not sound strange to hear, in the published accounts from the Cape, 'that the whole colony deplores the loss of this noble officer. Both men and officers feel his loss severely, and at this juncture the loss the service has sustained is incalculable.' But those who knew Colonel Fordyce, not only as a soldier but as a man and a Christian, can truly estimate his loss to his regiment and his country. As chaplain to the 74th Highlanders I had frequent opportunity of meeting and observing him. I can truly say that under God he devoted himself to his regiment and the service. Though not a member of the Presbyterian church, he was never absent from his pew on the Lord's-day. I continually found him superintending the regimental Sabbath and week-day schools, and could trace his kind advice and charity everywhere among the sick in hospital, the families and recruits of his regiment. On the evening before the 74th Highlanders left Clonmel for the Cape of Good Hope he called, and handed me £10 for charitable purposes, requesting that I should not give his name as the donor. Besides this he had given, through my name, within the three preceding months, £15 to other charities. What his other donations were I know not. From what I have heard they must have been numerous, as I am sure they were unostentatious. The lamentable death of Colonel Fordyce affords me the sad pleasure of acknowledging the benevolence and worth which he would not permit to be made known while he was alive. I feel his death as if it were a personal bereavement, and I pray that our army may be blessed by many such officers.—I remain, yours truly,
JOHN DILL.

"Manse, Clonmel, 10th Jan. 1852."

As evincing the Christian and philanthropic spirit by which Colonel Fordyce was animated, one or two extracts from his letters to the writer of these lines may be given. The following was received after a domestic bereavement:—

"My dear —,—My having been sent from Dublin with a flying column in pursuit of Smith O'Brien and other rebels must be my apology for not having written to acknowledge the receipt of the announcement of the deprivation you have sustained, and to assure you of my unfeigned sympathy. I may express my hope that, sustained by the same consolations which you have been so long the honoured instrument of imparting to others, your own bodily health and ability for active exertion may remain unimpaired.

"I need not trespass upon you at this time with any notice of the treasonable proceedings here. The newspapers have given a full account of everything that has occurred; and so far as we (the column of troops) are concerned, we have seen no enemy excepting the continual rain, which is, of course, a very disagreeable one, as we have been marching about and encamped since the 28th July. O'Brien is, as you know, captured, and quietly lodged in jail, and I have no doubt that all thought of open armed rebellion is at an end for the present.

"However it may fare with this unfortunate country, any one of common observation must see that the whole European world is in an unprecedented state; and that whatever may be our exact place in the series of predicted events, some great overwhelming change in the whole structure of human society is impending. My reading of Elliot's *Horæ Apocalypticæ* has been interrupted by my present occupations, before I could get beyond the first volume, or form any opinion as to his system of in-

terpretation of unfulfilled prophecy. Amidst all the changes, present and coming, upon this world, we have individually many warnings to place our hopes on a world where change and cares are alike unknown,—considerations which it is superfluous in me to suggest to your matured and practised mind, but which rise naturally as *the great subjects of the day and hour*. A tent does not afford a good writing-table, and damp paper renders my writing more than usually illegible. I trust that Mrs. — is well; and again assuring you of my good wishes, beg you to believe me ever faithfully and sincerely yours,

“J. FORDYCE.

“Tipperary, 11th August, 1848.”

The next extract is from a communication sent after the death of General Sir John Buchan, Colonel Fordyce's uncle, and brother of the venerable Mr. Buchan of Kelloe:—

“Although I take a Glasgow newspaper, the *Scottish Guardian*, in which there is a full account of the debates in your General Assembly, I have been too much occupied with other matters to look at them since my return, but I glanced at one speech of Dr. Duff's regarding the Indian missions, which appeared to be one of remarkable eloquence and power. He must be indeed gifted with no common energy of character, in addition to genius, eloquence, and many acquirements, to be able to resist the depressing lassitude of an oriental climate for so many years, and now to electrify and command a critical audience, as he appears to have done for hours during the late meeting of the assembly.”

A subsequent letter, of date Nov. 8, 1850, inclosing a generous donation for the benefit of certain Free Church students who were scantily provided, contains the following remarks:—“I have read Dr. Buchanan's book (*the Ten Years' Conflict*) with great interest; and although I may confess to you that, as to my personal taste, I prefer the liturgy and forms of the Church of England, and cannot quite see that principle required such a sacrifice as the disruption of the Church of Scotland, I sincerely believe now that the cause of the Free Church is in Scotland the cause of Christianity, and that even persons who have not the strong personal motives which I have to look favourably upon its exertions, should, with a cardinal at Westminster, sink all minor differences in their support of Protestant Christianity.”

“No one,” writes his excellent brother, Major Fordyce, who had shared along with him the toils and perils of the disastrous struggle, “knew my brother's state of mind better than I did; for I had for a long time been constantly with him, and I knew that he was a faithful follower of Christ, and he is now where there is no more sorrow—no more pain. What a great thing it is to have such consolation! How much more dreadful would have been the sad bereavement if we could not have felt the confidence we do that he died a Christian, and that his removal from this world was the end of all trial to him, and the commencement of an eternity of joy!”

The following particulars of the death of this brave officer, who fell whilst fighting against the Kaffirs at the Cape, are gleaned from letters which appear in the *Grahamstown Journal*, of 15th November:—

“Fort Beaufort, Tuesday.—After the publication of our extra, the following came to hand, and contains an account of the melancholy fate of the gallant Colonel Fordyce:—

“November 6.—This being the promised day, all eyes were directed to the hills, which we knew to have been planted with the instruments of thunder. The clouds, however, lay piled in heaps long after sunrise; but no sooner had the rays of his refugeance

escaped from the clouds which intercepted them, than the curtain gradually rose, and by seven o'clock the frequent report announced that another act of the dull tragedy had commenced. Peal after peal continued to reverberate among the steep acclivities of the rocky eminences which rise above the dark bush that conceals the enemy. Towards mid-day the wind changed to the south-east, which wafted the sounds from this direction. All were anxiously awaiting the arrival of intelligence from the scene of strife, as we had reason to believe that, from the rapid reports, the conflict was maintained with obstinacy and resolution. Hour succeeded hour, until long after, when in broken accents it was revealed that Colonel Fordyce had fallen. But as this report rested upon the authority of a private letter brought in by two mounted Fingoes, hopes were entertained that, in the heat and bustle of the moment, some mistake might have occurred. About nine at night, however, the event was confirmed by an eye-witness to the melancholy fact, from whom it appears that the colonel was leading his men into Waterkloof in column, when suddenly his march was arrested by a rocky precipice which flanked him in the form of a semicircle; here he found the rebels in considerable force, who knew too well the rules of military tactics to let so favourable an opportunity escape for inflicting a penalty. The bayonets of our brave countrymen in such a position were powerless; they had therefore to contend against an enemy concealed among inaccessible rocks, whom they could not assail; and thus fell, while showing to his men by example the first duties of a soldier, the good and the gallant Fordyce. Thus fell the father of his distinguished regiment, to the honour of which all his impulses were directed. The soldier, the woman and children, to whose comforts he devoted himself with parental solicitude, will long cherish his remembrance. It is to be regretted that so valuable a life should have been sacrificed in so ignoble a strife.”

Extract from the leading article of the *Naval and Military Gazette*, February, 1852. . . . “And here we may observe that there must have been something singularly attractive in the noble soldier who fell at the head of the 74th Highlanders, which, in the short time (six months) he had been in the colony, and in Grahamstown in particular, should have so impressed and so endeared him to the inhabitants that the journals of that town announcing his death should be margined with black, and the bell of their distant church has tolled his funeral knell; while the colours, half-mast high, floated languidly in the air, in token of a hero's fall!”

FORDYCE, SIR WILLIAM, F.R.S., a distinguished physician, was a younger brother of David and James Fordyce, whose lives have already been recorded, and was born in the year 1724. Like his brethren, he was educated at the Marischal College, of which he died lord-rector. At the age of eighteen he finished his academic studies, in which he had distinguished himself particularly by his proficiency in Greek and mathematics, the most solid as well as the most ornamental parts of academic knowledge. Having studied physic and surgery under a native practitioner, he joined the army as a volunteer, and afterwards served as surgeon to the brigade of guards on the coast of France and in all the military transactions which took place in Germany. The warm support of his military friends co-operated with his own merit in early recommending him to distinguished practice in London. His publications, particularly his treatise on fevers and ulcerated sore throat,

greatly extended his fame; and he was sent for to greater distances, and received larger fees, than almost any physician of his time. The wealth which he thus acquired he liberally expended in benevolent actions, and was thus the means of doing much good as well as some harm. Having patronized his brother Alexander, who was a banker in London, he enabled that individual to enter upon an unusually extensive series of transactions, which, though sound in themselves, exposed him to a malevolent combination of his brethren in trade, and hence the great bankruptcy of Fordyce & Co., which may be termed one of the most important domestic events in Britain during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Besides the losses which Sir William Fordyce thus incurred, he soon after became engaged for £10,000 more, which was lost by his brother in the project of a manufacture which totally failed; and had it not been for the generosity of the Messrs. Drummond, bankers, who advanced him the necessary sum, he must have submitted to a loss of personal liberty. Notwithstanding these severe shocks to his fortune, Sir William continued to maintain two poor families whom he had taken under his patronage, and who had no other resource. It is also to be mentioned, to the honour of this excellent man, that, besides his own losses by Alexander, he repaid those incurred by his brother James, amounting to several thousand pounds. The benevolence of Sir William Fordyce was a kind of enthusiasm. When he heard of a friend being ill, he would run to give him his advice, and take no fee for his trouble. His house was open to all kinds of meritorious persons in distressed circumstances, and he hardly ever wanted company of this kind. He was also indefatigable in his good offices towards young Scotsmen who had come to London in search of employment. His address had much of the courtly suavity of a past age, and his conversation, while unassuming, was replete with elegant anecdote and solid information. His eye beamed gentleness and humanity, ennobled by penetration and spirit. Although originally of a delicate constitution, by temperance and exercise he preserved his health for many years, but suffered at last a long and severe illness, which ended in his death, December 4, 1792. Sir William, who had been knighted about 1787, wrote a treatise on the *Venercal Disease*; another, as already mentioned, on *Fever*, and a third on *Ulcerated Sore Throat*; besides which he published, immediately before his death, a pamphlet on *The Great Importance and Proper Method of cultivating Rhubarb in Britain for Medicinal Uses*.

FORREST, ROBERT. This self-taught sculptor was born at Carluke, Lanarkshire, in 1790. He was bred as a stone-mason in the quarries of Carluke; but, having a spirit beyond his mechanical occupation, he employed his leisure hours in the higher departments of stone-carving, until he obtained notice and some distinction as a sculptor. This recognition brought him occupation in the honourable profession he had adopted, and his first public work was a statue of Sir William Wallace, executed in 1817, and which occupies a niche in the steeple of Lanark parish church. After this he was commissioned to form the colossal statue, fourteen feet in height, of the first Viscount Melville, which surmounts the pillar copied from Trajan's Column at Rome, and is erected in the centre of St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh. Another of his public works, executed about the same time, was the statue of John Knox which rears its commanding form in the Necropolis of Glasgow, with an admonitory gesture towards the ancient cathedral.

Stimulated by the public approbation which these specimens produced, Robert Forrest opened in 1832 his public exhibition of statuary on the Calton Hill, Edinburgh, with four equestrian statues, under the patronage of a royal association of contributors to the national monument. This was but the commencement of a bold adventure, as thirty groups of statues at last occupied his gallery, all of them executed by Forrest himself. In these not only the remarkable industry, but the talent and genius, of the artist are exhibited; the figures being exact in their proportions, admirable in their attitudes, and distinguished by their spirit and expressiveness. In consequence of these merits Forrest's exhibition on the Calton Hill became a frequent resort of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and one of the lions of the sight-seers who visited the metropolis. Besides these, a statue from his chisel of the late Mr. Ferguson of Raith, erected in 1843 at Haddington, is considered as one of the best of his works. After an illness of six weeks Robert Forrest died at Edinburgh, on the 29th of December, 1852, in the sixty-third year of his age.

FORSYTH, WILLIAM, distinguished in the science of arboriculture, was born at Old Meldrum in Aberdeenshire, in 1737. Having been bred to the business of a gardener, he went to London in 1763, and soon after became a pupil of the celebrated Philip Miller, gardener to the company of apothecaries at their physic-garden in Chelsea. In 1771 he succeeded his master in this respectable situation, in which he remained till 1784, when he was appointed by George III. chief superintendent of the royal gardens at Kensington and St. James's, which employments he held till his death.

About the year 1768 Mr. Forsyth paid particular attention to the cultivation of fruit and forest trees, and turned his thoughts more especially to the discovery of a composition to remedy the diseases and injuries incident to them. After repeated trials he at length succeeded in preparing one which fully answered his expectations; and in the year 1789 the success of his experiments attracted the notice of the commissioners of the land revenue, upon whose recommendation a committee of both houses of parliament was appointed to report upon the merits of his discovery. The result of their inquiries was a perfect conviction of its utility, and in consequence an address was voted by the House of Commons to his majesty, praying that a reward might be granted to Mr. Forsyth upon his disclosing the secret of his composition to the public; which was accordingly done: and in 1791 Mr. Forsyth published his *Observations on the Diseases, Defects, and Injuries of Fruit and Forest Trees*, which also contains the correspondence between the commissioners of the land revenue, the committee of parliament, and himself. In 1802 he published the final result of his labours in *A Treatise on the Culture and Management of Fruit Trees*. In this work, or in *Rees' Cyclopaedia*, article "Composition for Trees," may be found a complete account of Mr. Forsyth's discoveries and mode of treating injured wood. It may be sufficient here to mention that his composition or medicament was formed according to the following receipt: "Take one bushel of fresh cow-dung, half a bushel of lime-rubbish of old buildings (that from the ceilings of rooms is preferable), half a bushel of wood-ashes, and a sixteenth part of a bushel of pit or river sand; the three last articles are to be sifted fine before they are mixed, then work them well together with a spade, and afterwards with a wooden beater, until the stuff is very smooth, like fine plaster used for the ceilings of rooms."

Mr. Forsyth, who was a member of the Antiquarian, Linnæan, and other societies, died July 25, 1804. He enjoyed the honours paid to him for his useful invention with an unaffected modesty, which gave them a higher grace; and his benevolence and private worth were warmly attested by his friends. A particular genus of plants has been named Forsythia in honour of his name.

FOULIS, ROBERT and ANDREW, eminent printers in the eighteenth century, were natives of Glasgow, and were born, the elder brother on the 20th of April, 1707, and the younger on the 23d of November, 1712. Their mother, who seems to have possessed shrewdness and intelligence beyond her station, educated them at first under her own care, and had not Robert's talents attracted attention they would probably never have proceeded farther in the acquisition of knowledge. At an early age Robert was sent an apprentice to a barber; it would even seem that he afterwards practised the art on his own account for some time. While thus humbly employed, he came under the notice of the celebrated Dr. Francis Hutcheson, then professor of moral philosophy in Glasgow university. This acute observer discovered his talents, inflamed his desire for knowledge, and suggested to him the idea of becoming a bookseller and printer. Foulis did not, however, receive a complete university education, although he attended his patron's lectures for several years, and his name is so enrolled in the matriculation book. Andrew, who seems to have been designed for the church, entered the university in 1727, and probably went through a regular course of study.

For some years after they had determined to follow a literary life the brothers were engaged in teaching the languages during the winter, and in making short tours into England and to the Continent in summer. These excursions were of great advantage to them; they brought them into contact with eminent men, enabled them to form connections in their business, and extended their knowledge of books. On some of these occasions they made considerable collections, which they sold at home to good account. Thus prepared, the elder brother began business in Glasgow as a bookseller about the end of 1739, and in the following year published several works. Three years afterwards his connection with the university commenced. In March, 1743, he was appointed their printer, under condition, "that he shall not use the designation of university printer without allowance from the university meeting in any books excepting those of ancient authors."¹ The first productions of his press, which were issued in 1742, were almost exclusively of a religious nature, many of them relating to the well-known George Whitefield. In 1742 he published *Demetrius Phalerensis de Elocutione*, apparently the first Greek work printed in Glasgow, although we are certain that there existed a fount of Greek letters there nearly a century before. It would be tedious to notice each work as it appeared: the immaculate edition of Horace, an edition of Cicero's works in twenty volumes, Cæsar's *Commentaries* in folio, Callimachus in the same size, with engravings executed at their academy, form but a small part of the splendid catalogue of their classics.

The success which had attended their exertions as printers induced the elder Foulis to attempt the establishment of an academy for the cultivation of the fine arts, a scheme for which Scotland was but

ill prepared by the dissensions which had followed the Union, and which had been succeeded by the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. In 1751 he went abroad, partly with the view of extending his commercial connections, but principally with the intention of arranging for the establishment of this institution. After remaining on the Continent for about two years, and sending home several artists whom he had engaged in his service, he returned to Scotland in 1753. His design was considered romantic; many of his friends exerted all their eloquence to persuade him to desist. But Foulis, who possessed a degree of determination which might perhaps not unjustly be termed obstinacy, was fixed in his "high resolve," and although he must have observed with mortification that (to use his own expression) "there seemed to be a pretty general emulation who should run the scheme most down," he established his academy in the course of the same year. He soon found that he had embarked in an undertaking of no common difficulty. From a letter in the *Scots Magazine* for 1759 it appears that the selection of proper teachers had cost him much trouble and anxiety. He had to contend, besides, with the national prejudices in favour of the works of foreign artists; and after amassing a considerable collection, he found it extremely difficult to dispose of it to advantage. In the same year it was proposed that such persons as were willing to support the institution should advance certain sums yearly, for which they should be entitled to select prints, designs, paintings, &c., to the amount of their subscriptions.

In the meantime, the operations of their press went on with increasing vigour. If we may judge from the catalogue of their books, the period between 1750 and 1757 seems to have been the most flourishing era in their trade. During that time "proposals for publishing" by subscription the whole works of Plato² were issued, and considerable progress made in collating MSS. in the Vatican and national libraries. But the embarrassments occasioned by the ill-fated academy seem to have prevented the publication of this as well as many other works which might have added much both to their fame and their wealth. Yet while we condemn the obstinacy with which this institution was carried on when it was a daily source of anxiety and pecuniary difficulties, it should be remembered that it was the means of bringing forward the "Scottish Hogarth" David Allan, and Tassie the medallist. The latter of these, while a stonemason, acquired a relish for the arts in visiting the academy on a holiday, when the pictures were generally exhibited gratis.

It would be foreign to the purpose of the present work to notice the various books which issued from the Foulis press at this and subsequent periods. It may be sufficient to say, that in the latter part of their history the brothers seem to have lost much of their original energy, and the celebrity of their press may be considered as expiring with their folio edition of Milton, published in 1770. They continued, indeed, to print till the death of Andrew, which took place suddenly on the 18th of September, 1775; but many of the works published at that period were of inferior workmanship.

We shall close the history of these remarkable but

¹ The date at which Andrew joined him in business is somewhat uncertain.

² As a curious estimate of the expense of classical reading in these days, we extract the first article in the proposals:—"I. In nine volumes in quarto, of which the Greek in six volumes and the Latin translation with the notes in three. The price to subscribers, one penny sterling per sheet. The whole will be contained in about 500 sheets, so the price will be about £2, 1s. 8d. in quires, on a fair paper. A number will be printed on a fine large paper at twopence sterling per sheet."

unfortunate men in a few words. After the death of the younger brother it was determined to expose the works belonging to the academy to public sale. For this purpose Robert, accompanied by a confidential workman, went to London about the month of April, 1776. Contrary to the advice of the auctioneer and at a period when the market was glutted by yearly importations of pictures from Paris, his collection was sold off—and, as the reader may have anticipated, greatly under their supposed value. Irritated at the failure of this last hope, and with a constitution exhausted by calamities, he left London and reached Edinburgh on his way homeward. On the morning on which he intended setting out for Glasgow he expired almost instantaneously, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Robert Foulis was twice married. From his second marriage, with a daughter of Mr. Boucher, a seedsman in Edinburgh, was descended Andrew Foulis, who died at Edinburgh, in great poverty, in 1829. He had, besides, by his first marriage, with Elizabeth Moor, a sister of the celebrated Grecian, five daughters.

Of the Scottish works produced at the Foulis press the greater number were ballads, some of them original, and all of them since published in the collections of Bishop Percy, Ritson, Cromek, &c. The *“Memorials and Letters Relating to the History of Britain in the reigns of James I. and Charles I.”* published by Lord Hailes, principally from the Denmyne MSS. in the Advocates' Library,” were also published at Glasgow. But the greatest service that they could have performed for Scottish history would have been the publication of Calderwood's MS. history. This they undoubtedly had in view. It appears from the records of the university of Glasgow that they got permission to borrow their MS.¹ in September, 1768. They did not, however, accomplish their patriotic purpose, and this valuable work remained unpublished until the task was fulfilled, in 1845, by the Wodrow Society.

FOUNTAINHALL, LORD. See LAUDER, SIR JOHN.

FRASER, JAMES BAILLIE. This distinguished traveller, popular writer, and accomplished country gentleman belonged to a family of consequence in its own locality, and was born in the county of Inverness in 1784. In early life he was engaged in the civil service of the East India Company, in which he rose to distinction by his talents and activity. Upon one occasion, while employed in a diplomatic mission of the East India Company to the Persian court, he rode on horseback from Constantinople to Ispahan; but the fatigues and hardships of such a journey were too much for even his Highland constitution, and gave it the first shock, which a further residence in the East tended to confirm. When the Persian princes visited England, Mr. Fraser, from his position and accomplishments, and his knowledge of Persia and its language, was requested by our government to accompany them, and take charge of them; this task he satisfactorily accomplished, and when the princes returned to their own country, he accompanied them as far as Constantinople. As his health had suffered from the eastern climate he finally returned to England, and, abandoning the toils of active public service, devoted the rest of his life to the charms of literature, and the improvement of his Highland estate of Reelick, in Inverness-shire. These improvements were so effectual that the property, considering its limited extent, was

scarcely to be equalled in the Highlands for its magnificent woods and romantic scenery.

It was not, however, by such occupations alone that the active mind of Fraser could be satisfied, and having acquired much knowledge of the East by personal experience, he was desirous to communicate it to the world at large. Accordingly he wrote *A Tour through the Snowy Range of the Himalaya Mountains*, which was published in 1820; *“A Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan in the years 1821 and 1822, including an Account of the Countries to the North-east of Persia,”* which was published in 1825; and *Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces*, published in 1826. Finding, however, that the popular taste for foreign lands, characters, and manners preferred the medium of imaginative writing to that of plain matter-of-fact narrative; and inspired by the example of his friend Morier, who opened up Persia and its people to the English public by a series of fascinating novels, Mr. Fraser in 1828 produced *The Kuzzilbash, a Tale of Khorasan*. This novel, which was very attractive in its day, has shared the fate of its contemporaries, notwithstanding the stirring adventures it recorded, and the terrible deeds of Nadir Shah, its predominant personage; and, like many other interesting fictions of the period, we can only say of the *Kuzzilbash*, that it lived its allotted hour of sunshine, and then passed away. The next work of Fraser was *A Winter Journey from Constantinople to Teheran, with Travels through Various Parts of Persia*, which appeared in 1838. His last work was a memoir of the distinguished Colonel Skinner, who had been the intimate friend of his brother William Fraser. Like himself, William had entered the civil service of the East India Company, where he had risen to distinction, and been appointed commissioner at Delhi, but there he was assassinated by a native prince in 1835.

In 1823 Mr. James Baillie Fraser married a daughter of Lord Woodhouselee, and sister of Patrick Fraser Tytler, author of the *History of Scotland*, &c. In his retirement he was a deputy-lieutenant of the county of Inverness. He died in the beginning of 1856, at the age of seventy-two.

FRASER, ROBERT. This poet, linguist, and journalist, who was chiefly remarkable for his pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, was the son of a mariner, and was born in the village of Pathhead, parish of Dysart, Fifeshire, on the 24th of June, 1798. When only four years old he commenced his education in the village school, at which he continued eighteen months; afterwards he went to another school, where he remained about four years; and finally was sent to the school of Pathhead, at which, in 1809, he commenced the study of Latin. It was that simple course of ordinary education without which a young Scot at home can scarcely hold his own, but with which, when abroad, he can start in the career of life better equipped than his fellows, and win his way to fame and fortune. In 1812 Robert Fraser was apprenticed to a wine and spirit merchant in Kirkcaldy, in whose employ he continued four years; but in 1813, being afflicted with an abscess in his right arm, which confined him to the house for several months, he betook himself to that course of study in earnest which afterwards gave him a place in literature. He matured his school-boy knowledge of Latin, made considerable proficiency in Greek, and to these added French and Italian, at a period when the study of such languages was somewhat rare among the common ranks in Scotland. In addition to these studies he cultivated an acquaintanceship with general literature. His apprenticeship in the meantime to

¹ It is not, however, the original MS.

the wine and spirit merchant continued until 1817, when, on its termination, he abandoned the trade altogether, and became clerk to a respectable ironmonger in Kirkcaldy. In 1819 he commenced the business of ironmonger in Kirkcaldy on his own account, in partnership with a Mr. James Robertson; and in March, 1820, before he had completed his twenty-second year, he married a lady whose name was Miss Ann Cumming. The cares of business and domestic life did not, however, abate his love of study, which was directed chiefly to general literature and the acquirement of languages; and in 1825 he commenced the study of the German tongue, to which he afterwards added the Spanish, and of both of these languages he acquired such mastery as to translate from them various pieces of poetry, which, with some original productions of his own, were published in the pages of the *Edinburgh Literary Gazette*, the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, and several newspapers of the day.

It was while pursuing these honourable literary recreations that Fraser's worldly concerns were becoming unprosperous. The first serious shock was from a robbery, which no prudence could have prevented. About six years after he had opened his shop it was broken into during the night, and jewellery to the value of £200 was carried away, while no trace could be obtained either of the property or the thieves. In 1833, having dissolved partnership and commenced business on his sole responsibility, he, in 1836, was so deeply involved in pecuniary difficulties through the sudden death of a friend, that his health succumbed, and, notwithstanding his stout-hearted attempts to rally, the state of his affairs was so hopeless that he was obliged in the following year to compound with his creditors. Such is too often the fate of a mind divided between the study and the shop: the union is so uncongenial, that one or the other occupation must go to the wall, and in such a collision the desk, from its superior attractiveness, is usually the conqueror of the counter. But Fraser's character for honour and industry was so well established, that the most respectable traffickers of the town offered to become his securities for the composition.

Fraser having nothing left him but his talents and reputation, soon found them an available capital, for they obtained for him the editorship of the *Fife Herald*, to which he was appointed in 1838. On leaving Kirkcaldy a large party of its townsmen showed their esteem for his worth by entertaining him at a public dinner, and presenting him with a copy of the seventh (at that time the latest) edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. But it was only for a very short time that he was able to discharge his editorship of the *Fife Herald*, for his constitution was already broken, so that he was obliged to employ a literary friend as his substitute. His last acts were in accordance with the tenor of his literary life: while confined to bed, and during the intervals of acute pain, he revised and arranged his poems for the press, and a short time before he died he dictated to an amanuensis his translations from certain Danish and Norwegian writers. His death occurred on the 22d of May, 1839. Such was his brief history—a history of hundreds of his countrymen in lowly life, who, with equal talents and worth, have passed away into oblivion because there was no one to preserve their memory. The *Poetical Remains* of Robert Fraser, with a memoir of their author, were published soon after his death by David Vedder.

FRASER, SIMON, twelfth Lord Lovat, a person too remarkable in history to be overlooked in

this work, though his want of public or private virtue might otherwise have dictated his exclusion, was the second son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, by Sybilla Macleod, daughter of the laird of Macleod, and was born at Beaufort, near Inverness, in the year 1667. Of his early years we have no very distinct account. He has himself asserted that, at the age of thirteen, he was imprisoned for his exertions in the royal cause, though we do not well see how this could happen. That his elder brother, however, was in the insurrection of the Viscount Dundee, and himself, after the death of Dundee, in that under General Buchan, is certain. After all the pains his lordship has been at to set forth his extreme zeal for the Stuarts, nothing can be more evident than that, from his earliest days, the sole purpose of his life was to promote his own power by all feasible means, this end being the only object of his solicitude. Agreeably to this view of his character we find him, in the year 1694, while yet a student at the university of Aberdeen, accepting of a commission in the regiment of Lord Murray, afterwards Earl of Tullibardine. This commission had been procured for him by his cousin Hugh Lord Lovat, who was brother-in-law to Lord Murray, with the express view of bringing him "forward most advantageously in the world;" and though he professed to have scruples in going against the interest of King James, these were all laid asleep by an assurance on the part of Lord Murray, that the regiment, though ostensibly raised, and in the meantime to take the oaths to, and receive the pay of King William, was really intended for King James, who would not fail to be in the country to lay claim to and revive his rights in the course of the succeeding year. No sooner had young Beaufort received this assurance than he led into the regiment a complete company, almost entirely made up of the young gentlemen of his clan. In the course of the succeeding year Lord Murray was, by the favour of King William, appointed secretary of state for Scotland, and, in place of doing anything for King James, enforced upon every officer in his regiment the oath of abjuration.

Being a young man, at liberty to follow out his education, and in the regular receipt of his pay, Beaufort, it might have been supposed, would have found his situation comfortable, and been in some measure content; but his spirit seems to have been naturally restless, and anything like an under part in the drama of life did not square with his disposition. In the course of the year 1696, a company of Lord Murray's regiment being stationed at the castle of Edinburgh, where the earl-marshal, Lord Drummond, and other of the Jacobite lords were imprisoned, a visit from the Pretender being at the time expected, Simon, the subject of this narrative, entered into an engagement with the rebel lords to seize upon the castle, and to hold it under the earl-marshal for the French and King James. In this project, which appears not to have been executed only because the French were unable to make the promised demonstration, Beaufort was to have been assisted by another captain of the same regiment, who seems to have been equally faithless and equally servile with himself.

But while he was thus careful to watch the tides, and to take advantage of every wind that might ruffle the ocean of politics, his eye was steadily fixed upon the estate of Lovat, which, as his cousin Hugh Lord Lovat had but one child, a daughter, he had already marked out as his own. For this end he seems to have embraced every opportunity of ingratiating himself with his cousin, who appears to have been a

man of a facile and vacillating disposition, and to have been considerably under the influence of Lord Murray, his brother-in-law. Of this influence Simon of Beaufort was perfectly aware, and watched with the utmost carefulness an opportunity to destroy it. This opportunity Lord Murray himself afforded him in the affair of the colonelcy of the regiment, which, upon his appointment to the office of secretary, it was expected he would have given up to his brother-in-law Lord Lovat. Nor is it at all unlikely that such was originally his lordship's intention; for in the year 1696 he sent for him to London, apparently with the intention of doing so after having presented him to the king. Lovat unfortunately carried along with him his cousin Simon, whose character must by this time have been pretty well known to King William, and whose companionship, of course, could be no great recommendation to the royal favour. Lovat was, however, presented to the royal presence, most graciously received, and gratified with a promise of being provided for. As this was all that Lovat expected, he took leave of his majesty, along with Lord Murray, leaving no room for William to suppose, for the present at least, that he either wished or had any occasion for a further interview. This his cousin Simon highly resented, telling him that it was a contrivance of Lord Murray's to deprive him of an opportunity of soliciting a regiment for himself, and he prevailed with him instantly to demand of Lord Murray the reason for which he had brought them at this time to London, at such an enormous expense. Lord Murray frankly told him that it was his design to have resigned to him the command of his regiment, but that the king had positively enjoined him to keep it till such time as the rumours of an invasion should subside, when he should certainly surrender it into his hands.

Had Lovat been left to himself this answer would most probably have been altogether satisfactory; but it did not satisfy Simon nor his friends Lord Tarbat and Alexander Mackenzie, son to the Earl of Seaforth, both of whom were at that time in London, and were of service to Beaufort in persuading Lord Lovat that Lord Murray had been all along his mortal enemy. By the advice of all three Lovat sent back to Lord Murray two commissions, that of captain and lieutenant-colonel, which he held under him, expressing at the same time in strong language his resentment of his treachery, and his fixed resolution never more to see him nor any individual of his family, excepting his own wife. At the same time that the poor old man was thus eager in casting off his old friends, he was equally warm in his attachment to the new. "Impressed with the tender affection of the laird of Beaufort, and the resolution he manifested never to leave him, he declared that he regarded him as his own son;" and as he had executed at his marriage some papers which might perhaps be prejudicial to the claims of this said adopted son, he obliged him to send for an attorney, and made a universal bequest to him of all his estates, in case he died without male issue. This affectionate conduct on the part of Lord Lovat deeply, according to his own account of the matter, affected our hero, who pretended "that he would for ever consider him as his father." In consequence of so much anxious business, so much chagrin and disappointment, with a pretty reasonable attendance on taverns, Lord Lovat fell sick; but after convalescing a little, was brought on his way home as far as Edinburgh by his affectionate Simon, where he left him, proceeding by the way of Dunkeld to meet with his wife. He had not been many days at Dunkeld when he again fell sick, and retired to an

inn at Perth, where he was again waited on by Simon of Beaufort, and, in a state of distraction, died in his arms the morning after his arrival.

Though, as we have seen, the subject of this memoir had got a deed executed by a London attorney under the direction of his cousin, the late Lord Lovat, constituting him heir to the estate, it was judged by him the more prudent method to put forward his father as the nearest male heir to take possession of the estate, with the honours, contenting himself with the title of Master of Lovat. No sooner, however, had he assumed this title than he was questioned on the subject by his colonel, now Lord Tullibardine, who made him the offer of a regiment with other preferments, which should be to him an ample provision for life, provided he would execute a formal surrender of his claim to that dignity. This produced a violent altercation between them, which ended in the master of Lovat throwing up his commission, which he bade his lordship, if he pleased, bestow upon his own footman. Through the friendship of Sir Thomas Livingston, however, he received another company in the regiment of Macgill, and his father having taken possession of the estate and the honours of Lovat without much apparent opposition, he must have been, in some degree, satisfied with his good fortune. In order, however, to secure it, and to render his claims in every respect unexceptionable, he made love to the heiress of his cousin, the late Lord Lovat, and had succeeded in persuading her to marry him without the knowledge of her friends, when one of his agents betrayed trust, and she was carried out of his way by the Marquis of Athol after the day of the marriage had actually been appointed.

The Marquis of Athol, late Lord Tullibardine, probably aware that he had an adversary of no common activity to deal with, lost no time in concluding a match for the heiress with Lord Salton or Fraser, whom he also took measures for having declared head of the clan Fraser. The first part of his plan was not difficult to have been executed; but the latter part, for which the first was alone contemplated, was not of so easy a character, being opposed to the spirit of Highland clanship. A considerable time, however, was spent in attempting to bring it to bear. A few Frasers only could be tempted to engage in it; whose treachery no sooner came to the ears of the lord and the master of Lovat, than orders were issued to apprehend and punish them according to their deserts; and it was only by a timely and well-concerted flight that they escaped being hanged. A letter was at the same time sent to Lord Salton, signed by the principal men of the clan, begging him not to attempt forcing himself upon them, and thus destroying their tranquillity and endangering his own life. Salton returned a soft answer; but, confident in the power of the Marquis of Athol, and at any rate, in love with the consequence attached to the fair estate of Lovat, whether he was in love with the heiress or not, persevered in following out his plan, and with a considerable train of retainers came to Beaufort, at that time the residence of the dowager of Lovat, whose son-in-law he intended to be. Thomas Lord Lovat happened to be at this time on the Stratherrick estate—a district which stretches along the south bank of Loch Ness, and was requested by his son Simon to cross the lake by the nearest way to Lovat, which is only three miles from Beaufort, in order to meet with Lord Salton, while he himself hastened to the same place by the way of Inverness. At Inverness the master learned that Lord Salton, persevering in his original design, had fully matured his plans at the house of the dowager Lady Lovat, whence he intended next day to return

into his own country, calling at Athol and marrying the heiress of Lovat by the way, without waiting to see either the lord or the master of Lovat. Irritated as well as alarmed by this intelligence, he wrote by a special messenger to Lord Salton, calling upon him to adhere to his word "passed both to his father and himself, and to meet him next day at two o'clock in the afternoon, three miles from Beaufort, either like a friend, or with sword and pistols, as he pleased." This letter Lord Salton received at six o'clock in the evening, and returned for answer that he would meet the master of Lovat at the time and place appointed as his good friend and humble servant. In the meantime it was concluded by him and his followers to break up from their present quarters, and to pass the bridge of Inverness before the master of Lovat could have any suspicion of their being in motion, and thus escape a meeting with him for the present. The master, however, was too good a calculator of probabilities in this sort of intercourse to be thus taken in, especially as his messenger to Lord Salton, from what he had observed at Beaufort, had strong suspicions of what was intended. He was accordingly at the road very early in the morning, attended by six gentlemen and two servants, all well mounted and armed, and meeting Lord Salton, Lord Mungo Murray, and their followers, to the number of forty, issuing from a defile in the wood of Bunchrive, about five miles from Inverness, disarmed and dismounted them; first Lord Mungo Murray, then Lord Salton, and the rest singly as they came forward, without stroke of sword or the firing of a single musket. Though the party of the master of Lovat was so inconsiderable at the outset, Lord Salton and his party soon found themselves surrounded by some hundreds of enraged enemies, by whom, under the direction of the master, they were carried prisoners to the castle of Fanellan, where they were closely shut up under a certification that they should be all hanged for their attempt to intrude themselves into the inheritance, and to deprive the owner of his lawful and hereditary rights. Nor had they any assured ground to consider this as a mere bravado: the history of clan wars could easily furnish them with numerous examples of such barbarous atrocity where there was not greater provocation.

Having thus completely marred the marriage of Lord Salton, the master of Lovat immediately set about the celebration of his own. The heiress of Lovat was safe in the hands of her friends at Athol; but the dowager, her mother, was in the house of Beaufort, every avenue to which he beset with his followers, so that it was out of her power to inform her friends of anything that was going on; then, entering the house with a parson, whether Catholic or Episcopal is unknown, he made the lady go through the form of marriage with himself, had her forcibly undressed and put to bed, whither he as forcibly followed her before witnesses, thus constituting it, as he supposed, a lawful marriage. This is one of the most atrocious of the many revolting actions in the life of this profligate nobleman, though one to which he has given a flat denial in the memoir which he has written of himself. The truth is, it was as foolish as it was wicked; and, after the purpose for which it was committed, viz. to remove the enmity of the Athol family, had utterly failed, he himself must have been heartily ashamed of it. There is indeed a total falsehood in one reason that he insists upon as proving its improbability. She was old enough, he says, to have been his mother. Now she was only four years older than himself, having died at Perth in the year 1743, in the eightieth year of her age. She had been either so frightened by him, or so

cajoled, as to offer, if we may believe the Duke of Argyle, writing to the Rev. Mr. Carstairs, to give her oath before the court of judicary that all that had passed between her and Lovat was voluntary, and as much her inclination as his; and she lived to hear him deny his being at all concerned with her, and to see him twice afterwards married.

But to return from this short digression. Having, as he supposed, put himself in a fair way for being acknowledged by the house of Athol, the master of Lovat abandoned the idea of hanging so many of the members and allies belonging to it as he had in custody in his castle of Fanellan, contenting himself with extorting a bond from Lord Salton for £8000, with four low-country barons as his sureties, if he ever again interfered with the affairs of the estate of Lovat, or if ever he or the Marquis of Athol prosecuted any one individual for anything that had been transacted in this whole affair. This was only a little more of the same folly which had guided him through the whole business, and tended but to excite the wonder of his friends and the hatred and contempt of his enemies, the latter of whom, on a representation to the privy-council, had him intercommuned, and letters of fire and sword issued out against him and all his clan. This, though perfectly in the natural order of human affairs, was altogether unexpected by the master of Lovat, and seems to have reduced him to great extremity. Besides the family of Athol, which was much more powerful than his own, troops were ready to pour in upon him from all quarters, and even those upon whom he depended for counsel and assistance seem at the time to have declared against him. To the laird of Culloiden we find him writing from Beaufort in the month of October, 1697. "Thir Lds. att Inverness, wt. ye rest of my implacable enemies, does so confound my wife, that she is uneasy till she see them. I am afraid they are so mad with this disappointment, that they will propose something to her that's dangerous, her brother having such power with her; so that really till things be perfectly accommodate, I do not desire they should see her, and I know not how to manage her. So I hope you will send all the advice you can to your obliged, &c. &c. I hope you will excuse me for not going your length, since I have such a hard task at home." The advice given him by Culloiden has not been preserved; but that it was not to his mind we learn from a letter written by that gentleman from Inverlochty about ten or twelve days after. "I am much concerned," says he, "that your neighbour Beaufort hath played not the fool, but the madman. If, by your persuasion, he cannot be induced to deliver up the so much abused lady upon assurance of pardon, in all probability he will ruin both himself and his friends. 'Tis not long since he was here and promised me other things; but since he has run a quite contrary course, and stands neither to his own nor the proposals of any other, I have sent down 200 men," &c. &c. This view of the matter is still further confirmed by another letter from Lovat to Culloiden, a few days after the above, when he seems to have felt that he was pretty much in the power of his enemies. "I pray you receive the inclosed account of my business, and see if your own conscience in the sight of God do not convince you that it is literally true. I had sent to you upon Saturday last, but you were not at home; however, I sent it that day to the laird of Calder, who, I hope, will not sit down upon me, but transmit it to my best friends; and I beseech you, sir, for God's sake, that you do the like. I know the chancellor is a just man, notwithstanding his friendship for Tullibardine. I forgive you for be-

traying of me; but neither you nor I, nor, I hope, God himself, will not forgive them that deceived you, and caused you to do it. I am very hopeful in my dear wife's constancy if they do not put her to death. Now I add no more, but leaves myself to your discretion," &c. At the same time his father, Lord Lovat, wrote to the Duke of Argyle an explanatory letter upon the subject, signed by himself and all the principal Frasers. The great benefit of the marriage to the estate of Lovat is chiefly insisted on in this letter, and represented as the sole cause of the enmity of the Athol family, who, it states, wished to appropriate that fair domain to themselves. Argyle, on the receipt of this letter, wrote to Mr. Carstairs, who was King William's principal adviser in all that related to Scotland, and after a considerable length of time was gratified by receiving the pardon he had solicited for all the treasons with which his client had been charged, leaving the story of the rape for a subject of future investigation. For this, also, had there been a little patience and prudence exercised, there cannot be a doubt but he would have obtained a full remission.

To be out of the way of this storm at its commencement, Lord Lovat had taken shelter in the island of Skye, with his brother-in-law the laird of Macleod, where he died in the beginning of 1698. Simon, who had defended himself in the best manner he could, then assumed the title of Lord Lovat, but, to escape the rage and superior strength of his enemies, was also under the necessity of taking refuge in the isles, where he remained till the following year, when the Duke of Argyle, with the promise of a pardon, brought him to London. Delays took place, however, in procuring his remission to pass the Scottish seals, till the king set out for the United Provinces, and Lovat took an excursion into France for the purpose of lodging at the court of St. Germain a complaint against the Marquis of Athol, and soliciting James' protection against the malignity of his powerful family. Having obtained his request, and been enjoined by the exiled monarch to wait on and make his peace with King William, Lovat proceeded by the way of London to the court of that sovereign at Loo, being favoured with a letter from the Duke of Argyle to Mr. Carstairs, through whom he received a remission, he himself says, of all crimes that could be imputed to him, but restricted by Seafield in passing the Scottish seals, as has been above stated. With this remission, such as it was, he ventured to make his appearance in public, had a citation served upon the Marquis of Athol and his family for falsely accusing him, and for devastating his estates; and making a progress through the north, returned to Edinburgh with 100 gentlemen as honourable as himself to support his charges, and bear witness to the innocence and integrity of his character; or rather to browbeat the authorities, and extort from fear a decision which he well knew could never be procured from the voice of truth and justice. Finding, however, that he had undertaken what would fail him in the issue, he once more set out for London, the day before the trial should have come on, and was nonsuited in his absence; and thus, by his imprudent temerity, lost the opportunity of being fairly instated in the estate and honours of Lovat, as he would certainly have been, through the interest of Argyle and his other friends, had he allowed them to do their own work in their own way.

The restoration of King James was now Lovat's sheet anchor; and, lest the Murrays, whom he suspected of being warmer friends to James than he was himself, should also be before him here, it was necessary for him to be peculiarly forward. Accord-

ingly, on the death of King William in the early part of the year 1702, he procured a commission from several of the principal Scottish Jacobites to the court of St. Germain, declaring their being ready to take up arms and hazard their lives and fortunes for the restoration of their lawful prince; as usual, paying all manner of respect to the court of Versailles, and requesting its assistance. With this he proceeded by the way of England and Holland, and reached the court of St. Germain about the beginning of September, 1702, just in time to be particularly useful in inflaming the contentions that distracted the councils of James VIII., for the direction of whose affairs there was a most violent struggle among his few followers. He had for his fellow-traveller his cousin-german Sir John Maclean, well known in the history of the intrigues of that time, who, leaving him at Paris, was his precursor to the court of St. Germain, whence in two days he returned to conduct him into the presence of the Duke of Perth, from whom he received private instructions how to conduct himself towards the queen. The principal of these was to request of the queen that she should not make known any part of what he proposed to Lord Middleton, who, at the time, was the rival of Lord Perth for the supreme direction of their affairs, which might be said to lie chiefly in sending out spies, fabricating reports, and soliciting pensions. Nothing could be more agreeable to Lovat, the very elements of whose being seemed to be mystery, and with whom to intrigue was as natural as to breathe. To work he went, exacted the queen's promise to keep everything secret from Middleton; and by the aid of the Marquis de Torcy, the Marquis Callieres, and Cardinal Gualterio, the pope's nuncio, fancied himself sole administrator of the affairs of Scotland. The queen herself was so much pleased with the opening scene, that she gladdened the heart of Lovat by telling him she had sent her jewels to Paris to be sold in order to raise the 20,000 crowns he had told her were necessary for bringing forward his Highlanders in a properly effective manner. But she was not long true to her promise of secrecy; and Middleton at once depicted Lovat as "the greatest traitor in the three kingdoms;" nor did he treat his favourite Highlanders with any more respect, representing them as mere banditti, excellent at plundering the Lowlanders and carrying off their cattle, but incapable of being formed into a regular corps that would look a well-appointed enemy in the face. From this day forward Lovat seems to have fallen in the opinion of Mary d'Este, who was a woman of rather superior talents, though he seems to have gone on well with De Torcy, Callieres, and Gualterio, who found in him, as they supposed, a very fit tool for their purpose of raising in Scotland a civil war, without much caring whether it really promoted the interests of James or not. After much intriguing with Perth and Middleton, as well as with the French ministry, Lovat obtained a commission to visit Scotland in 1703, but rather as an emissary of the French government than an accredited agent for James. The object of the French government was to have an immediate diversion created in the Highlands, and they furnished his lordship with 6000 francs (£250) to defray the expenses of his journey, and a commission to be a major-general, with power to raise troops and appoint officers, as he should find needful. At the same time, to be the witness of his behaviour, they joined with him John Murray of Abercainey, a gentleman who ought to have been ashamed of such a companion as Lovat, and had the address to send James Murray, brother to Murray of Stanhope, so

as to be in Scotland at least a month before him, where he told it openly that Lovat was on his way as agent for the pope and the King of France, to raise a civil war in Scotland, contrary to the positive orders of the king and his mother the queen. Owing to this and the well-known character of Lovat, many of the Jacobites were shy of communicating with him, though he certainly found a few willing to depend upon his promises, and to enter into his projects. His principal object, however, most probably was to see if there were yet any openings whereby he might reconcile himself with the government, and be allowed to take possession of the estate of Lovat, the first and the last grand object of his ambition. He accordingly threw himself in the way of Queensberry, to whom he betrayed all—perhaps more than he knew respecting his old friend Lord Murray, now, by the death of his brother and the queen's favour, Duke of Athol, and his associate in politics, the Duke of Hamilton; but his best friend the Duke of Argyle dying at this time, he appears to have obtained nothing more than a free passport, and perhaps some promises in case of further discoveries; and with this he passed again into France. Having, while in London, fallen in with, or rather been introduced to, a well-known Jacobite, William Keith, and the well-known framer of plots, Ferguson, who was shortly after taken up, the whole of his transaction took air before he had time to reach Paris. The companion of his travels, too, Sir John Maclean, coming to England about the same time, surrendered himself prisoner, and, in consideration of obtaining his liberty and a small pension, laid open the whole of Lovat's proceedings from first to last, so that he was discovered to both courts at the same time. The reader, however, if he supposes that Lovat felt any pain at these discoveries, is in a great mistake. They were unquestionably the very events he wished, and from which he expected to rise in worldly estimation and in wealth, which is too often the chief pillar upon which that estimation is founded. There was at this period, among all parties, a thirst for emolument which was perfectly ravenous, and scrupled at no means by which it might attain its gratification. Of this fatal propensity the present affair is a remarkable instance. Lovat had received from King James the present of his picture, which, with a commission for a regiment of infantry, he had inclosed in a box made for the purpose. This, on leaving Scotland, he committed to his friend Campbell of Glendaruel, to keep for him, and his back was scarcely turned when Glendaruel went to the Duke of Athol, and offered him the box, with its contents, provided he would give him a company in a regiment that was held by Campbell of Finab, and was worth about £170 a year, which he at once obtained, and the box with its contents was in a short time lodged in the hands of Queen Anne. Lovat, in his memoirs, relates the transaction, and exclaims against its treachery, though it was wholly his own contrivance; the box being given for the express purpose of procuring a pension for his friend, and giving Anne and her ministers ocular demonstration of his own importance.

On his arrival in France Lord Lovat found the Earl of Middleton and the exiled queen as much opposed to him and his projects as ever, but he continued his assiduities with the French courtiers, who informed him that he might expect very soon to be the first of the Scottish nobility, since he would be called on to head the insurrection not only as a general officer to King James, but as a general officer in the army of France; everything necessary for the

success of the expedition—land forces, a squadron of ships, arms, and ammunition—being already prepared, and nothing remaining to be done but the form of carrying it through the privy-council, which a day or two would accomplish. In a day or two it was proposed in the council, when the king himself declared that, though he had the highest opinion of the excellence of the proposed plan, the Queen of England had positively refused to sign commissions for her subjects to engage in it, and therefore, for the present, it was necessary to lay it aside. This was a sad blow to the hopes of Lovat; and being always fond of letter-writing, he wrote a letter to the queen, in which he told her that she had at one blow overturned a project which he had sacrificed his property and exposed his life to bring to perfection; and he affirmed that, so long as her majesty followed implicitly the advice of the people who were at the head of the English parliament, Jesus Christ would come in the clouds before her son would be restored; and he concluded by saying, that, for his own part, he would never draw a sword for the royal cause so long as the regency was in her majesty's hands.

In consequence of this letter Lord Lovat was, at the queen's instance, imprisoned thirty-two days in a dark dungeon, three years in the castle of Angouleme, and seven years in the city of Saumur. In the meantime the project was not abandoned. Colonel Hooke succeeded to the part that Lovat had played or attempted to play. A large armament, under Admiral Forbin, was fitted out in the year 1708, and in which James himself embarked and had a sight of the Scottish shore, when, meeting with Admiral Byng, and afterwards encountering a violent storm, the whole was driven back upon the French coast with great loss. In this expedition the friends of Lovat had requested James to employ him, and they had received the most determined refusal, which finally, with the failure of the expedition, cut off all his hopes from that quarter. What added greatly to the bitterness of his reflections, the heiress of Lovat was now married to Mr. Alexander Mackenzie (son of Lord Prestonhall), who had assumed the title of Fraserdale, with the estate of Lovat settled on him for life, with remainder to the heirs of the marriage, who were to bear the name of Fraser, and of which there were already more than one. Thus circumstanced, he confessed that he "would not merely have enlisted himself in the party of the house of Hanover, which was called to the crown of Scotland, England, and Ireland by all the states of the kingdom, but with any foreign prince in the universe who would have assisted him in the attainment of his just and laudable design of re-establishing his family, and proclaiming to all Scotland the barbarous cruelty of the court of St. Germans." In this state of mind he formed the resolution of escaping from Saumur, in company with some English prisoners, and throwing himself at the feet of the Dukes of Marlborough and Argyle, entreating them to interpose in his favour with Queen Anne. This design circumstances prevented him from executing, but he transmitted on various occasions letters to the Duke of Argyle and others of his friends upon whom he supposed he could depend, stating the determination he had come to, and requesting their good offices to effect his reconciliation with the queen. Some of these letters were returned to the court of St. Germans, shown to the court of France, and nearly occasioned his being shut up in the Bastille for life. He was very soon, however, engaged in forming another plan for the invasion of Scotland, in which he expected to be employed; but the terrible cam-

paings of 1710 and 1711 put it out of the power of the court of France to attend to anything beyond domestic concerns; and the Marquis de la Fuziliere, the principal friend he possessed at the French court, dying at the same time, rendered all his prospects in that country hopeless. The conclusion of peace, and the appointment of the Duke of Hamilton to represent Queen Anne at the court of Versailles, filled him with still more gloomy apprehensions, from which he was not delivered till he read in the public papers the fatal duel that had been fought between that nobleman and Lord Mohun, when he again took courage, and applied once more to the French court to be set at liberty. The person he employed, however, had no success; his character seemed to be losing rather than gaining at that court, and he was advised to make his escape. Others, certain that the king would be immediately restored by Anne and her ministers, and was even now on the point of setting out for Scotland to be at hand when wanted, assured him that to depart for Scotland without his permission was only to rush upon inevitable destruction. This seems to have filled him with great apprehension, and he laboured to be reconciled to the Pretender with the greatest but the most fruitless industry, till he was driven to utter despair by the death of Queen Anne, and tidings that all the Jacobite clans in the north were arming in behalf of James, who had again and again declared that, without the consent of the Duke of Athol, he would never hear of his name. In this dilemma one of the Frasers arrived to request his presence with the clan, and advising him to join the party of Argyle, who was their old friend, and the only one that was likely to be able to afford them protection. He had previously to this written to Argyle, but does not seem to have had any reply. He now despatched a trusty servant to consult with him and Ilay, Culloden, Grant, Kilravock, and other of his old friends, who stated, that if he could make his way safely to London, the business was done. This at once determined him to set out for England, taking the best precautions he could to avoid being arrested. On the 1st of November, 1714, after an imprisonment of ten years, he arrived at Dover, where, on account of extreme fatigue, he rested for one night. He then by a journey of two days arrived safely in London.

Here his first care was to despatch his trusty friends James and Alexander Fraser for the Earl of Ilay and Brigadier-general Grant. The brigadier lost not a moment in waiting on him, expressed great joy to see him safe and well, and assured him of every good office in his power. Ilay, on the contrary, expressed considerable regret at his having quitted the provision which, amid all the severe treatment he met with, had been made for him in France, while in England he had not even the security of his life; but he engaged to bring his case before the king and the prince that very night, and to let him know the result next day. The circumstances in which Lovat had thus placed himself were by no means pleasant. In Scotland there was a sentence of death in full force against him, and a price set upon his head, while he had nothing to rely upon but a precarious promise from a few friends, who, after all, might neither have the will nor the power to protect him. He was, however, too deeply embarked to draw back, and he determined, regardless of consequences, to throw himself upon the protection of the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Ilay, to take no step in his affairs but by their direction, and to live and die in their service. How happy had it been for his lordship had he never lost sight of this prudent determination! Next day Ilay informed him that he had spoken of his case

both to the king and the prince, who were well disposed towards him, but, without some security for his future loyalty, were not willing to grant him a free pardon. It would therefore be necessary for him to present an address to the king, signed by all his friends who were well affected towards the present government, and that, in this address, they should enter into an engagement for his loyalty in any sum the king pleased. Such an address as would be proper Ilay promised to draw up, which he accordingly did two days after; and Lovat, by his trusty friend James Fraser, immediately despatched it to the north, with the following letter to his old friend John Forbes of Culloden, who was at the time canvassing for the county of Inverness.

"Much honoured and dear Sir,—The real friendship that I know you have for my person and family makes me take the freedom to assure you of my kind service, and to entreat of you to join with my other friends betwixt Spey and Ness to sign the address the court requires in order to give me my remission. Your cousin James, who has generously exposed himself to bring me out of chains, will inform you of all the steps and circumstances of my affairs since he saw me. I wish, dear sir, you were here; I am confident you would speak to the Duke of Argyle and to the Earl of Ilay to let them know their own interest and their reiterated promises to do for me. Perhaps they may have sooner than they expect a most serious occasion for my service. But it's needless now to preach that doctrine to them, they think themselves in an infallible security. I wish they may not be mistaken. However, I think it's the interest of all those who love this government betwixt Spey and Ness to see me at the head of my clan, ready to join them, so that I believe none of them will refuse to sign an address to make me a Scotchman. I am persuaded, dear sir, that you will be of good example to them on that head. But secrecy, above all, must be kept, without which all may go wrong. I hope you will be stirring for the parliament, for I will not be reconciled to you if you let Prestonhall outvote you. Brigadier Grant, to whom I am infinitely obliged, has written to Foyers to give you his vote, and he is an ingrate villain if he refuses him. If I was at home, the little pitiful barons of the Aird durst not refuse you. But I am hopeful that the news of my going to Britain will hinder Prestonhall to go north, for I may meet him when he least thinks of me. I am very impatient to see you, and to assure you most sincerely how much I am, with love and respect, right honourable," &c.

The above is a fair specimen of Lovat's manner and address in complimenting those whom he had an interest in standing well with. He had indeed use for all his activity on this occasion. The secrecy which he recommends was also very necessary, for Fraserdale no sooner heard of his intention of coming down to Scotland, which was only a few days after this, than he applied to the lord-justice clerk for an extract of the process and sentence against him, no doubt with the intention of putting it in execution before his friends should be able to interpose any shield of legal authority in his defence. All his friends, however, especially Culloden, were particularly active. The address and bond of security to the king was speedily signed by all the Whig gentlemen of consequence in the north, and remitted to Lord Ilay, who carried it to London in the month of March, 1715. Culloden, in the meantime, had, through his brother Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord-president, transmitted, to be presented by Lord Ilay, a most loyal address to the king, signed by the Frasers, with a tender of their clan to Argyle as their

chief. This was intended to counterbalance the address of the Jacobites that had been transmitted to the Earl of Marr, but which he durst not present, and to strengthen the interest of Argyle, which the other was calculated to weaken. Through the opposition of the Duke of Montrose, however, who had been gained over by Prestonhall and the Duke of Athol, Lovat's business was protracted till the month of July, 1715, when the news of the preparations of the Pretender for an invasion of Great Britain, transmitted by the Earl of Stair, then ambassador at Paris, and the general ferment that prevailed through the country had aroused the fears of the government. Ilay availed himself of these circumstances for turning the attention of the English minister more particularly to that too long delayed affair. The addresses which had been obtained in his favour were then given in to his majesty, whose gracious pardon he obtained; and in October, making the best of his way for the north, he was arrested by a loyal party at Dumfries as a Jacobite. Referring for his character to the Marquis of Annandale, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, and to whom he was known, he was immediately set at liberty. Here he volunteered his services to lead a party of the townsmen in attacking the rebels in their quarters at Lochmaben, but the attack, after it had been resolved on, was abandoned through the prudent advice of the Marquis of Annandale, who was afraid of the consequences both to themselves and the good cause in which they were engaged.

Leaving Dumfries, his lordship found his way into the north, where the insurgents were nearly triumphant, being in possession of the whole country save the shires of Sutherland, Ross, and Caithness, with perhaps a detached castle or two in some of the neighbouring counties. Among these was the castle of Culloden. The Grants and the Munroes had also been able in some measure to preserve their own territories, but the rebels were everywhere around them in great force. The first of Lovat's proceedings was to hold a counsel with his general, as he long after called him, Duncan Forbes, and his brother the laird of Culloden, who was perhaps the most trustworthy man in the north, after which he went home, where he was waited upon by a considerable number of Frasers, with whom he marched for Stratherrick, one of his estates, and by the way compelled the clan Chattan to lay down their arms and disperse to their homes. Macdonald of Keppoch, too, who had 300 men assembled on the braes of Abertarf, dismissed them the moment he was apprised of Lovat's approach. At Stratherrick he was waited upon by Fraser of Foyers and Fraser of Culduthill, with their retainers; and to prevent the Macdonalds from reaching the other side of Loch Ness, he himself crossed over at Bonat, and with 200 picked men marched, according to agreement, for Inverness by Kinmayles. Colonel Grant, with a number of his own, Elcheiz's, and Knockandow's men, Captain Grant with 300 Grants, and all the other gentlemen engaged in the enterprise, were at the same time approaching the northern capital in order to rescue it from the hands of the rebels. For this end it was proposed that the gentlemen of Moray, in conjunction with Lord Lovat and the Grants, should set upon it from the south, while the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Rae, the Munroes, and the Rosses should attack it on the north. These latter gentlemen, however, having some of them upwards of fifty miles to march, besides ferries to cross, it was not thought advisable to wait for them. Captain Arthur Rose, brother to Kilravock, was therefore ordered to enter the town, while those that were already come up proceeded to

invest it in the best manner they could. Lord Lovat, with his detachment, was stationed on the west end of the bridge; Captain Grant on the south side, to enter by Castle Street; and the Moray lieutenants, Kilravock, Letham, Brodie, Sir Archibald Campbell, Dunphail, &c., were to attack the east part. The attack was led on with great spirit by Captain Arthur Rose, who was unfortunately killed pressing on in the front of his men; and Sir John Mackenzie, the rebel governor, seeing himself about to be overpowered, abandoned the place, escaping with his men across the frith in a number of boats, which but a few days before he had intended to destroy, in order to cut off all communication by the ferry. This was upon Saturday, the 12th of November, the day before the battle of Sheriffmuir and the surrender of Preston. Thus the rebels were completely broken in the north, and it was a triumph obtained with very little loss. Much of the credit of the achievement was given to Lovat, much more indeed than was his due; but he was in want of something to elevate his character, and his friends were willing to give him all advantages. The immediate consequence of the honour he acquired on this day was the desertion of 300 Frasers, who, under Fraserdale, were in Marr's camp at Perth; but now denying his authority to lead them, put themselves under the charge of Lord Lovat at Inverness, where they remained till the rebellion was finally put down by the Earl of Argyle and General Cadogan. But there was another consequence not very remote and of far greater importance; it secured him at once in the estate and all the honours of Lovat, which it had been the great object of his whole life to compass, but which, without some such strange event, joined to the false step of his rival in joining the rebel standard, was most certainly for ever beyond his reach. Prestonhall had married the heiress of Lovat, in whose person, by a decree of the Court of Session, so far back as the year 1702, rested the honours and dignity of Lovat. He had assumed in consequence the name of Fraser and the title of Fraserdale, and had a numerous offspring to inherit as heirs of marriage the estate which he had so long possessed, and had he maintained his loyalty, nothing but a revolution, with singular folly on his own part, could have dispossessed him of the property. Most fortunately for Lovat, when he arrived in the north, Fraserdale was with the Earl of Marr at Perth, and there was nothing to prevent him from executing his purpose of taking immediate possession of his estates, which he did before proceeding to act vigorously in behalf of the government, every member of which knew that such was the reward he expected. The fortunate issue of this his first action too called forth all the natural arrogance and presumption of his character. We find him in the ensuing March, only four short months after, writing to Duncan Forbes in the following style:—"My dear general, I send you the inclosed letter from the name of Macleod, which I hope you will make good use of, for it's most certain I kept the Macleods at home, which was considerable service done the government." How had he kept the Macleods at home, when the rebellion was at its height before it was so much as known if ever he would be allowed to enter it? But he goes on to speak of his own achievements still more boastingly, and of the recalling of Argyle, which, he says, has made him sick. "I hope, my dear general, you will take a start to London to serve his grace and do something for your poor old corporal (meaning himself); and if you suffer Glengarry, Fraserdale, or the Chisholm to be pardoned, I will never carry a musket any more under your command,

though I should be obliged to go to Afric. However, you know how obedient I am to my general's orders; you forgot to give the order signed by you and the other deputies to meddle with Fraserdale's estate for the king's service. I entreat you send it me, for — is afraid to meddle without authority." How his lordship wished Fraserdale to find no mercy is obvious from what is above stated; but why should Glengarry and the Chisholm find none for the very same reason? Their estates lay contiguous to those of Fraserdale; and if they could be all escheated to the king, why might not Lovat for his own extraordinary services have got all the three as well as one? Fraserdale was escheated, and Lovat had only to wait till the month of August, when a grant passed his majesty's privy-seal of Scotland "for the many brave and loyal services done and performed to his majesty by Simon Lord Lovat, particularly for the zeal and activity he showed in suppressing the late unnatural rebellion in the north of Scotland, and for his known affection to his majesty's person and government, giving, granting, and disposing the escheat of all goods, gear, debts, and sums of money, jewels, gold, silver, coined or uncoined, utensils and domecills, horse, nolt, sheep, corns, cattle, bonds, obligations, contracts, decreets, sentences, compromits, and all other goods and gear escheatable, which belonged to Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, together with the said Alexander Mackenzie his life-rent escheat of all lands, heritages, tenements, annual rents, tacks, steadings, rooms, possessions, as also £500 of sterling money, fallen in the king's hands by the said sentence," &c.

This was certainly an abundant reward, though Lovat had been a much better man, and his services more ample than they really were. It was nothing more, however, than he expected, and it excited no gratitude, nor did it yield anything like content. Fraserdale's plate he had attempted to secure, but it fell into the hands of General Wightman, who, it was at the time remarked, had a happy knack of keeping what he got. However, he engaged to return it, Lovat paying him the one half in money, the whole being only valued at £150 sterling. In the month of April he was, on his own request, allowed to come to London, to look after all those great affairs that were then going on; and his mode of writing about them gives a curious view of a worldly man's morality:—"I want," he says to his friend Duncan Forbes, "but a gift of the escheat to make me easy. But if it does not do, you must find some pretence or other that will give me a title to keep possession, either by the tailie my lord provost has, or by buying off some creditors; in short, you must make a man of it one way or other." He was also at this time on the eve of his marriage with Margaret Grant, daughter of Ludovick Grant, of Grant; and his moral feeling on this subject is equally interesting to that which regarded the estate of Lovat:—"I spake to the duke and my Lord Ilay about my marriage, and told them that one of my greatest motives to the design, was to secure the joint interest of the north. They are both fully for it, and Argyle is to speak of it, and propose it to the king. But Ilay desired me to write to you, to know if there would be any fear of a pursuit of adherence from the other person (the dowager of Lovat), which is a chimerical business, and tender fear for me in my dear Ilay. But when I told him that the lady denied before the justice court that I had anything to do with her, and that the pretended marriage had been declared null, which Ilay says should be done by the commissaries only; yet when I told him that the minister and witnesses were all dead, who had been at the pre-

tended marriage, he was satisfied they could make nothing of it, though they would endeavour it. However, I entreat you, write to me or Mr. Stewart a line on this head, to satisfy my Lord Ilay's scruple." This puts an end to all doubt respecting the rape charged upon his lordship, of which he had often before, and did often again declare, that he was as innocent as the child unborn. All was now, however, forgiven; the Duke of Argyle wrote in his favour to the Grants, recommending the match, and in the course of the next year he obtained the young lady for his bride.

Lovat might now have been, if worldly success could make any man so, a very happy man. He had been, for many years, an exile and a prisoner, proscribed at home and abroad, and alike odious to both parties in the state, and both claimants of the crown. He had ventured home at the hazard of his life, had obtained the grace of the reigning prince, the countenance of all his friends, possession of the inheritance of his fathers, two honourable commissions among his countrymen, a young and beautiful wife, and a handsome pension; yet he was the same as before, querulous and discontented.

In the beginning of the year 1717 we find him resuming the subject of the grant, and he requests Duncan Forbes to employ Sir Walter Pringle, and any one else he pleases, and consult together of some legal way for his keeping possession of his estate; "for," says he, "I must either keep violent possession, which will return me my old misfortunes, or I must abandon the kingdom and a young lady whom my friends have engaged me to marry. So, my dear general, I beg you may give me some prospect of not being again forced to leave the kingdom, or to fight against the king's forces. The one or the other must be, if I do not find any legal pretence of possessing the estate but by this gift." And all this was because a Mr. Murray or a Lord Murray had made a motion in the House of Commons for a redeeming clause to be added in favour of Fraserdale's lady, which occasioned a few hours' debate, and was improved for making remarks on Lord Lovat's character and conduct, but at last came to nothing. Perhaps he was also a little disturbed by the movements of the Spanish court in favour of James, which were still more contemptible than any party motion that ever was made in the House of Commons.

For a number of years after this Lovat was fully occupied with the legal campaigns which he carried on under the direction of Duncan Forbes, for the final settlement of the Lovat estate, during all which time the affairs of the Pretender gave him no trouble; nay, they seem to have been totally forgotten. After the lapse of a number of years, however, when he had got everything secured in his own way, we then find him again treating with the Pretender for a generalship and a dukedom, and all his old uneasinesses returning upon him. Having no more to expect from his "dear general" the lord-president, he ceased to correspond with him; and on the breaking up of the Black Watch, one of the companies of which had belonged to him, he withdrew his affections entirely from the existing government, and became ready once more to act for the exiled family of Stuart.

The nation was now involved in war; and the friends of the Pretender, stirred up by the emissaries of the court of France, which protected him for no other purpose than to make him a tool on such occasions—began to bestir themselves. Lovat, whose political views were very limited, never doubted but that France had at all times the power to restore the Pretender, if she had but the will; and now that her

promises were so magnificent, he fell at once into the snare, and was the first to sign, in the year 1740, that association which brought entire ruin upon the cause, and nearly all that had connected themselves with it. Still he acted upon the old principle: he stipulated that he was to have a patent creating him a duke, and a commission constituting him lieutenant of all the Highlands, and of course elevating him above even the great Argyle.

Though Lovat had now committed himself, and was fairly in the way of "having all his old troubles returned upon him," common sense, as in most cases, did not forsake him all at once. He was employed in making preparations for the new scenes of grandeur that to his heated fancy lay before him, but he did not run the hazard of disappointment by any ridiculous parade, or any weak attempts prematurely to realize them. When Prince Charles landed at Boradale, accompanied, not, as had been agreed upon with the association at the head of which Lovat had unfortunately placed his name, by 13,000 men with all necessary equipments, but with seven persons and a few domestics, his friends were perfectly astonished, and none of them more so than Lovat. Accordingly, when he received Lochiel's letter stating that Charles was come, and that he had brought the papers stipulated upon, viz. the patent for the dukedom and the general's commission, Lovat returned a cold and general answer, that he might rely upon what he had promised. Lochiel, however, being led to take part in the enterprise, drew in some of his neighbours, and when the gathering had begun, who could tell where it would end? It might be at last successful, and all who had been backward at the outset might expect no mercy in the end. Still Lovat was cautious. He only sent one of his distant relations, "mad Tom of Gortuleg," to meet Charles at Invergarry, and to advise him to come by Stratherrick to Inverness, and by the time he reached the latter place Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod would have time to come up; besides, he might expect to be there joined by the Grants, the Mackenzies, and the Mackintoshes. These were all engaged to come forward as well as Lovat, who was now, from a number of circumstances, doubtful of their constancy, and, while he preserved the character of a leader, wished to see them all committed before he began to play his part. All his *finesse*, however, was of no avail. Charles took other advice. Sir Alexander Macdonald, and his powerful neighbour Macleod, stood entirely aloof; and to crown all, his "dear general," the lord-president, to whom he owed all that he possessed in the world, and to whose acute powers of perception he was no stranger, became his next-door neighbour, with the almost avowed purpose of watching his every action. All these circumstances reduced him to the necessity of acting with the utmost caution, and at the same time subjected him to the most tormenting anxiety. His preparations for joining the Pretender he dared not entirely suspend, lest some inferior neighbour might rise to that pre-eminent place in the prince's favour, which, in case he were successful, it was the dearest wish of his soul to occupy, and he knew not how to proceed, lest he might stand fairly committed, and be compelled to abide by the consequences. He did, however, what he could: he compelled his son to leave his studies with a view to make him the leader of his clan; and he employed, in an underhand way, his dependants to bring all matters connected with the expedition into a state of forwardness, while he himself wrote letters to the lord-president, filled with lamentations for his unhappy country, and his

more unhappy situation, as having to do with such mad people, and such an untoward and ungrateful son. After the brilliant affair at Gladsmuir, however, when he saw "that as sure as God was in the heavens, the mad young man would prevail," he took a little more courage, and sent to congratulate him on the victory, and to say that, being an old man, he could not come himself with 5000 men, as he had originally intended, but that he would send his son, which he hoped would be regarded the same as if he had come himself. As the course of events seemed to favour or frown upon the attempt, his lordship's conduct continued to be more open, or more concealed, till Lord Loudon found it to be his duty to take him into custody. Still, as he appeared undecided, and but few of his men had gone south, and it was hoped he might still countermand them, his confinement was only nominal. In an evil hour he made his escape from Lord Loudon, and, when it was utterly useless, threw the whole weight of his influence into the rebellion. The master of Lovat had a share in the affair of Falkirk, but was only coming up with his reinforcements to join the army of Charles, when he met it, totally routed, a few miles from the fatal field of Culloden. On the evening of that fatal day Lovat was petrified with the first and the last sight he ever had of Charles. This was at Gortuleg, where the unfortunate prince arrived about sunset, a miserable fugitive, accompanied by his Irish counsellors, Sheridan, Sullivan, O'Neil, and his secretary John Hay. Lovat, on being told of his approach in this forlorn condition, poured forth against him the bitterest execrations, as having brought utter ruin on the house of Lovat, and on the entry of his unexpected visitant he is said to have run about the house in a state of distraction, calling upon his domestics to chop off his aged head. Charles, however, who possessed the art of flattery in great perfection, soothed him by the promise of another and better day with the elector, observing, at the same time, that he had already had two, while the elector had but one. That one, however, unluckily for him and Lovat, was better than all the days either of them had seen, or were ever again to see. But the joke satisfied the old man; supper was hastily prepared, as hastily eaten, and at ten o'clock Charles changed his dress, and bade his entertainer an everlasting farewell.

Lovat had now abundance of leisure to reflect upon his folly in rejecting the sound advice of his friend the lord-president; but as he could have little hope of being again pardoned, he studied to prolong his liberty and life in the best manner he could, first by proposing a mountain campaign, which was found impracticable, and then by betaking himself to the fastnesses of his country, with which he was well acquainted. From one of these retreats he had the misery of seeing his house of Castledownie laid in ashes, and his estates everywhere plundered, the cattle driven off, the shielings set on fire, and the miserable inmates driven to the mountains. He had also the misfortune to see it given over by commission from the Duke of Cumberland to James Fraser of Castle Cullen for the behoof of the government, which, considering what it had cost him, and the value he set upon it, must have been worse than many deaths. As he had been so long a conspicuous character, and one of the most active movers of this rebellion, the search after him was continued with the utmost keenness and perseverance, and he was at last found upon an island in Loch Morar, where he was living comfortably with Macdonald of Morar, the proprietor of the island, without any suspicion of being found out, having carried all the boats

upon the loch into the island, and being at a considerable distance from the sea. Information, however, having been obtained, Captain Ferguson, of his majesty's ship *Furnace*, sailed round till directly opposite the island, when the men-of-war boats were carried overland and launched into the loch. Most of those that were upon the island fled by their boats and escaped; but Lovat, being totally lame, was unable to escape in this manner. He was, however, carried upon his bed into the woods, and was not found till after a search of three days. Being in no condition to make any resistance, he surrendered himself at once, delivered up his arms and his strong box, was carried aboard Captain Ferguson's ship, and brought round to Fort-William, where he wrote a letter to the Duke of Cumberland boasting of the extraordinary services he had performed for his family, of the great kindnesses he had then met with, and of the vast benefits he was still capable of bestowing, should he be made a participant of the royal mercy. Of this letter the duke took no notice, but he treated him with much kindness. A litter having been provided for him, he was brought to Fort-Augustus on the 15th of June, 1746. On the 15th of July he was sent to Stirling Castle, where he remained some days. From Stirling he was sent to Edinburgh, and thence by Berwick to London, the journey being divided into twenty stages, one only of which he was required to travel in a day. In this easy way he reached Barnet on the 14th of August, and on the 15th, the Friday before the execution of the Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, he arrived in London. On his way to the Tower he passed the scaffold that had been erected for the execution of those noblemen, which he looked at with some emotion, exclaiming, "Ah! is it come to this!" When brought to the Tower he was received by General Williamson and conducted to the apartment prepared for him, where, as his trial did not come on till the beginning of next year, he had abundance of leisure to contemplate the ruin he had brought upon himself and his house by indulging a most insatiable avarice and a ridiculous ambition. He, however, took possession of his dreary habitation with a degree of fortitude and an equanimity of mind worthy of a better man and a better cause.

On the 11th of December he was impeached of high treason by the House of Commons, a committee of which was appointed to draw up the articles and prepare evidence. He was subsequently brought to the bar of the House of Lords and the articles read to him. On this occasion his lordship made a long speech, in which he expressed the highest esteem for his majesty and all the royal family, enumerating at great length the many services he had performed for them during the rebellion in 1715, and singular favours bestowed upon him in return by the late king and his ministers. He then enlarged with great eloquence upon his age and infirmities, particularly his deafness, in consequence of which he said he had not heard one word of the charges preferred against him. They were of course read over to him again, when he presented a petition praying that he might have a copy of them, and that counsel and solicitors might be assigned him. He also acquainted their lordships that his estate had been taken forcible possession of, in consequence of which he had nothing either to support him or to bear the expenses of his trial. Their lordships gave orders that he should be allowed the income of the estate for his subsistence. He also petitioned for his strong box, but this was refused. On this day his lordship displayed great ability and excited considerable sympathy.

On the 13th of January, 1747, his lordship was again placed at the bar, and gave in an answer to the articles of impeachment, every one of which he denied. After making a very long speech, his trial was fixed for February the 23d. He was this day carried back to the Tower amid the hissings and execrations of a vast mob that attended him. In consequence of a petition from his lordship, his trial was put off till the 5th, and on a second petition till the 9th of March, on which day [Monday] it commenced, and was continued till Thursday the 19th, when it was concluded, his lordship having been found guilty by a unanimous vote of his peers, by the lord-chancellor pronouncing upon him the awful sentence of the law.

To give any particular account of this trial would be to give a history of the rebellion. Suffice it to say that on Wednesday, the sixth day occupied by his trial, his lordship read his defences, which were drawn up with all that sarcastic shrewdness for which he was remarkable, and displayed his talents to very great advantage. After being sentenced the old man made a short speech, begging their lordships to recommend him to his majesty's mercy. Turning to the commons at the same time, he said, that he hoped the worthy managers, as they were stout, would be merciful. Going from the bar he added, "My lords and gentlemen, God Almighty bless you all. I wish you an everlasting farewell, for we shall never all meet again in one place."

Though he was sentenced on the 19th of March, there were no orders issued respecting his execution till the 3d of April, when it was fixed for the 9th of that month. He had been in the meantime to all appearance perfectly at his ease, and indifferent alike to life or death. Being importuned to petition his majesty for a pardon, he replied he was so old and infirm that his life was not worth asking. He presented, however, a petition for the life of his son, who was a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, and who had been drawn into the rebellion solely by his counsels. The notification of his death he received with perfect composure, drank a glass of wine to the health of the messenger who brought it, and entertained him for a considerable time with a most cheerful conversation, assuring him that he would not change situations with any prince in Europe. Next day he talked freely of his own affairs, and took praise to himself for having been concerned in all the schemes that had been formed in behalf of the Stuarts since he was fifteen years of age, and boasted that he never betrayed a private man nor a public cause in his life. He added, perhaps with more truth, that he never shed a drop of blood with his own hand, nor ever struck a man except one young nobleman [meaning, we suppose, Lord Fortrose in a public meeting at Inverness] whom he caned for his impertinence and impiety. On the Sabbath he talked of his family, and showed to his attendants a letter he had written to his son in a style affectionate and pious, breathing the resignation of a martyr. Being asked this day some question about his religion, he answered that he was a Roman Catholic, and would die in that faith. Wednesday, the day before his execution, he awoke early and prayed for a considerable time with great fervency, but was very merry during the day, talking generally of public affairs, particularly of the bill that was in its progress through parliament for abolishing heritable jurisdictions, which he highly reprobated. Thursday, the day of his execution, he awoke about three in the morning, and prayed with great fervour. At five he rose, called as usual for a glass of wine and water, and, being placed in his chair, sat and

read till seven, when he called for another such refreshment. The barber shortly after brought him his wig, which he found fault with for not being powdered so deeply as usual, saying that he went to the block with pleasure, and if he had a suit of velvet, would put it on for the occasion. He then ordered a purse to put money in for the executioner, which, when brought, was not to his taste, "yet he thought no man could dislike it with ten guineas in it." At nine he called for a plate of minced veal, of which he ate heartily, and afterwards in wine and water drank the healths of several of his friends. In the meantime the crowd was collecting on Tower Hill, where about ten o'clock the fall of a scaffold converted many idle spectators into real mourners, upwards of twenty persons being killed and a vast number maimed. Lovat, it is said, made the remark that "the more mischief the better sport." About eleven the sheriff came to demand the body, and he was conducted to a house near the scaffold, where he delivered to his lordship a paper, saying he might give the word of command when he pleased and he would obey. He then said a short prayer, desired that his clothes might be given to his friends along with his body, took a little brandy and bitters, and was conducted to the scaffold, in going up to which he looked round him and exclaimed, "God save us! why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old gray head, that can't get up three steps without two men to support it?" Observing one of his friends very much dejected, his lordship clapped him on the shoulder, saying, "Cheer up, man, I am not afraid: why should you?" On the scaffold the first object of his attention was the executioner, to whom he gave his purse with ten guineas, bidding him do his work well. He then felt the edge of the axe, saying he believed it would do, looked at his coffin, on which was written "Simon Dominus Fraser de Lovat decollat. April 9, 1747, ætat. suæ 80," and sitting down in a chair set for him, repeated from Horace,

"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori,"

and from Ovid,

"Nam genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi
Vix ea nostra voco."

He then said a short prayer, called for his solicitor, William Fraser, to whom he gave his gold-headed cane and his hat, and requested him to see that the executioner did not touch his clothes. Being undressed he kneeled to the block, gave the signal in half a minute, and the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

Thus died Simon Lord Lovat, one of the most extraordinary characters recorded in Scottish history. He was possessed of good natural talents, which, considering the age in which he lived, and the troubled life he led, had been considerably cultivated, but he was totally destitute of that which alone constitutes true dignity of character—moral worth. His private character, as may well be conceived from what we have detailed of his public one, was vicious, his appetites coarse, and his pleasures low and unscrupulous. He had, however, seen much of the world, possessed great address, and when he had a purpose to serve, could make himself peculiarly agreeable. Few men have ever been so very fortunate, and as few have recklessly thrown their good fortune from them. "A protracted course of wickedness," one writer has remarked, "seems at last to have impaired his natural shrewdness; he dugged a pit into which he himself fell, spread a snare with his own hands in which he was caught, and in the just judgment of God his hoary hairs came to the grave with blood."

Besides his early affair with the dowager of Lovat, his lordship was twice married, first to Margaret, daughter to the laird of Grant, and secondly to Primrose, daughter to John Campbell of Mamore. This latter marriage was singularly unfortunate, and after the most unheard-of barbarities exercised upon the lady, his lordship was under the necessity of granting her a separate maintenance. By his first wife he had three children, two sons and one daughter; and by the second one son, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Lovat.

FULTON, GEORGE, the author of an improved system of education, was born February 3, 1752. He served an apprenticeship to a printer in Glasgow, and afterwards worked as journeyman with Mr. Willison of Edinburgh. He also practised his profession for a time at Dumfries. In early life he married the daughter of Mr. Tod, a teacher in Edinburgh. His first appearance as a teacher was in a charity-school in Niddry's Wynd, which he taught for twenty pounds a year. There an ingenious and original mind led him to attempt some improvements in what had long been a fixed, and, we may add, sluggish art. Adopting his ideas partly from the system of Mr. Sheridan, and partly from his late profession, he initiated his pupils with great care in a knowledge of the powers of the letters, using movable characters pasted on pieces of wood (which were kept in cases similar to those of a compositor in a printing-house), the result of which was, a surprising proficiency generally manifested by his scholars, both in the art of spelling and in that of pronouncing and reading the English language.

Having thus given full proof of his qualifications as an instructor of youth, Mr. Fulton was appointed by the town-council one of the four teachers of English under the patronage of the city corporation, in which situation he continued till about the year 1790, when a dispute with the chief magistrate induced him to resign it, and set up on his own account. He then removed from Jackson's Close in the old town to more fashionable apartments in Hanover Street, where he prospered exceedingly for more than twenty years, being more especially patronized by Thomas Tod, Esq., and Mr. Ramsay of Barnton. In teaching grammar and elocution, and in conveying to his pupils correct notions of the analogies of our language, Mr. Fulton was quite unrivalled in his day. Many teachers from other quarters became his pupils, and were successful in propagating his system; and he had the honour to teach many of the most distinguished speakers of the day, both in the pulpit and at the bar. During the long course of his professional life he was indefatigable in his endeavours to improve his method and simplify his notation; and the result of his studies was embodied in a pronouncing dictionary, which was introduced into almost all the schools of the kingdom.

Mr. Fulton was an eminent instance of the union of talent with frugal and virtuous habits. Having realized a considerable fortune by teaching, he resigned his school to his nephew Mr. Andrew Knight, and for the last twenty years of his life enjoyed *otium cum dignitate* at a pleasant villa called Summerfield (near Newhaven), which he purchased in 1806. In the year 1820 Mr. Fulton married, for the second wife, Miss Eliza Stalker, but had no children by either connection. He died September 1, 1831, in the eightieth year of his age.

FULTON, JOHN. While the records of humble life abound with the names of self-taught geniuses in

poetry, languages, and the fine arts, the list of those who have distinguished themselves by their proficiency in the exact sciences and skill in their practical application, is very limited. And for this the difficulty of learning astronomy or mathematics not only without instructors but without the necessary implements, will sufficiently account. Of the few, however, who contrived to surmount such obstacles, the name of John Fulton may claim an honourable place.

He was the eldest son of a shoemaker in the village of Fenwick, Ayrshire, and was born there in 1800. His education at the parish school was confined to the ordinary acquirements of reading and writing, after which he took his place upon the shoemaker's stall, and followed the craft of his father. While thus employed, however, his studies showed that he was fit for something better than the mechanical occupation of making and cobbling shoes; and after a course of self-teaching in astronomy and mechanics he constructed a planetary machine, which was so highly appreciated that it was purchased by the Philosophical Society of Kilmarnock. At a later period he took a principal part in the construction of a small gaswork, and made a velocipede for a lame lad in Fenwick. He also studied botany chiefly by way of recreation, and made in it no mean proficiency. But his principal study still continued to be the science of astronomy, in which his chief aim was to construct a complete orrery. To this laborious and complicated task he addressed himself when scarcely more than twenty-two years of age, with scanty means and limited time and opportunity—and after ten years of earnest application the task was accomplished. This orrery, a wonder of mechanical and scientific genius coming from the hands of a village

shoemaker, was exhibited in the principal towns of Scotland and England, and at Edinburgh the talents of Fulton were acknowledged by the presentation to him of the medal of the Society of Arts for Scotland, of the value of ten sovereigns.

After this achievement the scientific mechanist was to find a sphere and an occupation better suited to his studies and pursuits; for he went to London and entered into the employ of Mr. Bates, the mathematical instrument maker to King William IV. In this establishment he distinguished himself by his ingenuity and skill in the more delicate parts of the profession, especially in making balances for the royal mint, and theodolites for the Pacha of Egypt. But his restless inquiring mind did not confine itself to the exact sciences, or the fabrication of those instruments which their application demands: he was also a self-taught student of languages, and made himself an excellent Greek, French, Italian, and German scholar, without the instructions of a master. It was a love of learning for its own sake; and while he was becoming so ripe a scholar both in science and literature, that the halls of a university might have been proud to receive him, he was contented with his present position, and also with his wages as a workman, which ranged only from 25s. to 30s. a week. But this literary application, which would have been enough for a man's entire time, instead of his occasional hour of relaxation, began to tell upon the health and brain of poor Fulton; and although he had been of a robust constitution, he broke down when he had only completed his fiftieth year. In 1851 he had to be removed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and there, after kind treatment, he was able in the following year to return to his native Fenwick, where he died in 1853.

G.

GALL, RICHARD, a poet of considerable merit, was the son of a notary in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, where he was born in December, 1776. He received a limited education at Haddington, and at the age of eleven was apprenticed to his maternal uncle, who was a house-carpenter and builder. A decided repugnance to this mechanical art induced him soon after to abandon it and enter the business of a printer, which was only a degree more suitable to his inclinations, from its connection with literature, to which he was already much attached. In the course of an apprenticeship to Mr. David Ramsay, the liberal and enlightened printer of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, he made great advances in knowledge, and began at length to attempt the composition of poetry in the manner of Burns. At the expiry of his time he had resolved to abandon even this more agreeable profession, as affording him too slight opportunities of cultivating his mind, when fortunately he obtained the appointment of travelling clerk to Mr. Ramsay, an employment which promised him much of that leisure for literary recreation of which he was so desirous. He continued to act in this capacity till his death by abscess in his breast, May 10, 1801, when he wanted still some months to complete his twenty-fifth year.

In the course of his brief career Mr. Gall had secured, by his genius and modest manners, the friendship of various literary characters of considerable eminence, in particular Mr. Alexander Murray, after-

wards professor of oriental languages; Mr. Thomas Campbell, author of the *Pleasures of Hope*; and Mr. Hector Macneill, author of many admired poems in the Scottish dialect. His own poetical remains were published in 1819, in one small volume, and include some pieces which have retained their place in the body of our popular poetry, though in general they are characterized by a tameness of thought and language which will for ever prevent their author from ranking in the same class with Fergusson, Ramsay, and Burns.

GALLOWAY, SIR ARCHIBALD, K.C.B., an approved soldier and excellent writer, was born at Perth in 1780, and was the son of Mr. James Galloway of that city. Having chosen arms for his profession, and India for his destination, Archibald Galloway was nominated a cadet in 1799, and appointed to the 58th native infantry, of which he finally became colonel in 1836. During this long period of military service in India, extending over thirty-five years, he was present in several engagements, as well as six sieges and seven storms, in four of which he took a very active share. When Delhi, defended by a handful of British troops, maintained itself against a besieging army of 70,000 men and 130 pieces of cannon, Galloway was one of the brave defenders, and fully shared in the honours of that remarkable resistance. He was also present at the siege of Bhurtpore, conducted by Lord Lake. Cap-

tain Galloway's post on that occasion was especially the post of danger, for it was that of the sappers—a corps so constantly under the enemy's fire, and so frequently employed in the most perilous operations during the siege, that all its officers, and most of its men, were either killed or wounded. On two occasions he headed it in the attack as part of the forlorn hope, and on the last he was dangerously wounded. Besides active services, which are too numerous to specify, and in which his share was that of a fearless, indefatigable, and skilful inferior officer, he was employed on important commissions on the staff, and for several years held high charges in India in the military engineer department, the last of which was that of member of the Military Board under its new constitution, to which he was appointed by the governor-general, Lord William Bentinck. In this responsible office he so ably acquitted himself as to be honoured, at his departure from India, with the highest approval of the governor-general in council. General Galloway's various services, during his military career, were also publicly acknowledged by several of our Indian commanders-in-chief upon nine different occasions—by the supreme government of India on twenty-one, and by the court of directors and superior authorities in England on eleven—making an amount of distinction sufficient to show that he only required a separate command, and an opportunity, to raise his name to the highest rank in the annals of our Anglo-Indian warfare.

In authorship General Galloway also obtained a distinction which will perhaps outlast the remembrance of his soldiery. At a time when such knowledge was most needed by our military governors and civilians in the East, he wrote a commentary on the *Mahometan Law*, and another on the *Law, Constitution, and Government of India*. He also wrote a work on *Indian Sieges*, which was so highly esteemed that it was reprinted by the court of directors, and used as a text-book in their military college, as well as distributed for general use throughout our Indian army. In addition to these he was author of several military treatises. He was nominated a Companion of the Bath in 1838, and a Knight Commander in 1848; and besides these public honours, he was elected a director of the East India Company in 1846, and officiated as its chairman in 1849. His death, which was sudden, being after a few hours' illness, occurred at his house, 18 Upper Harley Street, on the 6th of April, 1850.

GALT, JOHN. This popular novelist and multifarious writer was born at Irvine, in Ayrshire, on the 2d of May, 1779, and was the son of a sea-captain who was employed in the West India trade. The stay of young Galt in a district with which he afterwards made the world so well acquainted was not long-continued, as his parents removed to Greenock when he was eleven years old. In this town of commercial bustle and enterprise his education was soon finished, as he was destined to follow the occupation of a merchant; and by way of acquiring a proper knowledge of his future profession, he was, in the first instance, employed as a clerk in the custom-house of Greenock, and afterwards in a counting-house in the same town. This was unfavourable training for that life of authorship which he followed with such ardour in after-periods; but his diligence and perseverance in self-education during the hours of leisure not only formed the groundwork, but the incitement, of his future literary undertakings. His first attempts, as is usual with young aspirants, were in poetry; and one of these, a tragedy founded on the history of Mary Queen of Scots, he sent to

Constable for publication, but had the MS. returned unread. He was consoled, however, for this disappointment by having his smaller lucubrations occasionally published in the *Greenock Advertiser* and one or two of the Scottish magazines. He thus saw himself in print, and the consequences it is easy to divine—his enthusiasm would expand into full-grown authorship. Undismayed by the rejection of his tragedy, Galt next attempted an epic, the title of which was *The Battle of Largs*. It was written in octo-syllabic rhyme, and he prided himself not a little on the fact that, in this matter at least, he had preceded Sir Walter Scott. This poem, written in five cantos, was enabled partly to struggle into light in consequence of detached portions of it having been published in the *Scots Magazine* for 1803 and 1804. It is as well that the world was not troubled with it *in toto*, as the following invocation to Lok, which is in "Ercles' vein," will sufficiently testify:—

"The hideous storm that dozing lay
Thick blanketed in clouds all day,
Behind sulphureous Hecla, we
Roused to this wrecking wrath for thee,
And sent him raging round the world,
High in a thundering chariot hurl'd;
Whose steeds, exulting with their load,
As the grim fiend they drag abroad,
Whisk with their tails the turrets down
Of many a temple, tower, and town."

Or take the following description of Erie, one of the Norse Eumenides, in which the sudden alternations of rising and sinking can scarcely be paralleled even by Sir Richard Blackmore:—

"Her looks sulphureous glow—
Her furnace-eyes, that burn'd below
A dismal forehead, glaring wide,
Like caves by night in Hecla's side,
And what her fangs for staff did grasp,
*Twas fired iron—Hell's hatchway's hasp.

At length she stood,
And scowling o'er the weltering flood,
That louder rag'd, she stretch'd her hand,
Clutching the red Tartarian brand
Aloft, and as the black clouds sunder'd,
Dared the high heavens till they thunder'd."

It was in London that this poetical attempt was made. He had gone to the metropolis in 1803 or 1804, and there a few months of leisure at his first entrance had encouraged those desperate conceptions in Runic mythology which he extended through five mortal cantos. It was not, however, by writing epics that he could support himself in London. He therefore commenced business in good earnest, and entered into partnership with a young countryman of his own: but they soon disagreed; their affairs were unsuccessful, and in about three years the concern became bankrupt. This combination of poetry and business was not sufficient for the versatile mind of Galt; other subjects of study occupied his attention, among which were astrology, alchemy, history, and political economy. Was it wonderful then that his name, before it figured in authorship, should have found a place in the bankrupt list?

After this mercantile disaster Galt tried to re-establish himself in business, along with a brother; but this attempt also proved abortive. Sick of merchandise, and impatient to try something else, he resolved to devote himself to the profession of law, and for this purpose entered himself at Lincoln's Inn. He was soon overtaken by a nervous indisposition that unfitted him for the dry studies of *Coke upon Littleton*; and, by way of solace, until the malady should pass away, he sat down to write a book. The subject was ready to his hand; for, in a walk with some friends through the colleges of Oxford in 1805, he had felt indignant that Cardinal Wolsey, the founder of Christ Church College, should have

been allowed to bequeath such a boon without a fitting commemoration from its learned disciples; and since better might not be, he had resolved, alien though he was, at some time or other to repair the deficiency. That season had now arrived; and accordingly, about the beginning of 1809, he commenced a life of Cardinal Wolsey, and finished it in a very few months. The short time that he took for the necessary reading and research, as well as writing, which such a subject required, will give an adequate conception of the natural impetuosity of his intellect. But with this haste and hurry there was curiously combined the grave methodical arrangement of the counting-house: he transcribed upon one part of his writing-paper the historical facts extracted from Cavendish, Fiddes, and Hume, and wove round them, upon the margin and between the interstices, his own remarks and deductions, until a gay parti-coloured web was the result, after which he systematized the whole into a continuous narrative. "I was desirous," he says of it, "to produce a work that would deserve some attention." This work, which he afterwards improved and extended, was not published till three years afterwards. As his health did not improve, he now resolved to try the effects of travel before being called to the English bar; and in 1809 he left England for a tour, which extended over three years. The result of this long journey was two separate works at his return. The first was entitled *Voyages and Travels in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811, containing Statistical, Commercial, and Miscellaneous Observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, and Turkey*; and the second, *Letters from the Levant, containing Views of the State of Society, Manners, Opinions, and Commerce in Greece and Several of the Principal Islands of the Archipelago*.

These were not the only works which Galt published on his return to England. His poetical inspiration still haunted him, but so much sobered down, that during his tour he had been employing himself in writing dramas on the plan of Alfieri, where the simplicity of the plot and fewness of the characters were to be compensated by the full force of nature and poetic excellence. This was certainly a great sacrifice in one whose imagination so revelled in plot, and was so fertile in incident. The volume, which was published in 1812, contained the tragedies of "Maddalen," "Agamemnon," "Lady Macbeth," "Antonia," and "Clytemnestra," and as only 250 copies were printed, the work being published on his own account, it had little chance of undergoing the test of public opinion. Even as it was, however, it was roughly handled in the *Quarterly Review* by an ironical criticism, in which Galt was elevated to the rank of a second Shakspeare. Soon after his return he married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Tilloch, editor of the *Philosophical Magazine*, and proprietor of the *Star*, a newspaper on which Galt had been for some time employed. In the same year also (1812), so prolific in his publishing adventures, he sent through the press his *Reflections on Political and Commercial Subjects*.

Having now abandoned all thoughts of devoting himself to the bar, Galt was compelled to have recourse to authorship until something more stable should occur. He therefore wrote in the *Monthly Magazine* and other periodicals of the day. He also projected, with Mr. Colburn the publisher, a periodical which, under the title of the *New British Theatre*, should publish the best of those dramatic productions which the managers of the great play-houses had rejected. It was hoped that in this way deserving talent would be rescued from oblivion, and "many a gem of purest ray serene" be made to glitter in the eye of a delighted world, instead of being trampled

among the dust of the green-room. It was a most benevolent and hopeful speculation, of which Galt, the proposer, was appointed editor. But little did he anticipate the flood-gates of mud which such a proposal opened. There was an instant jail-delivery of manuscript plays, enough to have converted the country into a literary Botany Bay or Alsatia; and Galt, amidst the heap of dramatic matter under which he was well-nigh smothered, was obliged to confess at last that the managers of theatres were not such reckless or unjust rejectors as they had been called. The work at its commencement was successful, but soon afterwards fell off, although the plan was improved by the admission of plays that had been written but not presented. Before it expired Galt possessed and availed himself of the opportunity of inserting some of his own dramatic productions, among which was the tragedy of *The Witness*, afterwards performed in several towns with altered titles. After this his career for some years was one of active business, combined with authorship. During his travels he had conceived the idea of importing British goods through Turkey, in spite of the continental blockade by which Napoleon endeavoured to exclude our commerce; and upon this plan he employed himself diligently for some time both in England and Scotland. But the conception appeared too bold and hazardous to those traders who were invited to the risk; and his efforts ended in disappointment. Another occupation with which he was commissioned was to superintend a bill through the House of Commons intrusted to him by the Union Canal Company. As enough of leisure was afforded him in London during the suspense of this bill, he wrote the *Life and Studies of Benjamin West*. He also wrote a romance, of which the hero was the Wandering Jew. Of this work two considerable editions were sold, although it had never been reviewed. This neglect the author, who affectionately clung to the remembrance of his Wandering Jew to the last, regarded with some surprise. "How the work," he says, "should have been so long unnoticed, while others which treat of the same subject have attracted considerable attention, I cannot say; but this I know, that many of my own far inferior productions, in originality and beauty, have been much applauded, and yet I doubt if they have sold so well." We suspect that few of our readers have been among the purchasers of this wonderful myth, or have even heard its name till now.

Amidst all the toil and struggle of these literary attempts, John Galt had not yet discovered where his strength lay. History, biography, travels, epic and dramatic poetry, romance—he had tried them all, but attained success in none. His over-boiling imagination and erratic fancy were too much even for fiction, whether in prose or verse; and when he attempted sober narrative, his love of originality was ever leading him into some startling paradox which the facts of history were unable to make good. The eccentricity of his political opinions had also given not a little offence to the still predominant party; for although a Tory in theory, he seemed a very Radical in practice, and had more than once run a muck against the powers that be, when he found them stopping up his way. On this account he had also brought down upon his head the ire of the *Quarterly Review*, whose censure was enough to blight the popularity of an author among Tory readers, and throw him out upon neutral ground. Thus, up to 1820, his attempts were a series of literary blunders, and his production of that year, *The Earthquake*—a stern sombre novel in three volumes, which has shared the fate of his other productions written

before this period, should, in ordinary circumstances, have been his last attempt in authorship. But in his long search in the dark he had hit upon the right vein at last. It was not in the wild and wonderful that he was to excel, but in the homely, the humorous, and the caustic. "The hero's harp, the lover's lute," with which he had tried to enchant the world, but to no purpose, were to be exchanged for the vulgar bagpipe and stock-and-horn. His first attempt in this way was the *Ayrshire Legates*—a work which originated in mere accident. One of his enjoyments was to "show the lions" to such strangers as were introduced to him in London; and of these, as might be expected, were many original characters from the far north, whose sensations among the wonders of the great metropolis were a rich feast to his keen observant eye and quick sense of the ludicrous. It soon occurred to him that these peculiarities might be embodied in particular personages, and illustrated by correspondent adventures; the whole materials were before him like those of a rich landscape, and only needed artistic selection and combination to form a very choice picture. Upon this idea he set to work, and without any formal plot for his story, scene after scene grew upon his hand as it was needed, until the *Ayrshire Legates* was the result. It was in this way that *Humphrey Clinker* was produced—the best of all Smollett's productions. As fast as the chapters of Galt's new attempt were written, they were published in *Blackwood's Magazine* of 1820 and 1821, and their appearance excited universal attention, while they continued to rise in popularity to the last: so that, when finished, they were published separately, and eagerly devoured by the novel-reading public. It was a style of writing which had been so long disused as to have all the charms of originality, while the truthfulness of the different characters was such as to impart to fiction all the charms of reality. Galt found that he had succeeded at last, and followed up his success with the *Annals of the Parish*, which was published in 1821. This work, however, although so late in its appearance, was, properly speaking, the first of Galt's Scottish novels, as it had been written in 1813, but laid aside, until the success of the *Ayrshire Legates* encouraged him to commit it to the press. In this work also he had not troubled himself about the construction of a regular plot, and, like its predecessor, it was all the better for the omission. Long before he commenced the *Annals* his ambition had been to "write a book that would be for Scotland what the *Vicar of Wakefield* is for England;" and this was the result. He certainly could not have adopted a better model.

No one can imagine that the pen of Galt, so indefatigable when success was against it, would now relapse into idleness. In the *Annals of the Parish* he had exhibited the progress of improvement in a rural district of the west of Scotland; he was now desirous of describing the same progress in a town. Such was the origin of the *Provost*, which was published in 1822. He had now learned the true secret of novel-writing, as is evident from the following statement: "In the composition of the *Provost* I followed the same rule of art which seemed to me so proper in the *Annals of the Parish*, namely, to bring impressions on the memory harmoniously together; indeed, I have adhered to the principle in all my subsequent compositions, and sometimes I fancy that the propriety of doing so may be justified by nature. I think no ingenuity can make an entirely new thing. Man can only imagine the old together; join legs, and arms, and wings as he may, only the forms of previously-created things can be imitated. The whole figure may be *outré*, and unlike anything in

the heavens, or the earth, or the waters under the earth; but the imitations of the human hand in the details will ever be evident. . . . In my youth I wrote a poem called the *Legend of St. Anthony*, which I undertook with the intention of depicting comical phantasms; but I had not proceeded far till I was induced to change my mind, by observing that my most extravagant fancies were only things of curious patchwork, and that the same defect might be discerned in all those things in which the 'creative' power of genius was said to be more indisputable. . . . I therefore give up all pretension to belonging to that class who deal in the wild and wonderful; my wish is, to be estimated by the truth of whatever I try to represent."

The next work of Galt was the *Steam-boat*, a novel, published originally in *Blackwood*, in which he wished to give such an account of the coronation of George IV. as an "abortive baillie" from Scotland might be likely to do. This was followed by *Sir Andrew Wyllie*, in which he wished to exhibit the rise and progress of a humble Scotchman in London. In this tale, however, he gave way to his literary besetting sin, a fault of which he was afterwards fully conscious; and he says of it very justly, "The incidents are by far too romantic and uncommon to my own taste, and are only redeemed from their extravagance by the natural portraiture of the characters."

But, indeed, either accurate conception or finished execution could scarcely be expected from Galt in his writings at this period, when we remember that the three last-mentioned works, viz. the *Provost*, the *Steam-boat*, and *Sir Andrew Wyllie*, were all published in 1822. In the following year he produced his *Gathering of the West*, which was also published in the first instance in *Blackwood's Magazine*. The subject was the visit of George IV. to Scotland—an event that appeared in so many ludicrous aspects to the mirthful satirical mind of Galt, that he could not repress his profane chuckling at this great *avatar*, even when he endeavoured to look the most composed. He therefore says of the *Gathering*, and its kindred work the *Steam-boat*—"Notwithstanding the deference for magnates and magnificence under which these works were written, the original sin may be detected here and there peeping out, inasmuch that those who consider Toryism as consisting of the enjoyment of at least pensions, must be dreadfully shocked to think even a moderate politician of any sort could be so far left to himself as to speak so irreverently of things which concerned the affairs of empires and burgh towns."

We have already alluded to Galt's exuberance in the productions of 1822; but that of the following year was still more excessive, so that it might well be said of him, *vires acquirit eundo*. Thus the *Entail*, *Ringan Gilhaize*, and the *Spawfae*—each a three-volumed novel—were published during this year of portentous abundance. The first of these novels was founded upon an incident related by the lord-provost of Glasgow to Galt. It was in this way that he was accustomed to make the most of everything that he had heard or witnessed, by either laying it down as the groundwork of a tale, or introducing it as an amusing episode; and in this faculty of adaptation lay much of the excellence of his popular works. Thus his vigorous and picturesque description of the northern coast of Scotland in the *Entail*, was expanded from an interesting account of the locality given to him by a daughter of Sir John Sinclair; while many of the grotesque events and humorous jokes with which his other tales abound had long previously enlivened the firesides of the peasantry. In him, however, it was no small

merit that he should have introduced them so happily, and told them so well. As a proof of the acceptability of his last-mentioned work, Galt tells us, in his *Literary Life and Miscellanies*, that Sir Walter Scott had read it thrice, and Lord Byron as often. Of *Ringan Gilhaize* he also tells us that it received the unique and distinguished honour of being recommended from the pulpit by one of the ministers of Aberdeen. This tale, in which the narrator, a persecuted Covenanter, relates the history of his grandfather, gives a sketch of the rise and progress of the Reformation in Scotland, from the days of Knox and Murray to the close of the reign of the Stuarts; and for the purpose of collecting materials, and preserving the accuracy of the narrative, Galt went to Rinsory House to gather traditions, and collected several relics of the battle of Killiecrankie. The cause which incited him to write such a work was indignation at the popularity of *Old Mortality*, in which the Covenanters were held up to ridicule; and he was animated with a chivalrous zeal to vindicate the character of these heroic but much vilified sufferers in the cause of conscience and religion. But unfortunately Ringan Gilhaize was no match for Balfour of Burley. In this tale Galt very rashly abandoned his own field of broad reality and plain everyday life, for one where nothing but history and imagination could aid him; and therefore it exhibited a marked deficiency both in execution and popular interest. It was still worse, however, with the *Spae-wife*, where he went back from the Covenanting periods, with which the Scottish public can still sympathize, to the fifteenth century of Scottish history, about which they know little and care still less; and with all his attempts at the sublime, which often swelled into the turgid, he could not interest his readers one jot in the Duke of Albany and his worthless brood, or even in James I., our heroic minstrel king. It was certainly an over-ambitious attempt, and as such it failed. At this period the empire of historical romance belonged to Sir Walter Scott, and to him alone, without peer or rival. But that such an attempt was the opening of a safety-valve, and that the work would have exploded in some fashion or other, is manifest from the following statement of the author:—"The fate of James I. of Scotland early seemed to me possessed of many dramatic capabilities; and in the dream of my youth, to illustrate by tales, ballads, and dramas the ancient history of my country, it obtained such a portion of my attention that I have actually made a play on the subject. In riper life, many years after, I wrote the novel; and my knowledge of the age in which the transactions lie enabled me to complete the story in such a manner that, merely as an antiquarian essay, it merits consideration." To the *Spae-wife* succeeded *Rothelan*, in which, not content with going back so far as to the reign of Edward III., Galt transferred the scene to England, where his great *forte* as a Scottish novelist had to be utterly laid aside; and *Rothelan* was a failure. Among the manifold aims of the author's ambition, that of being a good musical composer happened to be one; and in *Rothelan* Galt had not only written two songs, but also set them to music. But it unfortunately happened that the printer was smitten with the same ambition, and not liking the tunes, he substituted two of his own, which were printed in the work. "At the time," says Galt, "I was staying with a friend, and a copy of the book was left for me in the morning. On going down stairs I found it in the library, where we usually breakfasted; and as pleased at the sight as a hen with her egg, of which she cannot keckle enough to the

world about, I lifted the volumes, and turned to the tunes. Courteous reader, sympathize! Instead of my fine airs, with an original inflection that had been much admired by a competent judge, I beheld two that surely had been purchased at the easy charge of a halfpenny a-piece from a street piper! I looked aghast, and almost fainted. There was a grand piano in the drawing-room. I rushed, book in hand, upstairs in a whirlwind. It was of no use—the piano too was a *particeps criminis*, and would only pronounce the Highland coronachs which stand in the publication even to this day; and the worst of it was, my friend, instead of taking out his handkerchief and condoling becomingly, only gave vent to 'unextinguishable laughter,' and paid no attention to my pathetic appeals at the figure I must cut, being really no deacon among musicians, at the thought of having two such horrid frights affiliated to me."

A change once more occurred in the life of Galt, in which the active laborious author was to be transformed into the equally active and enterprising man of business. Besides being reckoned only inferior to Sir Walter Scott as a delineator of Scottish character and manners, his reputation stood high as one well acquainted with the principles and practice of commerce; and on this account the inhabitants of Canada commissioned him as their agent to prosecute their claims on the home government for the losses they had sustained during the occupation of the province by the army of the United States. During the negotiations which occurred in consequence, a proposal to sell crown-lands in Upper Canada for the indemnification of the sufferers was made by Mr. Galt, and adopted by government; and a Canada company was incorporated in 1826 to purchase land and colonize it. During the previous year he had been employed in valuing the lands that were to be exposed to sale, after which he had returned to England; but in the autumn of 1826 he went back to Canada, where he was employed by the company as their superintendent. His able and active management soon secured the confidence of his constituents; new settlements were founded, a village was called by his name, and the township of Guelph was his entire creation. But unfortunately Galt's activity was not balanced by an equal amount of prudence, and in the ardour of his proceedings he managed to involve himself in quarrels with the colonial government, and with Sir Peregrine Maitland, who was at its head. Such is too often the folly and the fate of those who go forth as the reformers of our colonies; they enter their new sphere of action with their heads filled with magna charta and the rights of British citizenship, forgetful all the while of the distance of these colonies from the parent seat of government, and the necessity of a more stringent rule than would be tolerated in London or Edinburgh. This seems to have been the error of Galt; and in consequence of the complaints that were sent home against him he was superseded by the directors of the company. But, whether in the bustle of action or the chagrin of disappointment, his pen could not lie idle; and during this period he produced the *Omen*, a tale that was favourably reviewed in *Blackwood's Magazine* by Sir Walter Scott, and the *Last of the Lairds*, a novel which he meant to be the continuation of a class that has the *Annals of the Parish* for its commencement. For the encouragement of the drama in Quebec he also wrote a farce, entitled *Visitors, or a Trip to Quebec*, which was acted with great success by an amateur company. Another, which he wrote for New York, to propitiate the Americans, who had taken offence at his *Visitors*, was entitled *An Aunt in Virginia*, and was afterwards published in *Black-*

and the *Magnum*, with the scene transferred from New York to London. He intended to write a third for his own town of Guelph, where his dwelling-house was to be converted into a theatre, and the drama introduced into this infant settlement; but his design was suspended by more urgent demands, and the necessity of his speedy return to England.

This event occurred in 1829, after he had been two years and a half in America. On his return, without a situation and almost penniless, Galt's creditors became urgent, and he was obliged, in consequence, to avail himself of the insolvent debtors' act. The world was to be commenced anew; but the elasticity of youth and the ardour of hope were exhausted, and Galt, now at the age of fifty, had already done more than most men have achieved at that period. And yet he must continue an author, no longer, however, from choice but necessity; for of all that he had possessed nothing but his pen remained. And bravely he girded himself for the task, and published in succession *Lucius Todd*, *Smokummon*, and the *Life of Lord Byron*. They were written with his wonted rapidity, being produced in 1829 and 1830; but the spirit that formerly animated him had become languid, so that these works, excellent though they are, will not stand comparison with his former novels that so highly interested the Scottish public. While he was occupied with the *Life of Lord Byron*, a caustic production, in which his lordship meets with somewhat rough entertainment, Galt accepted the editorship of the *Courier*, a newspaper of high Tory principles. But however well adapted in many ways for such an office, it is easy to guess that he could not continue long to hold it, and that the same independence of spirit which wrecked him in Canada would mar him as the Corypheus of any political party whatever in the journalism of London. "The only kind of scruple that I felt," he says, "if such it may be called, was in thinking the politics of the journal a little too ardent for the spirit of the times; and, in consequence, my first object was to render them more suitable to what I apprehended was the wholesome state of opinion, preparatory to introducing occasionally more of disquisition into the articles. . . . Accordingly, without manifesting particular solicitude to make myself remarkable, I began by attempting gradually to alleviate the ultra-toryism of the paper, by explanations of more liberality than the sentiments of any party." By such an honest procedure either the newspaper or the editor must go down; and Galt thus continues his narrative: "I had not been long installed as editor till I perceived that the business would not suit me. In point of emolument it was convenient; but as I have elsewhere shown, money matters have ever been perhaps too slightly regarded by me, and my resignation, though it partook of that promptitude of enunciation which all my decisions have uniformly manifested, was, however, the result of very solemn reflection. To men who have juster notions of the value of money than I have ever entertained—not from persuasion but from habit. If not constitutional carelessness—my resignation in such a crisis of fortune will not be easily comprehensible; but to those who think, as the old song sings, that there are things 'which gold can never buy,' no further explanation can be necessary."

About the same period Galt, while thus busied with literature, attempted to form a new American land company, but was unsuccessful; and to aggravate his misfortunes, two attacks of paralysis warned him that his day of enterprise had ended—that he was now chained to the oar. He retired to his native country there to await his time, so doubly uncertain;

and to close his eyes, when his hour came, amidst the scenery and society which he had loved so well. Yet he still continued to linger on from year to year, although repeated shocks of the malady inflicted at each visitation the "bitterness of death;" and while his memory was impaired and his mind enfeebled, he was still obliged to toil for the support of a life that seemed scarcely worth having. And yet he could still be happy, for his was that healthful state of feeling that looked habitually upon the bright side of things, and could find itself occupation as long as a single faculty remained in exercise. With an amanuensis, or a chance friend to transcribe from his dictation, he continued to pour forth volume after volume, "to wrench life from famine," as he mournfully expressed it; and although these productions could scarcely bear comparison with those of his happier years, they still retained the impress of his former vivacity and inventiveness, as well as much of his vigorous talent and reach of thought. In this way he produced, among other publications, the *Autobiography of John Galt*, in two volumes 8vo, and the *Literary Life and Miscellaneous of John Galt*, in three volumes 12mo, from which the materials of the foregoing sketch have been mainly derived. At length, after the fourteenth stroke of paralysis, he died at Greenock, on the 11th of April, 1839.

The works of Galt were very numerous, comprising about fifty volumes of novels, and more than a score of dramas, independently of his biographical and miscellaneous works. Of these, however, only a tithe of his tales will continue to be read and valued, not only for their intrinsic excellence, but as the transcripts of a state of society that is rapidly passing away. In this department the name of John Galt will be perpetuated as a national remembrance, and his descriptions be prized when the living reality has departed.

GARDEN, FRANCIS, a distinguished judge under the designation of Lord Gardenstone, was born at Edinburgh on the 24th of June, 1721. He was the second son of Alexander Garden of Troon, in Fife-shire, and of Jane, daughter of Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen, one of the judges of the Court of Session. He followed the usual course of education at the grammar-school and university, and being destined for the bar, entered as a member of the Faculty of Advocates on the 14th of July, 1744. During the earlier stages of his professional career Mr. Garden was distinguished for his conviviality, at a period when, especially in Scotland, it must be admitted that real proficiency was requisite to procure fame in that qualification. A strong hale body and an easy benevolent mind gave him a particular taste for social hilarity: had he lived at a different age, he might have turned these qualities into a different channel, but they suited with the period, and he accordingly became the prince of jolly livers. Nor, when he reached that period of life when certain bodily feelings generally make ancient beechanians look back with bitterness on their youthful frolics, did his ever-contented mind lose its equanimity. If he was no longer able to indulge himself, he bore the indulgences of others with charity. His mind was of the same overflowing description, and continued, after the body was disabled, to perform its part in the social circle. Many characteristic anecdotes have been preserved of his convivial propensities during his early practice at the bar. On one occasion, during the time when Prince Charles Edward was in possession of Edinburgh, he and a Mr. Cunningham (afterwards general) are said to have so far preferred wine and oysters to watching and ward-

ing, that, when sent as a patrol by Sir John Cope to watch the coast towards Musselburgh, instead of proving a protection to the army, they were themselves taken prisoners, just when the feast was at its highest, by a single individual, who happened to be prowling in the neighbourhood. It must, however, be allowed, that at that period there were not many inducements to exertion held out to Scotsmen of the higher rank. There were few men eminent for their genius, or even for the more passive acquirements of classical learning which distinguished the neighbouring country. The bar was the only profession which, from its respectability and emoluments, offered itself as a resource to the younger sons of the landed proprietors, then sufficiently poor; and while the learning and information at that time required by its members in their professional capacity were not great, the jealousy of England, just after the union, allowed but to one family in Scotland the rational prospect that time and labour might be well spent in preparing for the duties of a statesman. The state of the country and its political influence were singularly discouraging to the upper classes, and from many naturally active spirits being left unemployed, they turned to indolence or unprofitable amusements those talents which might have rendered them the best ornaments of their country. The nation had then, indeed, begun by degrees to shake off its lethargy, and by the time the subject of this memoir had advanced a little in life, he became one of the most admired and beloved social members of a circle of illustrious philosophers and historians, whose names are dear to the memory of their countrymen as those who first roused their slumbering energies.

On the 14th of July, 1744, Mr. Garden was made sheriff of Kincardineshire, and he soon after showed the soundness of his perception and the liberality of his mind, by stretching forth his hand to assist the modest talent and elegant taste of the author of *The Minstrel*. To those who may, from its lately extinct remnants, have formed any idea of the stately coldness preserved by the higher classes in Scotland towards their inferiors in the middle of the eighteenth century, it will operate as no small evidence of the discernment and kindness of the judge, that he began his acquaintance with the poet and philosopher when that individual was only a cotter boy sitting in a field writing with a pencil. In August, 1759, Mr. Garden was chosen one of the legal assessors of the town of Edinburgh; and as a higher step in professional advancement, in April, 1761, accepted office in the latter days of Mr. Pitt's administration, as joint solicitor-general of Scotland, along with Mr. James Montgomery, afterwards lord chief-baron. What were his professional attainments as a lawyer it is at this distance of time difficult to determine, as he has left behind him no professional work, the only index which can lead to a knowledge of his mere technical attainments as a barrister. As a pleader, however, we know he was highly estimated—as his connection with a renowned lawsuit, which spread its fame over all Europe, and created in Scotland a ferment of disputation inferior only to the heat of religious controversy, has well shown. The appearance made by Mr. Garden in the Douglas cause rendered his name better known, and his talents more appreciated, than generally falls to the lot of a mere forensic pleader. He was early connected with the proceedings of this great case, in the Tournelle process in France, where he appeared as senior to his future friend and literary associate, the classical Burnet of Monboddo, and is generally reported to have left behind him a high opinion of his learning,

and the powers of his eloquence, even when clothed in a foreign language. He became connected with the case on its transference to England, but amidst its multifarious changes he was raised to the bench as successor to Lord Woodhall on the 3d of July, 1764, in time to act as a judge on the case, then very different in its aspect and material from what it was when he performed the part of a counsel.

In 1762 Mr. Garden had purchased the estate of Johnston in Kincardineshire, and in 1765 he commenced those improvements on his estate which, if not among the most brilliant acts of his life, are perhaps among those which deserve to be longest and best remembered. At the time when the estate of Johnston was purchased, the village of Lawrence Kirk, if a village it could then be called, contained but fifty-four inhabitants, living there, not because it was a centre of commercial or industrial circulation, but because chance had brought a few houses to be built in each other's vicinity. Lord Gardenstone caused a new line of street to be planned out on his own property; he gave extremely moderate leases of small farms, and ground for building upon, to the last, for the period of 100 years; he established a linen manufactory, built an inn, and with a singular attention to the minute comforts and happiness of his rising flock, seldom equalled by extensive projectors, he founded a library for the use of the villagers. To assist the progress of society in reducing men dispersed over the country into the compact limits of a town, is an easy, and generally a profitable process, but to found towns or villages where there is no previous spirit of influx, is working to a certain degree against nature, and can only be accomplished by labour and expense. Although the benevolent mind of Lord Gardenstone produced a mutual understanding and kindness betwixt himself and his tenants, which mere commercial speculators fail in producing, yet many of his best-formed plans for the prosperity of the village proved unavailing, and he was frequently subject to disappointment and needless expense. He seems, however, to have felt the pleasure of being kind without profiting himself. At much expense he supported a printfield and manufacture of stockings, and purchased a royal charter erecting Lawrence Kirk into a burgh of barony, with a regular magistracy. He had the satisfaction before his death to find the population increase to 500 souls, and in a letter to the inhabitants which he published late in life, he says—"I have tried in some measure a variety of the pleasures which mankind pursue; but never relished anything so much as the pleasure arising from the progress of my village."

In 1776 Lord Gardenstone, in addition to his seat on the civil bench, was appointed to fill the office of a lord-commissioner of justiciary, or ordinary judge in the criminal court, as successor to Lord Pitfour. Nine years afterwards, having succeeded, by the death of his elder brother, to the extensive estate of Troup, he relieved himself for ever from some of his laborious judicial duties, and for a time from them all, and resolved to attempt to recruit his failing constitution, by making a pleasure tour through the Continent. Accordingly, in 1786, he passed into France by Dover, visiting Paris and Lyons, remaining during part of the winter at Marseilles. In the ensuing spring he passed to Geneva, where he saw the ruined remnant of Voltaire's village at Ferney, from which he was able to draw a comparison much in favour of his own, where the people enjoyed permanent political rights, which would render them independent of any future superior who might not be disposed to imitate the beneficence of the original patron. Lord Gardenstone spent the

remainder of his allotted time in traversing the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy; making, in his progress, a collection of natural curiosities, and committing to writing a number of cursory remarks on the men and manners he encountered, and the works of art he had seen on his tour, or met anywhere else, part of which were submitted to the world in two duodecimo volumes, denominated *Travelling Memorandums made in a Tour upon the Continent of Europe in the year 1792*, and a remaining volume was published after his death. About the same time he published *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, a collection of petty productions which had given him amusement, either in composing or hearing, during his earlier days. Perhaps without affectation, the gravity of the judge might have restrained the man from giving to the world a publication which could not have raised the better part of his reputation. Lord Gardenstone was either not a poet born, or his imagination had not stood the ordeal of a profession which deals in fact and reason. His serious verses have all the stiffness of the French school, without either the loftiness of Pope or the fire of Dryden. The author had, to be sure, an ever-teeming mind, which never emitted anything common or contemptible, but it is to be feared that the merits his verses possess are those of rhetoric rather than of poetry; for, though constructed in the same workshop which formed words and ideas that thrilled through the minds of a subdued audience, they are certainly very flat and inelegant as poetical productions. The satirical pieces have a singular pungency and acuteness, and are fine specimens of the early natural powers of the author; but they are rather destitute of the tact acquired by professed satirists. A biographer who seems to have been intimate with his lordship,¹ describes him as having expressed great contempt for the affectation of those who expressed disgust at the indelicacies of Horace or Swift, and it must certainly be allowed that, in his humorous fragments, he has not departed from the spirit of his precepts, or shown any respect for the feelings of these weaker brethren. Lord Gardenstone spent the latter days of his life, as he had done the earlier, in an unrestricted benevolence and a social intercourse with the world, indulging in the same principles, which years had softened in their activity, but had not diminished. He was still an ornament and a useful assistant to the circle of great men which raised the respectability of his country. He continued to use his then ample fortune, and his practised acuteness, in giving encouragement to letters, and in useful public projects, the last of which appears to have been the erection of a building over the mineral spring of St. Bernard's, in the romantic vale of the water of Leith, a convenience which seems to have been much more highly appreciated formerly than now, and is always mentioned as one of the chief incidents of the judge's life. He died at Morningside, near Edinburgh, on the 22d of July, 1793. The village which had afforded him so much benevolent pleasure exhibited, for a considerable period after his death, the outward signs of grief, and, what seldom happens in the fluctuations of the world, the philanthropist was mourned by those who had experienced his public munificence as a private friend.

In person, Lord Gardenstone is described as having been a commanding man, with a high forehead, features intellectually marked, and a serious penetrat-

ing eye. He was generally a successful speaker, and differed from many orators in being always pleasing. The effect appears to have been produced more by a deep-toned melodious voice, a majestic ease and carelessness of manner, which made him appear unburdened with difficulties, and a flow of language, which, whether treating of familiar or of serious subjects, was always copious—than by the studied art of forensic oratory. His political principles were always on the side of the people, and, so far as may be gathered from his remarks, he would have practically wished that every man should enjoy every freedom and privilege which it might be consonant with the order of society to allow, or which might with any safety be conceded to those who had been long accustomed to the restraints and opinions of an unequal government. From all that can be gathered from his life and character, it is to be regretted that Lord Gardenstone, like many other eminent persons of his profession in Scotland, should have left behind him no permanent work to save his memory from oblivion. His *Travelling Memorandums* display the powers of a strongly thinking mind, carelessly strewed about on unworthy objects; the ideas and information are given with taste and true feeling; but they are so destitute of organization or settled purpose, that they can give little pleasure to a thinking mind searching for digested and useful information, and are only fit for those desultory readers who cannot, or, like the author himself, will not, devote their minds to any particular end. The author's criticisms, scattered here and there through his memorandums, his letters to his friends in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, and numberless pencil marks on the margins of his books, are always just and searching, and strikingly untrammelled by the prejudices of the day, a quality well exhibited in his praises of Shakspeare, then by no means fashionable, and of the satellites of the great bard, Shirley, Marlow, Massinger, and Beaumont and Fletcher, who were almost forgotten.

GARDINER, JAMES, a distinguished military officer and Christian hero, was born at Carriden in Linlithgowshire, January 11, 1688. Of this remarkable person we shall abridge the pleasing and popular memoir written by Dr. Doddridge, adding such additional particulars as have fallen under our observation in other sources of intelligence.

Colonel Gardiner was the son of Captain Patrick Gardiner, of the family of Torwoodhead by Mrs. Mary Hodge, of the family of Gladsmuir. The captain, who was master of a handsome estate, served many years in the army of King William and Queen Anne, and died abroad with the British forces in Germany, shortly after the battle of Hochstet, through the fatigues he underwent in the duties of that celebrated campaign. He had a company in the regiment of foot once commanded by Colonel Hodge, his brother-in-law, who was slain at the head of that regiment at the battle of Steinkirk, 1692.

Mrs. Gardiner, the colonel's mother, was a lady of a very valuable character; but it pleased God to exercise her with very uncommon trials; for she not only lost her husband and her brother in the service of their country, but also her eldest son, Mr. Robert Gardiner, on the day which completed the 16th year of his age, at the siege of Namur in 1695.

She took care to instruct her second son, the subject of this memoir, at a very early period of his life in the principles of Christianity. He was also trained up in human literature at the school of Linlithgow, where he made a very considerable progress

¹ Life introductory to vol. 3d of *Travelling Memorandums*, the only life of Gardenstone hitherto published—at least the one which, *mutatis mutandis*, has been attached to his name in biographical dictionaries.

in the languages. Could his mother, or a very religious aunt, of whose good instructions and exhortations he often spoke with pleasure, have prevailed, he would not have thought of a military life. But it suited his taste; and the ardour of his spirit, animated by the persuasions of a friend who greatly urged it, was not to be restrained. Nor will the reader wonder that, thus excited and supported, it easily overbore their tender remonstrances, when he knows that this lively youth fought three duels before he attained to the stature of a man; in one of which, when he was but eight years old, he received from a boy much older than himself a wound in his right cheek, the scar of which was always very apparent. The false sense of honour which instigated him to it might seem indeed something excusable in those unripened years, and considering the profession of his father, brother, and uncle; but he was often heard to mention this rashness with that regret which the reflection would naturally give to so wise and good a man in the maturity of life.

He served first as a cadet, which must have been very early; and when at fourteen years old he bore an ensign's commission in a Scots regiment in the Dutch service; in which he continued till the year 1702, when he received an ensign's commission from Queen Anne, which he bore in the battle of Ramillies, being then in the nineteenth year of his age. In this memorable action, which was fought May 23, 1706, our young officer was of a party in a forlorn hope, commanded to dispossess the French of the churchyard at Ramillies, where a considerable number of them were posted to remarkable advantage. They succeeded much better than was expected; and it may well be supposed that Mr. Gardiner, who had before been in several encounters, was glad of such an opportunity of signaling himself. Accordingly, he had planted his colours on an advanced ground; and while he was calling to his men he received a shot into his mouth; which, without beating out any of his teeth, or touching the fore-part of his tongue, went through his neck, and came out about an inch and a half on the left side of the vertebrae. Not feeling at first the pain of the stroke, he wondered what was become of the ball, and in the wildness of his surprise began to suspect he had swallowed it; but dropping soon after, he traced the passage of it by his finger, when he could discover it no other way. This accident happened about five or six in the evening; and the army pursuing its advantages against the French, without ever regarding the wounded (which was the Duke of Marlborough's constant method), the young officer lay all night in the field, agitated, as may well be supposed, with a great variety of thoughts. When he reflected upon the circumstances of his wound, that a ball should, as he then conceived it, go through his head without killing him, he thought God had preserved him by miracle; and therefore assuredly concluded that he should live, abandoned and desperate as his state seemed to be. His mind, at the same time, was taken up with contrivances to secure his gold, and he had recourse to a very odd expedient, which proved successful. Expecting to be stripped, he first took out a handful of that clotted gore of which he was frequently obliged to clear his mouth, and putting it into his left hand, he took out his money (about nineteen pistoles), and shutting his hand and besmearing the back part of it with blood, he kept it in this position till the blood dried in such a manner that his hand could not easily fall open, though any sudden surprise should happen. In the morning the French, who were masters of that spot, came

to plunder the slain; and seeing him to appearance almost expiring, one of them was just applying a sword to his breast, when, in the critical moment, a Cordelier, who attended the plunderers, interposed, taking him by his dress for a Frenchman; and said, "Do not kill that poor child." Our young soldier heard all that passed, though he was not able to speak one word; and, opening his eyes, made a sign for something to drink. They gave him a sup of some spirituous liquor, and afterwards carried him to a convent in the neighbourhood, where he was cured by the benevolent lady-abbess in the course of a few months. He received a great many devout admonitions from the ladies there, and they would fain have persuaded him to acknowledge what they thought so miraculous a deliverance, by embracing the *Catholic Faith*, as they were pleased to call it. But they could not succeed: for though no religion lay near his heart, yet he had too much of the spirit of a gentleman lightly to change that form of religion which he wore, as it were, loose about him.

He served with distinction in all the other glorious actions fought by the Duke of Marlborough, and rose through a course of rapid and deserved promotion. In 1706 he was made a lieutenant, and very quickly after he received a cornet's commission in the Scots Greys, then commanded by the Earl of Stair. On the 31st of January, 1714-15, he was made captain-lieutenant in Colonel Ker's regiment of dragoons. At the taking of Preston in Lancashire, 1715, he headed a party of twelve, and, advancing to the barricades of the insurgents, set them on fire, notwithstanding a furious storm of musketry, by which eight of his men were killed. A long peace ensued after this action, and Gardiner, being favourably known to the Earl of Stair, was made his aid-de-camp, and accompanied his lordship on his celebrated embassy to Paris. When Lord Stair made his splendid entrance into Paris, Captain Gardiner was his master of the horse; and as much of that admirably well-adjusted ceremony fell upon him, he gained great credit by the manner in which he conducted it. Under his lordship's favour a captain's commission was procured for him, dated July 22, 1715, in the regiment of dragoons commanded by Colonel Stanhope, then Earl of Harrington; and in 1717 he was advanced to the majority of that regiment; in which office he continued till it was reduced, November 10, 1718, when he was put out of commission. But his majesty King George I. was so thoroughly apprised of his faithful and important services, that he gave him his sign-manual entitling him to the first majority that should become vacant in any regiment of horse or dragoons, which happened about five years after to be in Croft's regiment of dragoons, in which he received a commission, dated June 1st, 1724; and on the 20th of July, the same year, he was made major of an older regiment, commanded by the Earl of Stair.

The remainder of his military appointments may be here summed up. On the 24th January, 1729-30, he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the same regiment, long under the command of Lord Cadogan, with whose friendship this brave and vigilant officer was also honoured for many years; and he continued in this rank and regiment till the 19th of April, 1743, when he received a colonel's commission over a new regiment of dragoons, at the head of which he was destined to fall, about two years and a half after he had received it.

Captain Gardiner lived for several years a very gay and dissolute life, insomuch as even to distinguish himself at the dissolute court of the Regent Orleans. His conduct was characterized by every species of

vice, and his constitution enabled him to pursue his courses with such *insouciance* of manner, that he acquired the name of "the happy rake." Still the checks of conscience, and some remaining principles of good education, would break in upon his most licentious hours, and I particularly remember, says Dr. Doddridge, he told me that when some of his dissolute companions were once congratulating him on his distinguished felicity, a dog happening at that time to come into the room, he could not forbear groaning inwardly, and saying to himself, "Oh that I were that dog!" But these remonstrances of reason and conscience were in vain; and, in short, he carried things so far, in this wretched part of his life, that I am well assured some sober English gentlemen, who made no great pretences to religion, how agreeable soever he might have been to them on other accounts, rather declined than sought his company, as fearing they might have been ensnared and corrupted by it.

The crisis, however, of this course of wickedness arrived at last. I am now come, says his biographer, to that astonishing part of his story, the account of his conversion, which I cannot enter upon without assuring the reader that I have sometimes been tempted to suppress many circumstances of it; not only as they may seem incredible to some, and enthusiastic to others, but I am very sensible they are liable to great abuses; which was the reason that he gave me for concealing the most extraordinary from many persons to whom he mentioned some of the rest.

This memorable event happened towards the middle of July, 1719; but I cannot be exact as to the day. The major had spent the evening (and, if I mistake not, it was the Sabbath) in some gay company, and had an unhappy assignation with a married woman, of what rank or quality I did not particularly inquire, whom he was to attend exactly at twelve. The company broke up about eleven; and not judging it convenient to anticipate the time appointed, he went into his chamber to kill the tedious hour, perhaps with some amusing book, or some other way. But it very accidentally happened that he took up a religious book which his good mother or aunt had, without his knowledge, slipped into his portmanteau. It was called, if I remember the title exactly, *The Christian Soldier, or Heaven taken by Storm*; and was written by Mr. Thomas Watson. Guessing by the title of it that he should find some phrases of his own profession spiritualized, in a manner which he thought might afford him some diversion, he resolved to dip into it; but he took no serious notice of anything he read in it: and yet, while this book was in his hand, an impression was made upon his mind (perhaps God only knows how) which drew after it a train of the most important and happy consequences. There is indeed a possibility, that while he was sitting in this solitude, and reading in this careless and profane manner, he might suddenly fall asleep, and only dream of what he apprehended he saw. But nothing can be more certain than that, when he gave me this relation [1739], he judged himself to have been as broad awake during the whole time as he ever was in any part of his life; and he mentioned it to me several times afterwards as what undoubtedly passed, not only in his imagination, but before his eyes.

He thought he saw an unusual blaze of light fall on the book while he was reading, which he at first imagined might happen by some accident in the candle. But lifting up his eyes he apprehended, to his extreme amazement, that there was before him, as it were suspended in the air, a visible re-

presentation of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross, surrounded on all sides with a glory; and was impressed as if a voice, or something equivalent to a voice, had come to him, to this effect (for he was not confident as to the very words), "Oh sinner! did I suffer this for thee, and are these the returns?" But whether this were an audible voice, or only a strong impression on his mind equally striking, he did not seem very confident, though, to the best of my remembrance, he rather judged it to be the former. Struck with so amazing a phenomenon as this, there remained hardly any life in him, so that he sank down in the arm-chair in which he sat, and continued, he knew not exactly how long, insensible; which was one circumstance that made me several times take the liberty to suggest that he might possibly be all this while asleep; but however that were, he quickly after opened his eyes, and saw nothing more than usual.

It may easily be supposed he was in no condition to make any observation upon the time in which he had remained in an insensible state. Nor did he, throughout all the remainder of the night, once recollect that criminal and detestable assignation which had before engrossed all his thoughts. He rose in a tumult of passions not to be conceived, and walked to and fro in his chamber, till he was ready to drop down in unutterable astonishment and agony of heart; appearing to himself the vilest monster in the creation of God, who had all his lifetime been crucifying Christ afresh by his sins, and now saw, as he assuredly believed, by a miraculous vision, the horror of what he had done. With this was connected such a view, both of the majesty and goodness of God, as caused him to loathe and abhor himself, and to *repent as in dust and ashes*. He immediately gave judgment against himself, that he was most justly worthy of eternal damnation: he was astonished that he had not been immediately struck dead in the midst of his wickedness: and (which I think deserves particular remark) though he assuredly believed that he should ere long be in hell, and settled it as a point with himself for several months, that the wisdom and justice of God did almost necessarily require that such an enormous sinner should be made an example of everlasting vengeance, and a spectacle as such both to angels and men, so that he hardly durst presume to pray for pardon; yet what he then suffered was not so much from the fear of hell, though he concluded it would soon be his portion, as from a sense of that horrible ingratitude he had shown to the God of his life, and to that blessed Redeemer who had been in so affecting a manner *set forth as crucified before him*.

The mind of Major Gardiner continued from this remarkable time till toward the end of October (that is, rather more than three months, but especially the two first of them) in as extraordinary a situation as one can well imagine. He knew nothing of the joys arising from a sense of pardon; but, on the contrary, for the greater part of that time, and with very short intervals of hope towards the end of it, took it for granted that he must in all probability quickly perish. Nevertheless, he had such a sense of the evil of sin, and of the goodness of the Divine Being, and of the admirable tendency of the Christian revelation, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life, while God continued him out of hell, in as rational and as useful a manner as he could; and to continue casting himself at the foot of divine mercy, every day, and often in a day, if peradventure there might be hope of pardon, of which all that he could say was, that he did not absolutely despair. He had at that time such a sense of the degeneracy

of his own heart that he hardly durst form any determinate resolution against sin, or pretend to engage himself by any vow in the presence of God; but he was continually crying to him that he would deliver him from the bondage of corruption. He perceived in himself a most surprising alteration with regard to the dispositions of his heart; so that, though he felt little of the delight of religious duties, he extremely desired opportunities of being engaged in them; and those licentious pleasures which had before been his heaven, were now absolutely his aversion. And indeed, when I consider how habitual all those criminal indulgences were grown to him, and that he was now in the prime of life, and all this while in high health too, I cannot but be astonished to reflect upon it, that he should be so wonderfully sanctified in body, as well as in soul and spirit, as that, for all the future years of his life, he, from that hour, should find so constant a disinclination to, and abhorrence of, those criminal sensualities, to which he fancied he was before so invincibly impelled by his very constitution, that he was used strangely to think and to say, that Omnipotence itself could not reform him, without destroying that body and giving him another.

Nor was he only delivered from that bondage of corruption which had been habitual to him for many years, but felt in his breast so contrary a disposition, that he was grieved to see human nature, in those to whom he was most entirely a stranger, prostituted to such low and contemptible pursuits. He, therefore, exerted his natural courage in a very new kind of combat, and became an open advocate for religion, in all its principles, so far as he was acquainted with them, and all its precepts, relating to sobriety, righteousness, and godliness. Yet he was very desirous and cautious that he might not run into an extreme, and made it one of his first petitions to God, the very day after these amazing impressions had been wrought in his mind, that he might not be suffered to behave with such an affected strictness and preciseness, as would lead others about him into mistaken notions of religion, and expose it to reproach or suspicion, as if it were an unlovely or uncomfortable thing. For this reason he endeavoured to appear as cheerful in conversation as he conscientiously could; though, in spite of all his precautions, some traces of that deep inward sense which he had of his guilt and misery would at times appear. He made no secret of it, however, that his views were entirely changed, though he concealed the particular circumstances attending that change. He told his most intimate companions freely, that he had reflected on the course of life in which he had so long joined them, and found it to be folly and madness, unworthy a rational creature, and much more unworthy persons calling themselves Christians. And he set up his standard, upon all occasions, against principles of infidelity and practices of vice, as determinately and as boldly as ever he displayed or planted his colours, when he bore them with so much honour in the field.

Such is the account given by an exceedingly honest, able, and pious writer of the remarkable conversion of Colonel Gardiner; an account too minute and curious to be passed over by a modern biographer, whatever credence may be given to the circumstances of which it is composed. While the minds of our readers will probably find an easy explanation of the "phenomenon" in the theories which some late writers have started respecting such impressions of the senses, we shall present a remarkably interesting notice of the pious soldier which was written twenty years before his death, and a still longer period

antecedent to Doddridge's publication, and must therefore be considered as entitled to particular attention and credit. It is extracted from a journal of the historian Wodrow [MS. Advocates' Library], where it appears under date May, 1725, as having just been taken down from the mouths of various informants:

"From him and others I have a very pleasant account of Major Gardiner, formerly master of horse to the Earl of Stair, and now lately, on the death of ——— Craig, made Major of Stair's gray horse. He seems to be one of the most remarkable instances of free grace that has been in our times. He is one of the bravest and gallantest men in Britain, and understands military affairs exactly well. He was a lieutenant or a captain many years ago in Glasgow, where he was extremely vicious. He had a criminal correspondence with ———, ¹ as my informer tells us he owns with sorrow. He acknowledges with the deepest concern there was scarce an evil but what he was addicted to it, and he observes that he on many accounts has reason to reckon himself the chief of sinners, much more than Paul; for besides the multitude of the most horrid sins, he did them not ignorantly and through unbelief, but over the belly of light and knowledge. When he was with my Lord Stair, ambassador at Paris, he was riding on one of his most unruly and fiery horses, which could not bear the spur, and in the streets met the hostie and crowd with it. Whether of design or accidentally I cannot say, but his horse and he soon made a clean street, and the hostie came to the ground. The ambassador's house was attacked for the abuse of the hostie, and he was obliged to write over to court about it. The change wrought on the major a few years ago was *gradual and imperceptible*. I think profane swearing was the first thing he refrained from, and then other vices, and still as he refrained from them, he bore testimony against them in others, in the army, at court, and everywhere, and reproveth them in great and small with the utmost boldness. At length he is thoroughly reformed, and walks most closely in ordinances; and while with his troops in Galloway, he haunts mostly at the houses of the ministers; and has made a sensible reformation among the troops he commands, and nothing like vice is to be seen among them. His walk and conversation is most tender and Christian; he rises by four in summer and winter, and nobody has access to him till eight, and some later, and these hours he spends in secret religion. He is a close and exemplary keeper of ordinances, and a constant terror to vice wherever he is, and a serious keeper of the Sabbath. We have at this time several excellent officers in the army, and who have been in it: Colonel Blackader, Colonel Erskine, Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham, and this gentleman. May the Lord increase them!"

"This resolute and exemplary Christian now entered upon that methodical manner of living which he pursued through so many succeeding years of life. A life anything like his could not be entered upon in the midst of such company as he had been accustomed to keep without great opposition, especially as he did not entirely withdraw himself from all the circles of cheerful conversation; but, on the contrary, gave several hours every day to it, lest religion should be reproached as having made him morose. He, however, early began a practice which, to the last day of his life he retained, of reproving vice and profaneness, and was never afraid to debate the matter

¹ The name is expressed in a secret hand used by the venerable historian.

with any, under the consciousness of such superiority in the goodness of his cause.

"A remarkable instance of this happened about the middle of the year 1720, though I cannot be very exact as to the date of the story. It was, however, on his first return to make any considerable abode in England, after this remarkable change. He had heard on the other side of the water that it was currently reported among his companions at home that he was stark mad—a report at which no reader who knows the wisdom of the world in these matters, will be much surprised any more than himself. He concluded, therefore, that he should have many battles to fight, and was willing to despatch the business as fast as he could. And therefore, being to spend a few days at the country-house of a person of distinguished rank with whom he had been very intimate (whose name I do not remember that he told me, nor did I think it proper to inquire after it), he begged the favour of him that he would contrive matters so that a day or two after he came down, several of their former gay companions might meet at his lordship's table, that he might have an opportunity of making his apology to them, and acquainting them with the nature and reasons of his change. It was accordingly agreed to; and a pretty large company met on the day appointed, with previous notice that Major Gardiner would be there. A good deal of raillery passed at dinner, to which the major made very little answer. But when the cloth was taken away, and the servants retired, he begged their patience for a few minutes, and then plainly and seriously told them what notions he entertained of virtue and religion, and on what considerations he had absolutely determined that, by the grace of God, he would make it the care and business of life, whatever he might lose by it, and whatever censure and contempt he might incur. He well knew how improper it was in such company to relate the extraordinary manner he was awakened, which they would probably have interpreted as a demonstration of lunacy, against all the gravity and solidity of his discourse; but he contented himself with such a rational defence of a righteous, sober, and godly life as he knew none of them could with any shadow of reason contest. He then challenged them to propose anything they could urge to prove that a life of irreligion and debauchery was preferable to the fear, love, and worship of the eternal God, and a conduct agreeable to the precepts of his gospel. And he failed not to bear his testimony, from his own experience, that, after having run the widest round of sensual pleasures, with all the advantages the best constitution and spirits could give him, he had never tasted anything that deserved to be called happiness till he had made religion his refuge and his delight. He testified calmly and boldly the habitual serenity and peace that he now felt in his own breast, and the composure and pleasure with which he looked forward to objects which the gayest sinner must acknowledge to be equally unavoidable and dreadful. I know not what might be attempted by some of the company in answer to this; but I well remember he told me the master of the table, a person of a very frank and candid disposition, cut short the debate, and said, 'Come, let us call another cause: we thought this man mad, and he is in good earnest proving that we are so.' On the whole, this well-judged circumstance saved him a great deal of future trouble. When his former acquaintance observed that he was still conversable and innocently cheerful, and that he was immovable in his resolutions, they desisted from farther importunity. And he has assured me that, instead of losing any one valuable friend by this

change in his character, he found himself much more esteemed and regarded by many who could not persuade themselves to imitate his example.

"I meet not with any other remarkable event relating to Major Gardiner, which can properly be introduced here, till the year 1726, when, on the 11th of July, he was married to the Right Honourable Lady Frances Erskine, daughter to the fourth Earl of Buchan, by whom he had thirteen children, five only of which survived their father—two sons and three daughters. From this period till the commencement of the French war he lived either at his villa of Bankton in East Lothian, or moved about through the country with his regiment. Towards the latter end of 1742 he embarked for Flanders, and spent some considerable time with the regiment at Ghent, where he much regretted the want of those religious ordinances and opportunities which had made his other abodes delightful. As he had the promise of a regiment before he quitted England, his friends were continually expecting an occasion of congratulating him on having received the command of one. But still they were disappointed; and on some of them the disappointment seemed to sit heavy. As for the colonel himself, he seemed quite easy about it, and appeared much greater in that easy situation of mind than the highest military honours and preferments could have made him. His majesty was at length pleased to give him a regiment of dragoons, which was then quartered just in the neighbourhood of his own house in Scotland. It appeared to him that by this remarkable event Providence called him home. Accordingly, though he had other preferments offered him in the army, he chose to return, and, I believe, the more willingly, as he did not expect there would have been an action."

The latter years of Colonel Gardiner's life were rendered gloomy by bad health, and for some time before his death he appeared to move constantly under a serious anticipation of that event. When the insurrection of 1745 commenced in the Highlands, his raw regiment of dragoons constituted an important part of the small military force with which Sir John Cope was required to meet the coming storm. Cope marched in August into the Highlands, leaving Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoon regiments in the low country; and when the insurgents, by a strange manœuvre, eluded the government general, and descended upon the Lowlands, these inexperienced troops were all that remained to oppose their course. After an ineffectual attempt to protect Edinburgh, the two regiments fled in a panic to Dunbar, where they were rejoined by the foot under the command of Sir John Cope, and the whole army then marched towards the capital in order to meet and give battle to the clans. The worthy colonel was much depressed by the conduct of his men, and anticipated that they would not behave better in the action about to take place: he said, however, that though he could not influence the conduct of others, he had one life to sacrifice for his country's safety, and he would not spare it.

"The two hostile bodies came into view of each other on the 20th of September in the neighbourhood of his own house near Prestonpans. The colonel drew up his regiment in the afternoon, and rode through all their ranks, addressing them at once in the most respectful and animating manner, both as soldiers and as Christians, to engage them to exert themselves courageously in the service of their country, and to neglect nothing that might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever event might happen. They seemed much affected with the address, and expressed a very ardent desire of attack-

ing the enemy immediately: a desire in which he and another very gallant officer of distinguished rank, dignity, and character, both for bravery and conduct, would gladly have gratified them, if it had been in the power of either. He earnestly pressed it on the commanding officer, as the soldiers were then in better spirits than it could be supposed they would be after having passed the night under arms. He also apprehended, that by marching to meet them, some advantage might have been secured with regard to the ground; with which, it is natural to imagine, he must have been perfectly acquainted. He was overruled in this advice, as also in the disposition of the cannon, which he would have planted in the centre of our small army, rather than just before his regiment, which was in the right wing. And when he found that he could not carry either of these points, nor some others, which, out of regard to the common safety, he insisted upon with unusual earnestness, he dropped some intimations of the consequences he apprehended, and which did in fact follow; and submitting to providence, spent the remainder of the day in making as good a disposition as circumstances would allow.

He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally sheltered under a rick of barley which happened to be in the field. About three in the morning he called his domestic servants to him, of which there were four in waiting. He dismissed three of them, with most affectionate Christian advice, and such solemn charges relating to the performance of their duty and the care of their souls, as plainly seemed to intimate that he apprehended it at least very probable he was taking his last farewell of them. There is great reason to believe that he spent the little remainder of the time, which could not be much above an hour, in those devout exercises of soul which had so long been habitual to him, and to which so many circumstances did then concur to call him. The army was alarmed by break of day by the noise of the approach of the enemy, and the attack was made before sunrise; yet it was light enough to discern what passed. As soon as the enemy came within gun-shot, they made a furious fire; and it is said that the dragoons which constituted the left wing immediately fled. The colonel, at the beginning of the onset, which in the whole lasted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breast, which made him give a sudden spring in his saddle; upon which his servant, who had led the horse, would have persuaded him to retreat: but he said, it was only a wound in the flesh, and fought on, though he presently after received a shot in his right thigh. In the meantime it was discerned that some of the insurgents fell by him.

Events of this kind pass in less time than the description of them can be written, or than it can be read. The colonel was for a few moments supported by his men, and particularly by Lieutenant-colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk; and by Lieutenant West, a man of distinguished bravery; as also by about fifteen dragoons, who stood by him to the last. But after a faint fire, the regiment in general was seized with a panic: and though their colonel and some other gallant officers did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at last took a precipitate flight. And just in the moment when Colonel Gardiner seemed to be making a pause, to deliberate what duty required him to do in such a circumstance, he saw a party of the foot who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to

head them; upon which he said eagerly, "Those brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" or words to that effect: which while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out aloud, "Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing." But just as they were out of his mouth a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened on a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on his right arm that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off his horse. The moment he fell another Highlander gave him a stroke, either with a broadsword or a Lochaber-axe, on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw farther at this time was, that as his hat was falling off, he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a signal to him to retreat; and added, what were the last words he ever heard him to speak, "Take care of yourself;" upon which the servant retired, and fled to a mill at the distance of about two miles from the spot of ground on which the colonel fell; where he changed his dress, and disguised like a miller's servant, returned as soon as possible; yet not till nearly two hours after the engagement. The hurry of the action was then over, and he found his much-honoured master not only plundered of his watch and other things of value, but also stripped of his upper garments and boots; yet still breathing, though not capable of speech. In this condition he conveyed him to the church of Tranent, from whence he was immediately taken into the minister's house and laid in bed; where he continued breathing and frequently groaning, till about eleven in the forenoon, when he took his final leave of pain and sorrow. Such was the close of a life which had been so zealously devoted to God, and filled up with so many honourable services.

His remains were interred the Tuesday following, September 24, at the parish church at Tranent—where he had usually attended divine service—with great solemnity. His obsequies were honoured with the presence of some persons of distinction, who were not afraid of paying that piece of respect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy. But indeed there was no great hazard in this; for his character was so well known, that even they themselves spoke honourably of him, and seemed to join with his friends in lamenting the fall of so brave and so worthy a man.

In personal appearance Colonel Gardiner was tall, well proportioned, and strongly built, his eyes of a dark gray, and not very large; his forehead pretty high; his nose of a length and height no way remarkable, but very well suited to his other features; his cheeks not very prominent, his mouth moderately large, and his chin rather a little inclining to be peaked. He had a strong voice, and lively accent; with an air very intrepid, yet tempered with much gentleness; and there was something in his manner of address most perfectly easy and obliging, which was in a great measure the result of the great candour and benevolence of his natural temper; and which, no doubt, was much improved by the deep humility which divine grace had wrought into his heart, as well as his having been accustomed from his early youth to the company of persons of distinguished rank and polite behaviour.

GARDNER, GEORGE, an eminent botanist, was born in 1810, at Ardentiny, where his father, a native of Aberdeen, acted as gardener to the Earl of Dunmore. He was the second son. In 1816 his

father became gardener to the Earl of Eglinton at Ardrossan, and there the subject of our sketch attended the parish school till 1822, when his parents removed to Glasgow. Here he was placed at the grammar-school, and, in the course of his studies, acquired a good knowledge of the Latin language. He had early imbibed, probably from his father's occupation, a taste for botany; but it was perhaps as much by accident as design that he subsequently devoted his life to the science.

He commenced the study of medicine in the Andersonian university of Glasgow, and continued, during the winter and summer sessions of 1829-1832, to pursue his studies with a degree of zeal and persevering industry which won for him high distinction in college honours. He also, in 1829-1831, attended the classes of anatomy, surgery, chemistry, materia medica, &c., in the university, where he likewise distinguished himself in the prize-list. In 1830 he joined the Glasgow Medical Society and during that year and 1831, 1832, his attendance at the Royal Infirmary was unremitting. Still, amidst these severer studies, he found leisure to indulge his early bias for botany. His first rudiments of the science were obtained from Dr. Rattray, and he continued to improve himself by botanizing rambles in the country, and frequent visits to the Botanical Garden, with the curator of which, Mr. Stewart Murray, he formed a friendship which continued to the day of his death. Through Mr. Murray, and from his having discovered in one of his rambles the rare *Nuphar minima* or *pumila*, growing in Mugdock Loch, he became known to Sir William J. Hooker, the eminent professor of botany in the university of Glasgow. He now attended Sir William's botanical lectures and that truly amiable gentleman soon formed a high estimate of his character and talents. As a student he made several botanical excursions to the Highlands with the professor and his class; and to the intimacy thus produced may be attributed the important change in his future career.

From the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, Gardner obtained his diploma as surgeon, with high marks of distinction. Meanwhile he had made himself acquainted with the flowering plants of Scotland, and studied cryptogamic botany so successfully that, in 1836, he brought out a work entitled *Musci Britannici, or Pocket Herbarium of British Mosses*, arranged and named according to Hooker's *British Flora*. This work was flatteringly received, and has been of great value to muscologists. The specimens are beautifully dried, and neatly attached; whilst its general accuracy can be depended upon, as he had not only free access to the splendid library of Sir William Hooker, but the benefit of his personal assistance.

A copy of the *Musci Britannici* having reached the late Duke of Bedford—well known for the interest which he took in botanical science—his grace became a liberal patron, and warmly encouraged his ambition to proceed upon a foreign exploratory mission. After the death of the lamented Drummond, whose labours in Texas and parts of Central America had greatly enriched the Royal Botanic Garden, the directors of that institution were solicitous still further to promote its scientific character; and arrangements were made for Gardner's proceeding to North Brazil, to explore the botany of that country. As in the case of Drummond, Sir William Hooker undertook to procure a number of subscribers for the dried specimens, and to be at the trouble of subdividing and forwarding them to the respective parties; the curator, at the same time, agreeing to take a similar charge of the seeds and living plants sent home. Many of

the public botanical gardens, as well as a number of amateur noblemen and gentlemen, were subscribers, and by this means for a moderate sum had their collections largely and richly increased. Amongst others the Duke of Bedford was a munificent contributor; and all preliminaries having been arranged for Gardner's departure, his grace not only interested his son Lord Edward Russell, R.N., commanding on the American station, in his behalf, but secured for him a free passage out in one of H.M. ships. This, however, he politely declined, preferring the greater privacy of a merchant ship, that he might have leisure to study, and especially to improve himself in his knowledge of the Spanish and Portuguese languages. So far from being offended, the duke magnanimously sent him a draft for £50 in lieu of the free passage.

In the summer of 1836 Gardner sailed from Liverpool, and, after a favourable passage, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, with the appearance of which and the surrounding scenery he was perfectly captivated, and wrote home in glowing terms, descriptive of his first impressions. Amidst scenes so tempting to a naturalist Gardner did not long remain inactive. He made frequent excursions in the vicinity of Rio, and particularly to the Organ Mountains, and his first collection of plants, seeds, and specimens for the herbarium was drawn chiefly from this quarter. These came home in excellent condition and proved highly interesting. They contained many new orchids, liliaceæ, palms, &c. He subsequently penetrated into the interior, and spent a considerable time in exploring the diamond regions. Five years—from 1836 till 1841—were passed in Brazil. Before returning home, which he did in the latter year, he paid a parting visit to the Organ Mountains, his object in doing so being, as he himself says in one of his letters, to "make a collection of some of the fine shrubs and herbaceous plants which are to be found principally on the higher levels" of that range, to take home with him in the living state. After penetrating into the interior, he found the difficulty of sending home living plants almost insurmountable; yet he continued to preserve large collections for the herbarium, which with seeds and such living plants as could endure the inland journey prior to their long voyage, were sent home as opportunity offered. Some of the melastomaceæ, as *Pleroma benthamianum* and *multiflora* may be mentioned among the number as now ornamenting every good collection of hot-house plants; also, many beautiful franciscas, &c.

Although botany was, of course, his chief pursuit, Gardner had always an eye to what might be of interest in other departments of natural history—hence his collections were swelled with minerals, recent and fossil shells, preserved skins of birds, fishes, &c. He at the same time did not neglect his medical acquirements. Throughout his extended journeyings, he carried his surgical instruments along with him, and performed several important operations with entire success, which not only improved his finances, but gained him many friends—thus securing a degree of respect, comfort, and in some cases safety, among the native tribes, which only a medical man might expect to enjoy. Amidst his multifarious labours he kept up his home correspondence with surprising regularity, writing often to Sir William Hooker and Mr. Murray, and occasionally communicating with the more distinguished foreign botanists of the day. Several of his papers and letters were inserted by Sir William in the *Journal of Botany*. In one of these, dated Province of Minas, September 3, 1840, he refers to the death of his "generous patron, the

Duke of Bedford," in terms which bespeak the deep gratitude by which he was actuated. Nor did he overlook the claims of his own relations to a share in his epistolary attention; and even his juvenile friends, such as Dr. Joseph Hooker, and Mr. Murray's family, were not forgotten.

In 1842, not long after his return, Gardner was elected professor of botany in the Andersonian University, and had prepared a course of lectures; but he did not retain that appointment, seeing, at the time, little prospect of the class being well attended. Meanwhile he occupied himself in arranging the materials of his *Brazilian Journal* with a view to publication. The work, however, was still incomplete, when, in 1843, he was appointed to Ceylon, as island botanist and superintendent of the botanic garden there, by the colonial government. This situation he owed to the influence of his never-failing friend Sir William Hooker, who had himself been, some time previously, promoted to the office of director-general of the Royal Gardens at Kew.

On arriving in Ceylon his first consideration was bestowed on the botanic garden, which he repaired, re-arranged, and greatly improved. He then began to make botanical excursions over the island, thus enriching the garden with the fruits of his journeys. He also transmitted to the botanic gardens in Britain, especially Kew, such plants and seeds as were likely to prove acceptable, obtaining in return the productions of other climes—South America, the West Indies, &c., for the Ceylon garden. During his rambles he discovered the upas tree, which was not previously known to exist in Ceylon. A writer in one of the Ceylon papers, whose article was copied into *Chambers's Journal*, says:—"When returning to Kornegalle we were most fortunate in the pleasure of having for a companion Dr. Gardner, the eminent botanist, in whose company the most insignificant plant or flower has an interest, in relation to which he has always something instructive to tell. On our journey back to Kandy, he discovered the upas tree, growing within a few miles of Kornegalle. It was not known before that it grows in Ceylon."

Gardner's position and eminence as a botanist led him into an extensive correspondence, notwithstanding which, and his multifarious official duties, he so regulated his labours as to be able, not long after his arrival in Ceylon, to finish the arrangement of his Brazilian papers, which were published in London, by Reeves Brothers, in 1846. The work, 562 pp. 8vo, is entitled *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, principally through the Northern Provinces and the Gold Districts, during the Years 1836-41.* It was very favourably received, being sufficiently popular in its style to interest the general reader, whilst it did not disappoint the expectations of the man of science.

Lord Torrington, governor of Ceylon, proved a kind friend and patron to Gardner, thereby enabling him greatly to extend his botanical labours; so also did Sir James Emmerson Tennent, the secretary. Both of these honoured names are often mentioned with grateful feelings in his letters. It was at Neuria Ellia Rest-house, the residence of Lord Torrington, that his demise took place. He arrived there on the 10th of March, 1849, about 3 o'clock P.M., and, after luncheon with Lord and Lady Torrington, retired to rest in his room, his lordship and Dr. Fleming riding out meanwhile. Next day the party was to have gone on an excursion to the Horton Plains. Lord Torrington and the doctor had not proceeded far when they were recalled by express, Gardner having been attacked by a severe fit of apoplexy. Everything was done which medical

science could suggest, but all to no purpose; he died at 11 o'clock at night, surrounded by a circle of deeply grieved friends. He was in the prime of life, and, as remarked at luncheon by Lady Torrington, never seemed in better health and spirits. He had been remarkable throughout life for abstinence. Even during three years of constant travelling, irregularity, and fatigue, while exploring the interior of Brazil, he drank nothing stronger than tea, of which he had secured a good supply before leaving Pernambuco.

Lord Torrington, in communicating the afflicting intelligence to Sir William Hooker, thus warmly eulogizes the character of the deceased: "I can honestly say that the colony, and the public in general, have experienced a severe loss in this talented and excellent man—one who was loved by all; never did I see so amiable a person, one who possessed more benevolence, or was more ready to impart information to those who asked for it."

Thus the science of botany was deprived of an enthusiastic student, and able expositor, in the prime of life and the vigour of intellect. It is believed by those who best knew him, that his end was hastened by excessive mental labour. Amongst his numerous MSS. is one in a finished state, which he was about to send to press, designed as an elementary work on the botany of India; and, as stated by Sir W. Hooker, in noticing his death in the *Journal of Botany*, he had made extensive collections towards a complete *Flora Zeylanica*. As a matter of general interest, it is not unworthy of notice that Gardner had taken out a patent for preparing coffee leaf, so as to afford a beverage, by infusion, "forming an agreeable, refreshing, and nutritive article of diet."

According to Gardner's will, his books and herbarium were to be offered to the Ceylon government, to form part of the establishment at Peradenia, at a certain valuation; and, if not accepted, to be forwarded to his executor in Britain, Sir W. Hooker. The government having declined the offer, they were accordingly placed at the disposal of Sir William, by whose disinterested efforts the herbarium realized prices much beyond what could have been expected.

GED, WILLIAM, the inventor of stereotype printing, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh, in the early part of the eighteenth century. He is said to have first attempted stereotyping in the year 1725. The invention, as may be generally known, consists in casting, by means of a stucco mould, a representation of the superficies of arranged types, which, being fitted to a block, may be used under the press exactly as types are used, and, being retained, may serve at any time to throw off an additional impression. As the metal required for this process is very little compared to that of types, stereotyping is accomplished at an expense, which, though it might come hard upon ordinary jobs, is inconsiderable in others, where it may be the means of saving a new composition of types for subsequent impressions. In the case of a book in general use, such as the Bible, and also in cases where the publication takes place in numbers, and one number is in danger of being sold to a greater extent than another, the process suggested by Ged is of vast utility.¹ In July, 1729,

¹ A use which certainly the inventor never contemplated has been found for this valuable handmaid to the printing art, in facilitating the rapid production of works of very large circulation. Some weekly periodicals of the present (1854) day, are only able to produce the enormous numbers required of them by casting several sets of stereotype plates, and employing various printing machines on the same sheet at the same time. By this means periodicals having a circulation even of half a million weekly are enabled to be issued with the utmost regularity.

Mr. Ged entered into a partnership with William Fenner, a London stationer, and, for the purpose of carrying his invention into practice, allowed Fenner half the profits, in consideration of his advancing the necessary funds. Afterwards Mr. John James, an architect, was taken into the scheme for the same purpose, as was likewise Mr. Thomas James, a letter-founder, and Mr. James Ged, the inventor's son. In 1730 the association applied to the university of Cambridge for printing Bibles and Common-prayer Books, by stereotype, and, in consequence, the lease was sealed to them, April 23, 1731. In their attempt they sank a large sum of money, and finished only two prayer-books, so that it was forced to be relinquished, and the lease was given up in 1738. Ged imputed his disappointment to the villany of the pressmen, and the ill treatment of his partners, particularly Fenner, whom John James and he were advised to prosecute, but declined. In 1733 this ingenious man returned with blighted prospects to Edinburgh. Afterwards, however, by the advice of his friends, he gave to the world a specimen of his invention, in an edition of *Sallust*, finished, it is said, in 1736, but not published till 1744, as the following imprint on the title-page testifies:—*Edinburgi, Gulielmus Ged, Aurifaber, Edinensis, non typis mobilibus, ut vulgo fieri solent, sed tabellis seu laminis fisis, excudebat, MDCCLXIV.* James Ged, his son and former partner, engaged in the insurrection of 1745 as a captain in the Duke of Perth's regiment, and being taken at Carlisle was condemned, but, on his father's account, by Dr. Smith's interest with the Duke of Newcastle, was released in 1745. He afterwards went to Jamaica, where he settled, and where his brother William was already established as a printer. William Ged, the inventor of an art which has been of incalculable advantage to mankind, experienced what has been the fate of too many ingenious and useful men; he died, October 19, 1749, in very indifferent circumstances, after his utensils had been shipped at Leith for London, where he intended to renew partnership with his son James. The Misses Ged, his daughters, lived many years after in Edinburgh, where they kept a school for young ladies, and were much patronized by the Jacobite gentry.¹ Another member of the family, by name Dougal, was a captain in the town-guard, or military police, of Edinburgh, in the days of Fergusson the poet.

GEDDES, ALEXANDER, celebrated as a poet, a critic, and miscellaneous writer, was born at Arradowl, in the parish of Ruthven, Banffshire, in the year 1737. His father, Alexander Geddes, rented a small farm on the Arradowl estate, and, in common with that class of people in Scotland at that time, was in very poor circumstances. His mother was of the Mitchells of Dellachy, in the neighbouring parish of Bellay, and both were of the Roman Catholic persuasion. The parents being anxious to procure for their son the benefits of learning, he was, with a view to the service of the church, at a very tender age, put to learn his letters under a woman who kept a school in the village, of the name of Sellar. Here he learned to read the English Bible, which seems to have been the only book his parents possessed, and which, contrary to the general practice of people of their communion, they encouraged him "to read

with reverence and attention." In perusing this book young Geddes took a singular delight, and by the time he was eleven years of age had got the historical parts of it nearly by heart. At this period the laird of Arradowl having engaged a tutor of the name of Shearer, from Aberdeen, for his two sons, was looking about him for three boys of promising parts, whom he might educate gratuitously along with them, and who might afterwards be devoted to the service of the church. Young Geddes, already celebrated for his talents and for his love of study, immediately attracted his notice, and, along with a cousin of his own, John Geddes, who afterwards became titular Bishop of Dunkeld, and another boy, was taken into the house of Arradowl, where he enjoyed all the advantages peculiar to the laird's superior situation in life, and we may reasonably suppose, though we have not seen it noticed, that his improvement was correspondent to his privilege. From the hospitable mansion of Arradowl he was, by the influence of the laird himself, admitted into the Catholic free seminary of Sculan, a seminary intended solely for young men who were to be afterwards sent abroad to receive holy orders in some of the foreign universities. No situation was ever better chosen for the educating of monks than Sculan, standing in a dismal glen, overhung with mountains on all sides, so high as to preclude the sun from being seen for many months in the year. "Pray, be so kind," said Geddes, writing from that dreary spot to one of his fellow-students, who had obtained leave to visit his friends, "as to make particular inquiries after the health of the sun. Fail not to present my compliments to him, and tell him I still hope I shall one day be able to renew the honour of personal acquaintance with him." Here, to a knowledge of the vulgar English Bible, he added a knowledge of the vulgar Latin one, which appears to have been all the benefit he received by a seven years' seclusion from the sun, and from the world which he illuminated. Having attained the age of twenty-one he was removed to the Scots College at Paris, where he completed his knowledge of the Latin language, to which he added Hebrew, Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, German, and Low Dutch. Theology and biblical criticism were the principal objects of his attention, for he had already formed the design of making a new translation of the Bible for the use of his Catholic countrymen, to the accomplishing of which all his studies seem to have been directed from a very early period of his life. When he had completed his course in the Scots College at Paris, he was solicited to take a share of the public labours of the college, and to fix, of course, his residence in that gay metropolis. This, however, after some hesitation, he declined, and, after an absence of six years, returned to his native country in the year 1764. Having entered into orders, Geddes, on his arrival in Scotland, was by his ecclesiastic superior ordered to reside at Dundee, as officiating priest to the Catholics of Angus. This situation he did not long fill, being invited by the Earl of Traquair to reside in his family at Traquair House, whither he repaired in the month of May, 1765.

Here Mr. Geddes was situated as happily as his heart could have wished; he had plenty of time, with the use of an excellent library, and he seems to have prosecuted his favourite study with great diligence. He had been in this happy situation, however, little more than a year, when the openly-displayed affection of a female inmate of the house, a relation of the earl, rendered it necessary for him, having taken the vow of perpetual celibacy, to take an abrupt departure from the Arcadian scenery of the Tweed.

¹ Among the curiosities preserved in Fingask Castle, Perthshire, the seat of Sir Peter Murray Threipland, Bart., is a page of the stereotypes of Ged's *Sallust*, which had probably been obtained from the inventor or his family by Sir Stewart Threipland, who was a distinguished partisan of the family of Stuart.

Leaving with the innocent author of his misfortune a beautiful little poem, entitled *The Confessional*, he again bade adieu to his native land, and in the varieties and volatilities of Paris endeavoured to forget his pain. Even in this condition, however, he did not lose sight of his great object, as during the time he remained in Paris he made a number of valuable extracts from books and manuscripts which he consulted in the public libraries.

Paris never was a place much to his mind, and it was less so now than ever, when it presented him with no definite object of pursuit. He therefore returned to Scotland in the spring of the year 1769. He had by this time recovered, in some degree, possession of himself; but he dared not encounter the fascination of the beloved object, or re-engage in the domestic scenes from which he had found it necessary to flee. Turning, therefore, to the scenes of his early life, he was offered the charge of a Catholic congregation at Auchinhalrig, in the county of Banff, which he accepted. The members of this little community were poor, their chapel was in ruins, and the most inveterate rancour subsisted among themselves, and between them and their Protestant neighbours. Mr. Geddes, however, was not to be appalled by the prospect of difficulties, however numerous and formidable. His first object was to pull down the old chapel, and to build a new one on the spot. His own house, too, which his biographer dignifies with the name of a parsonage-house, he found necessary to repair almost from the foundation, and he added to it the luxury of an excellent garden, from which he was able, on many occasions, to supply the necessities of his people. In these proceedings Mr. Geddes was not only useful in directing and overseeing the workmen, but as a workman himself, many of the most important operations being performed with his own hands. Having thus provided for the assembling of his congregation, his next object was to correct that extreme bigotry by which they were characterized. For this end he laboured to gain their affections by the most punctilious attention to every part of his pastoral duty, and by the most unbounded charity and benevolence. The ceremonies of Popery he despised as heartily as any Presbyterian. The Scriptures he earnestly recommended to his people, and exhorted them to think for themselves, and to allow the same privilege to others. Many of the peculiarities of Popery, indeed, he denounced as most iniquitous, and utterly repugnant to the spirit of genuine catholicity. In his judgment of others Geddes himself showed the utmost liberality; and he even ventured to appear as a worshipper in the church of a neighbouring parish on different occasions. By these means, if he did not convert to his views the Papists of Auchinhalrig, which we believe he did not, he acquired a very high character to himself, and formed many valuable friendships among men of all descriptions. Than this conduct nothing could be better fitted to attain the object which the Papists were by this time very generally beginning to entertain—that of obtaining political power and influence; and in this respect Geddes, by dereliction of principle, did more for their cause than all other men beside: yet their zeal could not be restrained, even for the most obvious purpose, and he had the mortification to find that he was provoking very generally the resentment of his clerical brethren. His diocesan bishop, Hay, threatened him with suspension if he did not behave with greater circumspection, particularly in regard to the dangerous and contaminating influence of heretical intercourse; but having no supreme court before which to bring the refractory and rebellious

priest, the bishop was under the necessity of letting the controversy drop. Unfortunately the poor priest had become personally bound for considerable sums expended in building the chapel and repairing the manse, for the payment of which he had trusted to the liberality of his people. There was no appearance of his expectations being realized, and his creditors—a class of people whom he could not so easily set at defiance as the bishop—becoming clamorous, a “charge of horning” was likely to suspend him more effectually than the order of his diocesan, when, through the friendship of the Earl of Traquair, he was introduced to the notice of the Duke of Norfolk, who, having learned the extent of the obligations he had come under in his pastoral capacity, claimed the privilege of discharging them as an earnest of future friendship. Geddes was thus relieved from serious embarrassments, but his income was far too scanty to supply his necessities, though they were by no means so numerous as those of many others in his situation. In order to provide for himself without burdening his congregation, he took a small farm at Enzie in Fochabers, in the vicinity of Auchinhalrig, which he stocked by means of a loan, built a little chapel upon it, where he proposed to officiate as well as at Auchinhalrig, and in imagination saw himself already happy and independent. There have been men of letters who have been at the same time men of business. They have been, however, but few; and Geddes was not of the number. It was in the year 1775 that he commenced his agricultural speculations, and by the year 1778 he found himself in a still deeper state of embarrassment than when he had been relieved by the Duke of Norfolk. The expedient he adopted on this occasion, was one that was much more likely to have added to his embarrassments than to have relieved them. He published at London “*Select Satires of Horace*,” translated into English verse, and for the most part adapted to the present times and manners.” This publication, contrary to all human probability, succeeded so well that it brought him a clear profit of upwards of £100, which, with some friendly aid from other quarters, set him once more clear of pecuniary embarrassments. The remark of one of his biographers on this circumstance ought not to be suppressed:—“To be brought to the brink of ruin by farming and kirk-building, and to be saved from it by turning poetaster, must be allowed to be rather out of the usual course of events.”

Finding that his pen was of more service to him than his plough, Mr. Geddes now seriously thought of quitting his retirement, and trying his fortune in London. He was, however, so strongly attached to his flock, that it might have been long before he put his design into execution, had not a circumstance occurred to give it new vigour. Lord Findlater had about this time married a daughter of Count Murray of Mlegum, who, being educated abroad, was unacquainted with English. Mr. Geddes was employed by his lordship to teach her that language. In the house of his lordship he was introduced to the Rev. Mr. Buchanan, who had been tutor to his lordship, and was now minister of the parish of Cullen, with whom he formed a most intimate acquaintance, and did not scruple to attend occasionally upon his ministry in the church of Cullen. This latter circumstance rekindled the long-smothered ire of Bishop Hay, who sent him an angry remonstrance, which he followed up by suspending him from all his ecclesiastical functions. This at once dissolved the tie between Mr. Geddes and his congregation, from whom, in the end of the year 1779, he took an affectionate leave; and selling off what

property he possessed at Enzie by public rousp, prepared, without regret, to leave once more his native country. His people testified their affection for him by buying up, with extraordinary avidity, everything that belonged to him, even to the articles of broken cups and saucers. Nor were his Protestant friends wanting to him on this occasion. Through their joint influence the university of Aberdeen stepped forward with praiseworthy liberality, and conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Leaving Enzie Dr. Geddes devoted a few weeks to visits of friendship, and in company with Lord Traquair repaired to London in the beginning of the year 1780. Through the influence of Lord Traquair he was almost immediately nominated to be officiating priest in the chapel of the imperial ambassador. The literary fame he had already acquired by his imitations of Horace, and the letters with which he was honoured by his friends in the north, introduced him at once to the most celebrated literary characters of the day, which gave great elasticity to his naturally buoyant spirits. Several libraries, too, both public and private, being thrown open to him, he resumed with redoubled ardour his early project of translating the Bible for the use of his Roman Catholic countrymen. Through the Duchess of Gordon he was also introduced to Lord Petre, who was like himself a Catholic, and was anxious to have a translation of the Bible such as Dr. Geddes proposed to make. To enable him to go on without any interruption, his lordship generously allowed him a salary of £200 a year till the work should be finished, besides being at the expense of whatever private library he might find necessary for his purpose. This was encouragement not only beyond what he could reasonably have hoped for, but equal to all that he could have wished; and the same year he published a sketch of his plan, under the title of *An Idea of a New Version of the Holy Bible, for the Use of the English Catholics*. This *Idea* in general, for we have not room to be particular, was "a new and faithful translation of the Bible, from corrected texts of the original, unaccompanied with any gloss, commentary, or annotations, but such as are necessary to ascertain the literal meaning of the text, and free of every sort of interpretation calculated to establish or defend any particular system of religious credence." At the close of this year he ceased to officiate in the imperial ambassador's chapel, the establishment being suppressed by an order from the emperor Joseph II. He continued to preach, however, occasionally at the chapel in Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, till the Easter holidays of 1782, when he found his time so completely taken up by his literary projects, especially his translation, that he voluntarily withdrew from every stated ministerial function. The following year Dr. Geddes paid a visit to Scotland, during which he wrote *Linton, a Tweeddale Pastoral, in Honour of the Birth of a Son and Heir to the Noble House of Traquair*. He passed with the earl and his countess on a tour to the south of France, came back with them to Scotland, and shortly after returned to London. He was about this time introduced to Dr. Kennicot, by whom he was introduced to Dr. Lowth, and both of them took a deep interest in his undertaking. At the suggestion of the latter Dr. Geddes wrote a new prospectus, detailing more fully and explicitly the plan he meant to follow. This was given to the public in 1786: it had a very general circulation, and was well received. In the year 1785 he was elected a corresponding member by the Society of Scottish Antiquaries—an honour which he acknowledged in a poetical epistle to that

respectable body. This epistle is printed in the first volume of the *Transactions* of the society, as also a dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon dialect, with the first eclogue of Virgil, and the first idyllium of Theocritus, translated into Scottish verse.

He was now advancing with his translation; but in the year 1787 he published an appendix to his prospectus, in the form of a *Letter addressed to the Bishop of London, containing Queries, Doubts, and Difficulties relative to a Vernacular Version of the Holy Scriptures*. He published the same year a letter to Dr. Priestly, in which he attempted to prove, by one prescriptive argument, that the divinity of Jesus Christ was a primitive tenet of Christianity. About the same time he published his letter on the case of the *Protestant Dissenters*. In the year 1788 he engaged as a contributor to the *Analytical Review*, for which he continued to furnish many valuable articles during the succeeding five years and a half. It was during the year just mentioned that he issued *Proposals for Printing by Subscription a New Translation of the Holy Bible, &c.* His *General Answer to the Counsels and Criticisms that have been communicated to him since the Publication of his Proposals for Printing a New Translation of the Bible*, appeared in the year 1790. Of the same date was his *Answer to the Bishop of Comana's Pastoral Letter, by a Protestant Catholic*, followed by *A Letter to the R.R. the Archbishop and Bishops of England, &c., Carmen Seculare pro Gallica, &c., and an Epistola Macaronica ad Fratrem, &c.* In the year 1791 he was afflicted with a dangerous fever, and on his recovery accepted of an invitation to visit Lord Petre at his seat at Norfolk. This journey produced *A Norfolk Tale, or a Journey from London to Norwich, with a Prologue and an Epilogue* published in the following year. The same year he published *An Apology for Slavery*, a poem entitled *L'Avocat du Diable, &c.*, and *The First Book of the Iliad of Homer, verbally rendered into English Verse, &c.* Amidst these multifarious avocations he was still proceeding with his translation, and in the year 1792, though his subscription list was far from being filled up, he published *The First Volume of the Holy Bible, or the Books accounted Sacred by Jews and Christians, otherwise called the Books of the Old and New Covenants, faithfully Translated from Corrected Texts of the Originals, with various Readings, Explanatory Notes, and Critical Remarks*.

Dr. Geddes had by this time engaged a house for himself in Alsop's Buildings, New Road, Mary-le-Bone, which he had fitted up with his own hands in a curious and convenient style. He had also a garden both before and behind his house, which he cultivated with the industry of a day labourer, and with the zeal of a botanizing philosopher; he had "a biblical apparatus [a library] through the princely munificence of Lord Petre," superior to most individuals, and he wanted only the incense of the world's applause to this idol of a translation, which he had set up to outrage alike the faith of Jews and Christians, to make his triumph perfect and his happiness complete. The vain man had, by his *Idea*, his *Prospectus*, his *Appendix*, and his *Answer to Counsels and Queries*, secured, as he supposed, the concurrence of mankind, while he had in fact only excited expectations which, though his talents had been increased an hundred-fold, he would have found himself unable to satisfy. What must he have felt or thought when he found that the book, instead of pleasing all the world, as he had vainly hoped, pleased nobody. Christians of every description considered it an insidious attack upon the foundations of their faith, and the Catholics, for whose

benefit it was stated to have been mainly intended, were by a pastoral letter from their vicars apostolic forbidden to read it. Geddes, in an address to the public the following year, defended himself with great boldness, laying claim, like every other infidel, to the most fearless honesty and the strictest impartiality. The failure of his hopes, however, affected him so deeply that his biblical studies were for a time nearly suspended, and it required all the attentions of his friends to prevent him from sinking into the deepest despondency. In the meantime he soothed, or attempted to soothe, his chagrin by writing two Latin odes in praise of the French revolution, but which, on the representations of his friends, he allowed to lie unpublished till the period of the peace in the year 1801. He also wrote and published at this time a translation of Gresset's *Ver Vert, or the Parrot of Nevers*, which did him no honour, the poem having been only a short while before translated more happily by John Gilbert Couper. In the year 1795 he published an *Ode to the Honourable Thomas Pelham*, occasioned by his speech on the Catholic question in the Irish House of Commons, which was followed, in 1796, by a Hudibrastic paraphrase of a sermon which had been preached by a Dr. Coulthurst on the anniversary of his majesty's accession, before the university of Cambridge. In 1797 he published *The Battle of B—ng—r, or the Church's Triumph: a Comic Heroic Poem in Nine Cantos*. The subject of this poem was suggested by the notable contest between Bishop Warren and Mr. Grindly, and it is unquestionably the most finished of all his English poems. The same year he published the second volume of his translation of the Bible, which brought it to the end of the Book of Ruth, beyond which it was not destined to advance in its regular form.

During the two succeeding years he published two burlesque sermons, ridiculing the fast-day sermons of the Established clergy, and in the year 1800 his *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures*, corresponding with a new translation of the Bible, vol. i., containing remarks on the Pentateuch. If there had been any doubt on the public mind respecting the principles of Dr. Geddes, this volume must have removed it. These remarks are less scurrilous perhaps, but not less impious, than those of Thomas Paine, and professing to be the result of laborious learning, sound philosophy, and a most enlarged and enlightened Christianity, are to weak minds much more dangerous, and to the well-informed more offensively disgusting than even the flippancies of that celebrated unbeliever. They had not, however, the merit of meeting the general ideas of mankind, and we believe are already nearly forgotten. The encouragement with which he commenced his publication was greatly inadequate to meet the expense; and this encouragement, instead of increasing, had greatly fallen off; the work being printed too solely at his own expense, he soon found himself involved in pecuniary difficulties, from which he had not the means of extricating himself. Never had a reckless man, however, such a singularly good fortune. We have already seen him twice rescued from ruin in a way, on both occasions, which no one less fortunate than himself could have hoped for, and on this occasion his situation was no sooner disclosed than a plan was devised for his relief, and executed almost without his knowledge. "It is to the credit of the age in which we live," says his biographer, "that, without any further application on his own part, persons of every rank and religious persuasion, Protestants and Catholics, clergy and laity, nobility and gentry, several of whom had never known him but by name,

and many of whom had professed a dislike of his favourite tenets, united in one charitable effort to rescue him from anxiety and distress; nor should it be forgotten that some part at least of the amount subscribed proceeded from the right reverend bench itself. The sum thus collected and expended for him from the year 1798 to the middle of the year 1800, independent of his annuity from Lord Petre, amounted to £900 sterling. Nor was this all: measures were taken at the same time to prevent any such disagreeable occurrence in future. In the buoyancy of spirit which this great deliverance excited, he published a modest apology for the Catholics of Great Britain, addressed to all moderate Protestants, particularly to the members of both houses of parliament. This work was published anonymously; but it had been written twenty years before, and from the style and the whispers of his friends, was soon known to be his. It was translated into the French and German languages, and, considered as the work of a man who professed himself to be a Catholic, is certainly a most singular performance. It was about this time the famous encounter between William Gifford, author of the *Baviad*, and Dr. Wolcott, better known by the name of Peter Pindar, took place in the shop of Mr. Wright, bookseller in Piccadilly, on which Dr. Geddes published *Bardomachia, or the Battle of the Bards*. This he was at the trouble of composing first in Latin, and afterwards translating into English, so that it was published in both languages. In the following year, 1801, Dr. Geddes sustained an irreparable loss in the death of his noble patron, Lord Petre. His lordship died of an attack of the gout in July, 1801, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. By his latter will he bequeathed to Dr. Geddes an annuity of £100; and his son, the heir of his virtues as well as of his honours, when he intimated the circumstance to the doctor, politely proposed to add a yearly salary of the same amount. Nor ought it to be suppressed on this occasion that Mr. Timothy Brown of Chiswell Street, before Dr. Geddes was apprised of Lord Petre's generous intentions, had engaged that the £200 a year which he was likely to lose by the death of his patron should be supplied by the voluntary contributions of those friends who had so generously come forward on the late occasion, or in case of their declining it, by an equal salary to be annually paid by himself. Though he was thus no loser in a pecuniary point of view, he felt the void hereby produced in his happiness, and almost in his existence, to be irreparable; and it was long before his mind recovered so much calmness as to reason on the subject, or to admit the sympathies of surviving friends. His grief, however, began to assume a milder character, and he attempted to soothe his feelings by composing for his departed friend a Latin elegy, and he gave successive proofs that the embers of his habitual hilarity still glowed with a few vital sparks. He did not, however, feel himself at any period sufficiently collected for a regular prosecution of his favourite undertaking. At the pressing request of his friends, he began to prepare for the press the Psalms, to be printed in a separate volume. With the translation he did not get further than the one hundred and eighteenth. A trifling ode on the restoration of peace, written in Latin, was one of his amusements at this time, and a Latin elegy on the death of Gilbert Wakefield was the last of his compositions. Mr. Wakefield died in the month of September, 1801, when Dr. Geddes was already deeply affected with the painful disease that carried him off early in the following spring. Through the whole of the winter his sufferings must often have been extreme, though he had intervals in

which he was comparatively easy. He died suddenly on the 20th of February, 1802, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

As there has been a story told of Dr. Geddes having recanted his opinions on his death-bed, it becomes an imperious duty to state the manner of his death, as related by those who were about him at the time. The rites of that communion to which he professed to belong were, notwithstanding his avowed contempt for the greater part of them, administered to him by his friend M. St. Martin, a doctor of the Sorbonne and professor of divinity. The day before his death Dr. Geddes was visited by this friend, who was anxious to recall him from those aberrations he had made from the faith, and for this purpose had a list of questions drawn up, to which he meant to insist upon having answers. The state into which by this time the Doctor had fallen rendered this impracticable. Sensible that he was in great danger, M. St. Martin endeavoured to rouse him from his lethargy, and proposed to him to receive absolution. Geddes observed that in that case it would be necessary for him to make his confession. M. St. Martin, aware that this was beyond his strength, replied that *in extremis* this was not necessary, that he had only to examine the state of his own mind, and to make a sign when he was prepared. He could not, however, avoid putting a question or two upon the more important points upon which they differed. "You fully," said he, "believe in the Scriptures?" Geddes, rousing himself from his sleep, said, "Certainly." "In the doctrine of the Trinity?" "Certainly, but not in the manner you mean." "In the mediation of Jesus Christ?" "No, no, no,—not as you mean; in Jesus as our Saviour—but not in the atonement." After a pause he said, "I consent to all"—but of these words M. St. Martin did not comprehend the meaning. The Doctor shortly after gave the sign that he was ready, and received from M. St. Martin absolution in the way he had proposed. It was the intention of M. St. Martin to have passed the night with him, but calling in the evening, found that the physician had forbidden any of his friends to be admitted. A domestic, however, in a neighbouring house, of the Catholic persuasion, who knocked at the door during the night, just as he was dying, was admitted, and, according to the rites of her church, repeated over him the Creed, Paternoster, and Ave Maria. Dr. Geddes opened his eyes as she had concluded, gave her his benediction, and expired.

Perhaps there is not in the history of literary men a character that calls more loudly for animadversion, or that requires a more skilful hand to lay it open, than that of Dr. Geddes. He professed a savage sort of straightforward honesty, that was at war on multiplied occasions with the common charities of life; yet amid his numerous writings will any man take it on him to collect what were really his opinions upon the most important subjects of human contemplation? He professed himself a zealous Catholic; yet of all or nearly all that constitutes a Catholic he has spoken with as much bitterness as it was possible for any Protestant to have done. If it be objected that he added to the adjective Catholic the noun Christian, when he says that he admits nothing but what has been taught by Christ, his apostles, and successors in *every age and in every place*, we would ask how much we are the wiser. He professed to believe in Jesus Christ, and in the perfection of his code; but he held Moses to have been a man to be compared only with Numa and Lycurgus; a man who like them pretended to personal intercourse with the Deity, from whom he never received any immediate communication; a man who had the art to take advan-

tage of rarely occurring natural circumstances, and to persuade the Israelites that they were accomplished under his direction by the immediate power of God; a man, in short, conspicuous above all men as a juggling impostor. Now, to the divine mission of Moses we have the direct testimony of Jesus Christ himself, with the express assurance that without believing in Moses it was impossible to believe in him. But we cannot here follow out the subject, nor can we enter into any particular analysis of his works, to which the eccentricities of his character, the singularity of his opinions, and the peculiar circumstances of his life, gave for a time an interest to which they were not at any time entitled. His translation of the Bible, after all the professions he had made, the means he had accumulated, and the expectations he had excited, was a complete failure, and has only added another demonstration to the thousands that had preceded it, how much more easy it is to write fluently and plausibly about great undertakings than to perform them. We intended here to have noticed more particularly his translation of the first book of the Iliad of Homer, which he undertook for the purpose of demonstrating his superiority to Cowper, but upon second thoughts have forbore to disturb its peaceful slumbers. Upon the whole, Dr. Geddes was unquestionably a man of learning and of genius, but from an unhappy temper, and the preponderating influence of arrogance and vanity in his constitution, they were of little avail to himself, and have not been greatly useful to the general interests of mankind.

GEDDES, JAMES, an advocate at the Scottish bar, was born in the county of Tweeddale about the year 1710, and being the son of a gentleman in good circumstances, was educated by tutors under his father's roof. The progress which he made in the learned languages and philosophy was considered extraordinary; and he fulfilled every promise at the university of Edinburgh, where he distinguished himself, particularly in mathematics, which he studied under the celebrated Maclaurin. Having prepared himself for the bar, he entered as an advocate, and soon acquired considerable reputation. His labours as a lawyer did not prevent him from devoting much time to his favourite studies—the poets, philosophers, and historians of antiquity; and in 1748 he published at Glasgow his *Essay on the Composition and Manner of Writing of the Ancients, particularly Plato*. The year after this publication he died of lingering consumption, much regretted, both on account of his learning—the fruits of which had not been fully given to the world—and for his manners and disposition, which were in the highest degree amiable.

GEDDES, MICHAEL, a distinguished divine of the Church of England, and author of some admired works, was educated at the university of Edinburgh, where, in 1671, he took the degree of Master of Arts, in which he was incorporated at Oxford, on the 11th of July, in the same year. He was one of the first four natives of Scotland who were permitted to take advantage of the exhibitions founded in Baliol College, Oxford, by Bishop Warner, with the view of promoting the interests of the Episcopal church in Scotland. Geddes, however, did not return to propagate or enforce the doctrines of that body in his native country. He went in 1678 to Lisbon as chaplain to the English factory, the exercise of which function giving offence to the Inquisition, he was sent for by that court in 1686, and forbidden to continue it. This persecution obviously arose from the attempts now making by King James at home to establish Popery. The English merchants, resenting

the violation of their privilege, wrote on the 7th of September to the Bishop of London, representing their case, and their right to a chaplain, as established by the commercial treaty between England and Portugal; but before this letter reached its destination, the bishop was himself put into the same predicament as Mr. Geddes, being suspended from his functions by the ecclesiastical commission. Finding that his case had become hopeless, Geddes returned to England in May, 1688, where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and after the promotion of Burnet to the bishopric of Salisbury, was made by him chancellor of his church.¹ During his residence at Lisbon he had amassed a great quantity of documents respecting Spanish and Portuguese history, which enabled him, in 1694, to publish a volume, styled *The Church History of Malabar*. Of this work Archbishop Tillotson says, in a letter to Walter Burnet, dated June 28th, 1694, "Mr. Geddes' book finds a general acceptance and approbation. I doubt not but he hath more of the same kind, with which I hope he will favour the world in due time." He was accordingly encouraged in 1696 to publish *The Church History of Ethiopia*, and in 1697 a pamphlet entitled *The Council of Trent Plainly Discovered not to have been a Free Assembly*. His great work, however, was his *Tracts on Divers Subjects*, which appeared in 1714, in three volumes, being a translation of the most interesting pieces which he had collected at Lisbon, and of which a list is given in Moreri's *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, art. "Geddes." The learned doctor must have died previous to the succeeding year, as in 1715 appeared a posthumous volume of tracts against the Roman Catholic church, which completes the list of his publications.

GEIKIE, WALTER. It has often been observed that the Scottish national character abounds in contradictions. Poetical though it be, it has never produced a Milton; and in spite of all its wisdom and sagacity, it has not as yet exhibited a first-rate statesman. The same inconsistency is perceptible in the fine arts; so that, in spite of the imaginative and the humorous, by which that character is distinguished, Scotland has been barren of caricaturists. From the time of Hogarth to that of H. B., England has so plentifully abounded with such artists as to be eminently the land of caricature delineation; but Scotland, with all its shrewd observation, its perception of the ludicrous, and quiet love of fun, which constitute the chief elements in this department of pictorial art, has as yet produced no specimens of it except those of poor Walter Geikie—the very man, too, be it observed, from whom, on account of his physical disqualifications, productions of this kind were least to be expected.

Walter Geikie, whose droll and homely sketches are to be found upon the table of every Edinburgh drawing-room, was the son of Mr. Archibald Geikie, perfumer, and was born in Charles Street, George Square, Edinburgh, on the 9th November, 1795. Before he had completed his second year he was attacked by a dangerous ear disease; and although he recovered, it was at the expense of being deaf and dumb for life. It was too much the fashion at this time in Scotland to consider *dumbies* as incapable of education, so that they were generally allowed to go at large, and vegetate as they best might; but happily, Walter was the son of a pious and intelligent father, who had a better sense of his paternal responsibility: he taught his bereaved boy the alpha-

bet, so that the latter not only learned to read, but to understand what he read. Writing and arithmetic followed, in which Walter showed himself an apt scholar. When he had thus acquired the rudiments of education, it happened, fortunately for him, that Mr. Braidwood, the successful teacher of the deaf and dumb, was invited to Edinburgh, to open an institution there, and Geikie became one of his earliest pupils. In this new school the boy's proficiency was so rapid that he was soon employed as a monitor. He showed also that he was no mere commonplace learner, for he was in the practice of writing down extracts of the passages that best pleased him in the authors whose works he perused. While he was thus storing his mind with knowledge, and qualifying himself, notwithstanding his defects, for a life of usefulness, his path was determined. While yet a child, he had been in the practice of cutting out representations of the objects that struck him on paper; afterwards he had attempted to portray them with chalk on floors and walls; and rising higher still in pictorial art, he at length betook himself to the use of the pencil. He did not, however, satisfy himself, like other young sketchers, with merely copying the pictures of others: instead of this, he would be satisfied with nothing short of the original object; and therefore he often roamed about the suburbs of Edinburgh, or among the fields, transferring into his note-book whatever most pleased his fancy. This was the form of language in which he found he could best express himself, and therefore it is not to be wondered at that he should cultivate it so carefully. At the age of fourteen he was sent to learn drawing by regular rule, under Mr. Patrick Gibson, and such was his progress, that in 1812 he was admitted a pupil of the Academy of Drawing, established for the encouragement of Scottish manufactures, where he had for his preceptor Mr. Graham, the teacher of Allan and Wilkie.

By this course of training the future profession of Walter Geikie was confirmed. He was to be an artist; and it remained to be seen in what department his excellence was to consist. It was not certainly in painting, for he soon discovered that his attempts in oil were decidedly inferior to those of others in warmth and harmony of colouring; and although his *Itinerant Fiddlers*, *All-Hallow Fair*, and the *Grassmarket*, now in the collection at Hopetoun House, were the best specimens of his painting in oil, they scarcely exceed the efforts of a mere fourth-rate artist. It was in sketching that he best succeeded, while the subjects of his preference were not the beautiful or the sublime, but the homely and the ludicrous. He would rather sketch a pig-sty than a palace, and an odd face had more attraction in his eyes than all the ideal beauty of the Venus de Medicis. It was upon this predilection that he acted. He hunted about in quest of singular visages, at which, with his ready pencil, he would take a flying shot as he passed along the street; and as such commodities are by no means scarce in Edinburgh, his collection was soon both rich and varied. This kind of sportsmanship, however, was not without its dangers, for those who were best fitted for the artist's purposes were generally the least disposed to have their effigies perpetuated. One amusing incident of this kind is related by his biographer. Geikie had become desperately enamoured of the turned-up nose, rhinoceros upper lip, and pot-belly of a porter of the Grassmarket, and longed to appropriate them in such a way as not to impoverish their lawful owner. But the porter, who had seen his hungry look, and suspected his purpose, had continued to dodge him, until one day he found himself all but fixed upon the artist's paper.

¹ Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, 334.

Enraged at the discovery, he stormed, swore, and threatened; but Geikie, who was in ecstasy with his rich attitudes, and could not hear the threats, continued the drawing, until he saw his model rushing upon him like a maddened bull in the arena. He took to his heels, but was so hotly pursued that he had to take refuge in a common stair; and the porter, thinking that his tormentor was housed, resolved to await his coming forth. Geikie, in the meantime, who was watching every movement through a dingy window in the stair, contrived to finish his sketch, and crown it with the last touch. But how to get out when his work was finished! This seemed beyond the power of strategy, for there stood his merciless enemy on the watch; and there he remained for hours. Some lucky chance at last called away the bearer of burdens, and Geikie stole from his concealment when he found the coast clear. He had caught the porter, and saved his own bones. The fastidious object of his sketch forms a conspicuous figure in the group of the *Street Auctioneer*.

The mirthful spirit of the artist, which drew him so powerfully to congenial subjects, was not confined to drawing; it found vent also in buoyant mimicry, in which he could act the droll characters of his daily search, as well as draw them. In this way, though deprived of the power of utterance, he could deliver jokes that set the company in a roar. It is gratifying also to add, that with all this mirthfulness there was a soundness of moral principle and depth of religious feeling within him that aimed at nobler ends than the harmless amusement of society. From infancy he had received a religious education, and it was all the more endeared to him, perhaps, from the difficulty which he must have found in acquiring those spiritual ideas of which he saw so few visible symbols. Sacred and sincere, indeed, must be the devotion of the deaf and dumb! He was also eager to impart what he had learned, and therefore with two friends under the same bereavement as himself he established a religious meeting of the deaf and dumb, to whom, on the Sabbaths, he preached and expounded by signs. After an uninterrupted course of good health a short illness of a few days occurred, under which Geikie died on the 1st of August, 1837. He was buried in the Grayfriars' churchyard. Of his productions it is unnecessary to enter into farther analysis, as these, ninety-four in number, illustrative of Scottish character and scenery, have been published in one volume, and are familiarly known to almost every class. They are also accompanied with explanations, and a biographical introduction by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, from which the foregoing facts have been chiefly derived.

GERARD, ALEXANDER, D.D., an eminent divine and writer, was the eldest son of the Reverend Gilbert Gerard, minister of the chapel of Garioch, a parish in Aberdeenshire, where he was born on the 22d of February, 1728. He was removed at the period destined for the commencement of his education to the parish of Foveran, in the same county, the humble schoolmaster of which appears to have possessed such superior classical attainments, that the reverend gentleman felt justified in delivering his son up to his care—a preference which the future fame of that son, founded on his correctness of acquisition and observation, must have given his friends no cause to regret. At the age of ten, on the death of his father, he was removed to the grammar-school of Aberdeen, whence he emerged in two years, qualified to enter as a student of Marischal College. Having there performed his four years of academical attendance in the elementary branches, he finished

his career with the usual ceremony of "the graduation," and appeared before the world in the capacity of Master of Arts at the age of sixteen—not by any means the earliest age at which that degree is frequently granted, but certainly at a period sufficiently early to entitle him to the character of precocious genius. Immediately after finishing these branches of education, he commenced in the divinity hall of Aberdeen his theological studies, which he afterwards finished in Edinburgh.

In 1748 he was a licensed preacher of the Church of Scotland, and about two years thereafter Mr. D. Fordyce, professor of natural philosophy in Marischal College, having gone abroad, he lectured in his stead; and on the regretted death of that gentleman by shipwreck on the coast of Holland, just as he was returning to his friends, Mr. Gerard was appointed to the vacant professorship. At the period when Mr. Gerard was appointed to a chair in Marischal College, the philosophical curriculum, commencing with logic, proceeded immediately to the abstract subjects of ontology and pneumatics, the course gradually decreasing in abstruseness with the consideration of morals and politics, and terminating with the more definite and practical doctrines of natural philosophy. Through the whole of this varied course it was the duty of one instructor to lead his pupils, mathematics and Greek being alone taught by separate professors. The evils of this system suggested to the professors of Marischal College the formation of a plan for the radical alteration of the routine, which has since been most beneficially conducive to the progress of Scottish literature. A very curious and now rare pamphlet from the pen of Dr. Gerard exists on this subject; it is entitled *Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the Reasons of it, drawn up by Order of the Faculty*, printed at Aberdeen in 1755—a little work of admirable perspicuity and sound logical reasoning. The rationale of the ancient system was founded on the presumption that, as it is by the use of logic and the other metaphysical sciences alone that we can arrange, digest, and reason upon the facts which come under our observation, these must be committed to the mind as rules of management before any facts collected can be applied to their proper purposes, and that before any knowledge of nature, as it exists, is stored in the intellect, that intellect must be previously possessed of certain regulations, to the criterion of which the knowledge gained must be submitted. A quotation from Dr. Gerard's little work will afford one of the best specimens of the now pretty generally understood confutation of this fallacy. Speaking of logic he says:—"This is one of the most abstruse and difficult branches of philosophy, and therefore quite improper to begin with. It has a strict dependence on many parts of knowledge: these must of consequence be premised before it can be rightly apprehended; the natural history of the human understanding must be known, and its phenomena discovered; for without this the exertions of the intellectual faculties, and their application to the various subjects of science, will be unintelligible. These phenomena must be not only *narrated*, but likewise, as far as possible, *explained*; for without investigating their general laws, no certain and general conclusions concerning their exercise can be deduced: nay, all sciences, all branches of knowledge whatever must be premised as a groundwork to genuine logic. History has one kind of evidence, mathematics another; natural philosophy one still different; the philosophy of nature another distinct from all these; the subordinate branches of these several parts have still minuter

peculiarities in the evidence appropriated to them. An unprejudiced mind will in each of these be convinced by that species of argument which is peculiar to it, though it does not reflect how it comes to be convinced. By being conversant in *them* one is prepared for the study of *logic*, for they supply them with a fund of materials: in *them* the different kinds of evidence and argument are exemplified: from *them* only those illustrations can be taken, without which its rules and precepts would be unintelligible. . . . In studying the particular sciences, reason will spontaneously exert itself: if the proper and natural method of reasoning is used, the mind will, by the native force of its faculties, perceive the evidence, and be convinced by it, though it does not reflect how this comes to pass, nor explicitly consider according to what general rules the understanding is exerted. By afterwards studying these rules one will be farther fitted for prosecuting the several sciences; the knowledge of the grounds and laws of evidence will give him the security of *reflection* against employing wrong methods of proof and improper kinds of evidence, additional to that of instinct and *natural genius*." The consequence of this acknowledgment of the supremacy of reason and practice over argumentation and theory was the establishment of a course of lectures on natural and civil history, previously to inculcating the corresponding sciences of natural and mental philosophy—an institution from which, wherever the former part consists of anything better than a blundering among explosive combustibles, and a clattering among glass vessels, or the latter is anything superior to a circumstantial narrative of ancient falsehoods and modern dates—the student derives a basis of sound and useful information, on which the more metaphysical sciences may or may not be built, as circumstances or inclination admit. It is a striking instance of the propensity to follow with accuracy the beaten track, or to deviate only when some powerful spirit leads the way, that the system has never advanced further than as laid down by Dr. Gerard;—according to his system, jurisprudence and politics are to be preceded by pneumatology and natural theology, and are to be mixed up "with the perusal of some of the best ancient moralists." Thus the studies of jurisprudence and politics, two sciences of strictly modern practical origin, are to be mixed with the dogmas of philosophers, who saw governments but in dreams, and calculated political contingencies in the abstract rules of mathematicians; and the British student finds that the constitutional information for which he will at a more advanced period of life discover that his country is renowned is the only science from which the academical course has carefully excluded him, and which he is left to gather in after-life by desultory reading or miscellaneous conversation and practice. The change produced by Dr. Gerard was sufficiently sweeping as a first step, and the reasons for it were a sufficient victory for one mind over the stubbornness of ancient prejudice. It is to be also remembered that those admirable constitutional works on the government and constitutional laws of England (which have not even yet been imitated in Scotland), and that new science by which the resources of governments and the relative powers of different forms of constitutions are made known like the circumstances of a private individual—the work of an illustrious Scotsman—had not then appeared.

In 1756 a prize offered by the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, for the best essay on taste, was gained by Dr. Gerard, and in 1759 he published this essay, the best and most popular of his philosophical works. It passed through three English editions and two

French, in which language it was published by Eidous, along with three dissertations on the same subject by Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Montesquieu. This essay treats first of what the author calls taste, resolved into its simple elements, and contains a sort of analytical account of the different perceptible qualities, more or less united, to be found in anything we admire: he then proceeds to consider the progress of the formation of taste, and ends with a discussion on the existence of a standard of taste. The author follows the system of reflex senses propounded by Hutchinson. The system of association, upon which Mr. Alison afterwards based a treatise on the same subject, is well considered by Gerard, along with many other qualifications, which he looks upon as the sources of the feeling—qualifications which other writers, whose ideas on the subject have not yet been confuted, have referred likewise to the principles of association for their *first* cause. Longinus, in his treatise on sublimity, if he has not directly maintained the original influence of association—or in other words, the connection of the thing admired, either through cause and effect, or some other tie, with what is pleasing or good—as an origin of taste, at least in his reasonings and illustrations, gives cause to let it be perceived that he acknowledged such a principle to exist.¹ The first person, however, who laid it regularly down and argued upon it as a source of taste, appears to have been Dr. Gerard; and his theory was admitted by Sir Joshua Reynolds (in as far as maintaining that beauty consists in an aptness of parts for the end to which they are assigned may be considered an admission of the principle of association), at a period when one of an inversely opposite nature was supported by Burke and Price. To those who have followed these two, the name of Dugald Stewart has to be added; while that eminent scholar and great philosopher Richard Payne Knight has, amidst the various and rather ill-arranged mass of useful information and acute remark accumulated in his inquiry into the principles of taste, well illustrated the theory propounded by Dr. Gerard; and it has been finally enlarged and systematized by Dr. Alison, and the author of a criticism on that work in the *Edinburgh Review*, one of the most beautiful and perfect specimens of modern composition.

At the period when Dr. Gerard produced this work, he was a member of a species of debating institution half-way betwixt a society and a club, subject neither to the pompous formality of the one nor the free-and-easy style of the other. This society is well known in Scottish literary history as embracing among its members many of the first men of the time. More or less connected with it were the classical Blackwell; and Gregory; and Reid, the parent of that clear philosophy which has distinguished the country; and Beattie, who, though his merits have perhaps been too highly rated, was certainly fit to have been an ornament to any association of literary men. The use of literary societies has been much exaggerated; but still it cannot be denied, that wherever a spot becomes distinguished for many superior minds, there is one of these pleasing sources of activity and enjoyment to be found. That it is more the effect than the cause may be true. Such men as Gerard, Reid, and Blackwell would have been distinguished in any sphere of life; but if the principle should maintain itself in no other science, it is at least true of philosophy, that intercommunication and untechnical debate clear and purify the

¹ This is particularly remarkable at the commencement of the seventh section.

ideas previously formed, and ramify them to an extent of which the thinker had never previously dreamed. It must have been grateful beyond conception to the members of this retired and unostentatious body, to have found learning and elegance gradually brightening under their influence, after a dreary and unlettered series of ages which had passed over their university and the district—to feel that, though living apart from the grand centres of literary attraction, they had the enjoyments these could bestow beside their own retired hearths and among their own professional colleagues—and to be conscious that they bestowed a dignity on the spot they inhabited, which a long period of commercial prosperity could never bestow, and gave a tone to the literature of their institution which should continue when they were gone.

In June, 1760, Dr. Gerard was chosen professor of divinity in Marischal College, being at the same time presented to the living of the Grayfriars' Church, in Aberdeen. During his tenure of these offices he published his *Dissertations on the Genius and Evidences of Christianity*, a subject which he treated with more soundness, reason, and gentlemanly spirit, than others of the same period have chosen to display. In June, 1771, he resigned both these situations, and accepted the theological chair of King's College, and three years afterwards published *An Essay on Genius*: this production is stamped with the same strength of argument and penetrating thought everywhere to be found in the productions of the author. The heads of the subject are laid down with much philosophical correctness, and followed out with that liberal breadth of argument peculiar to those who prefer what is reasonable and true to what supports an assumed theory. The language is not florid, and indeed does not aim at what is called elegant writing, but is admirably fitted to convey the ideas clearly and consistently, and seems more intended to be understood than to be admired. It commences with a discussion on the nature of "genius," which is separated from the other mental powers, and particularly from "ability," with which many have confounded it. Genius is attributed in the first process of its formation to imagination, which discovers ideas to be afterwards subjected to the arbitration of judgment; memory, and the other intellectual powers, being considered as subsidiary aids in instigating the movements of imagination.

Dr. Gerard afterwards presented to the world two volumes of sermons, published in 1780–82. He died on his sixty-seventh birth-day, 22d Feb. 1795. A sermon was preached on his funeral, and afterwards published, by his friend and pupil Dr. Skene Ogilvy of Old Aberdeen, which, along with the adulation common to such performances, enumerates many traits of character which the most undisguised flatterer could not have dared to have attributed to any but a good, able, and much esteemed man. A posthumous work, entitled *Pastoral Care*, was published by Dr. Gerard's son and successor in 1799.

GERARD, ALEXANDER. This enterprising eastern traveller, who died a martyr to his zeal in exploring the various regions of Hindoostan, was the son of Gilbert Gerard, professor of theology in King's College, Aberdeen, and grandson of Alexander Gerard, who had previously occupied the same chair in that college. This clerical succession, however, was broken in the case of Alexander, who selected the army as his sphere of occupation, and went to India at the early age of sixteen. It was not, however, in military transactions that he was to win

distinction; but the more scientific parts of his profession, for which he showed a remarkable aptitude, so that not long after his arrival in India, he was sent by Sir David Ochterlony to survey Malacca, a task which he executed with great accuracy, mostly at mid-day, under a burning sun. After this he was employed to make many of the surveys in the East which were judged of peculiar difficulty and importance, and in consequence of these appointments he resided many years in the then almost unknown district of Chinese Tartary, and among the Himalaya Mountains. The dangers he dared and the toils he endured among these mountains were almost incredible: he scaled heights that had never been ascended by the foot of any European traveller, and was rewarded by finding tribes in many places which had hitherto been deemed uninhabited and uninhabitable.

It was unfortunate, that while executing these professional surveys, and communicating his reports to the East India Company, Captain Gerard took no means of imparting to the world at large a full account of his explorations, contenting himself with a few occasional notices published in India. Fortunately, however, there was one exception to this general statement, by the appearance of a work published after his death, with the title which we give in full: *Narrative of a Journey from Cawnpore to the Borendo Pass in the Himalaya Mountains, via Gwalior, Agra, Delhi, and Sirhind, by Major Sir William Lloyd; and Captain Alexander Gerard's Account of an Attempt to Penetrate by Bekhur to Guroo and the Lake Manasorowara; with a Letter from the late J. G. Gerard, Esq., detailing a Visit to the Shutool and Borendo Passes, for the Purpose of Determining the Line of Perpetual Snow on the Southern Face of the Himalaya, &c. &c., with maps.* Edited by George Lloyd. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1840. In this work the second volume is occupied by the "narrative" of Captain Gerard, and in it we can see the character of the man, and the nature of those travels and investigations which he prosecuted for so many years in India, until his energies were exhausted. Of this detailed expedition, however, our limits will only permit a few particulars.

He left Sobahtoo in the beginning of June, 1821, and ascended the Himalaya Mountains, noting carefully on the way the places inhabited, their range of elevation above the level of the sea, their temperature and produce, and the character of the tribes who occupied them. Toiling and struggling amidst the eternal snows, but still continuing his march upward, he and his company, now looking more like ghosts than men, reached the Borendo Pass, an elevation of 15,121 feet, on the 15th of June. It was a height at which travellers can sleep little, and breathe only with difficulty, while they are subject to frequent headaches. Here their native guides refused to proceed with them, declaring that to go higher was impossible; so that Gerard was obliged to alter his route to the source of the Pabur, and seek it by another. Charung Pass, an elevation of 17,348 feet, he reached on the 9th of July, and half a mile of this height was so slippery with stones, gravel, and snow half melted by the rain, that he was obliged to move upward on all fours, thrusting his hands deep into the snow to secure his hold. Another ascent which he performed was to the Keeobrung Pass, 18,313 feet in height, and a third was the Gangthung Pass, an elevation of 18,295 feet. Most of the communities with which the ledges of the Himalayas in these directions were dotted, consisted chiefly of Tartars and Chinese, the subjects of the Celestial Empire, whose conduct to the traveller was various;

some receiving him kindly and treating him with hospitality, while others were churlish, and would not allow him to proceed. In many cases, too, Captain Gerard did not find the occupants of these vast heights to be so uncomfortable as such localities would seem to intimate. They had a healthy climate cooled from the heat of the burning Indian sun, a fertile soil in which some of the fruits and grains of Europe were mixed with those of a warmer region, and his description of one of these—the village of Hango, 11,400 feet above the sea—would present allurements for a European agriculturist to become a settler there. It contains “thirty families of Tartars and two nuns. It is situated at the head of a dell, in the bosom of cultivation, extending nearly a mile in one direction, and half that in the other. There are a few poplar-trees, but apricots do not vegetate. I have seldom seen more luxuriant crops: the ear of the ooa showed so large and full, that I was induced to count the grains, and I found the average of eight picked casually to be seventy-eight fold. The produce here is the same as at Nako; most of the fields were ripe, and some even cut. The glen runs nearly east and west; a stream flows on each side of it, and one through the middle; and the supply of water never fails.” At Nising, another village at an elevation of more than 10,000 feet, at which our traveller halted, he witnessed a usage which must have warmed his heart with recollections of his native home. “I remarked,” he says, “a custom here similar to that of the Scotch farmers, who, on commencing harvest, plait some of the first-cut stalks of corn, and fix them over the chimney-piece till next harvest. The Tartars fasten three stalks of barley over the outside of the door, the ear hanging down: every door in the village was thus ornamented.” Of the time alone occupied in these perilous expeditions of Gerard, an idea may be formed from the fact, that this one did not terminate until the end of September, 1821, being a journey that lasted four months.

But such journeys in Hindoostan, continued over a long course of years, were sufficient to wear out a constitution of iron; and at last, yielding to the solicitations of his friends, he returned to his native country. But the return was too late for the recovery of his health, and at home he was subject to periodical attacks of a fever under which he gradually sunk. It was one of these that carried him off on the 15th of December, 1839, at Aberdeen, after a short illness of three days.

Alexander was not the only one of the family of the Gerards distinguished in the records of Indian travel. His elder brother, Dr. James Gerard, of the Bengal medical establishment, who accompanied him in many of his expeditions and surveys, was distinguished by the same adventurous enthusiasm, and scarcely his inferior in that scientific skill and quickness of observation so necessary for exploring unknown and interesting countries; and he, too, like his brother, fell a martyr to his zeal for Indian exploration. The following short account of him by Captain Alexander Gerard, written only four weeks before his own death, in a letter to the editor of *Sir William Lloyd's Narrative*, will be more interesting than a lengthened narrative:

“You would be sorry to see my poor brother James's death. His trip to Bokhara with Colonel Sir A. Burnes was a mad-like expedition for him, as he had long been unwell, and was obliged to leave his bed to go, and could only travel in a palkee [palankin]. It was, however, his own wish, and, at his own particular request, that Burnes applied for him. This trip killed him, for he had several attacks of fever on his way to Bokhara, and

Burnes again and again urged him either to return or stop at Kabool till he recovered. But he would do neither. His love of research carried him on, and he persevered and accomplished the journey with the greatest difficulty. On his return he was detained three months at Meskid, and no less than eight at Herat, by fever, so after his arrival at Soobahtoo, his constitution was completely worn out. He never had a single day's good health, and gradually declined. But the doctors would not believe him on account of the florid complexion he had even on the very day of his death. Patrick and I were with him the whole time he survived, which was just a year, for I got leave of absence on purpose to prepare a map of his route from his notes; for he observed the bearings, estimated the distances, and noted the villages all the way from Herat to the Indus.” Of this survey taken from the notes, and drawn up under the inspection of Dr. Gerard, the captain gives the following interesting account:—“It was a splendid map. It measures ten feet long by three broad, on the scale of five miles to an inch. At my brother's dying request I presented it to Sir C. Metcalfe, then governor-general, from whom I received a thousand thanks. The map is now with the army of the Indus, and I was gratified to hear, that, as far as they had gone, they had found the positions of the roads wonderfully correct, considering the distances were estimated by time, and the bearings taken with a small pocket compass.”

Such was the active character and career of two enterprising brothers, whom no dangers could daunt or difficulties deter; whose only place of rest was the grave, and who persevered in their long pilgrimage until their mission was accomplished.

GERARD, GILBERT, D.D., a divine, father of the foregoing Alexander and James, and son of the Rev. Alexander Gerard, D.D. (a memoir of whom we have already given), was born at Aberdeen on the 12th of August, 1760, and having acquired the earlier elements of his professional education in his native city, at a period when the eminence of several great and well-known names dignified its universities, he finished it in the more extended sphere of tuition furnished by the university of Edinburgh. Before he reached the age of twenty-two, a vacancy having occurred in the ministry of the Scottish church of Amsterdam, a consideration of his father's qualifications prompted the consistory to invite the young divine to preach before them, and he was subsequently waited upon by that body, with an offer of the situation, which he accepted. During his residence in Holland he turned the leisure allowed him by his clerical duties, and his knowledge of the Dutch language and of general science, to the support, with the assistance of two literary friends, of a periodical called *De Reconsent*. What may have been the intrinsic merits of this publication it would be difficult to discover, either through the medium of personal inquiry or general report, in a nation where modern Dutch literature is unnoticed and almost unknown; but it obtained the best suffrage of its utility in the place for which it was intended—an extensive circulation. During the same period he likewise occupied himself in contributing to the English press; and on the establishment of the *Analytical Review* in 1788, he is understood to have conducted the department of that periodical referring to foreign literature,—a task for which his hereditary critical acuteness, his residence on the Continent, and knowledge of the classical and of several modern languages, some of which were then much neglected, or had but

begun to attract the attention of educated Englishmen, must have given peculiar facilities.

During his residence at Amsterdam he received as a token of respect from his native university the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Soon after this event his professional and literary pursuits experienced a check from a severe illness, which compelled him to seek early in life a restorative for his weakened constitution, in breathing the air of his native country. The change of climate had the desired effect, and he returned restored in health to his duties in Holland. These he continued to perform until April, 1791, when strong family motives induced him to relinquish a situation which habit and friendship had endeared to him, and his resignation of which was followed by the regrets of those who had experienced the merits of their pastor. He soon after accepted the vacant professorship of Greek in the King's College of Aberdeen, a situation which he held for four years. Although the students of King's College are not very numerous, and the endowments connected with the institution are by no means affluent, both are very respectable, and there is every opportunity on the part of the instructor to exhibit, both to the world in general and to his students, those qualifications which make the man respected and esteemed. From the youth of the scholars generally committed to his care, the professor of Greek is not only the public lecturer in his department of literature, but the instructor of its elements; and he has not only to perform the more ostentatious duty of exhibiting to and laying before them the stores of his own knowledge, but to find the means by which this knowledge shall enter the mind of each individual student. The instructor meets his pupils during a considerable portion of the day, and for several months together; and a knowledge of individuals is thus acquired, which gives the benevolent and active discerner of character an opportunity of uniting the friend and the instructor towards the young man who looks to him for knowledge. The shrewdness of the young respecting those who have cognizance over them is proverbially acute, and it frequently happens that while the learned world has overlooked, in the midst of brilliant talents or deep learning, the absence or presence of the other more personal qualities requisite for the instruction of youth, the pupils have discovered these, and, as a consequence, have pursued or neglected their proper studies as they have personally respected or disliked the teacher of them. It was the consequence of the learning and personal worth of Dr. Gerard that his pupils respected his personal character, and acquired, from his knowledge and his kind friendship towards them, an enthusiasm for Greek literature, which few teachers have had the good fortune to inspire, and which has very seldom made its appearance in Scotland. A course of lectures on Grecian history and antiquities (unfortunately never given to the world) which he delivered to his students was profitably remembered by many, to whom they formed a stable foundation for more extended knowledge of the subject.

During the latter years of his father's life he had assisted him in the performance of his duties as professor of divinity, and on his death succeeded to that situation, where he brought, to the less irksome and more intellectual duties of instilling philosophic knowledge into more advanced minds, the same spirit of friendly intercourse which had distinguished his elementary instructions. The Scottish student of divinity is frequently a person who stands in need of a protector and friend; and when he has none to trust to but the teachers of the profession, on whom all have a claim, it is very natural that these individuals should

hesitate in the exercise of any little patronage on which there is an indefinite number of claimants. It is, however, worthy of remark, to the honour of the individuals who have filled these situations, that many of them have been the best friends to their students, and that although they had at that period to look to them for no professional remuneration, they considered themselves as being, from the commencement of the connection, not only the temporary instructors, but the guardians of the future conduct, and the propagators of the future fortune, of their students. Of these feelings on the part of Dr. Gerard many afterwards dispersed in respectable ministerial situations through the country retained an affectionate recollection. His influence, which was considerable, was used in their favour, and where he had not that to bestow, he was still a friend. In 1811 he added to his professorship the second charge of the collegiate church of Old Aberdeen, and continued to hold both situations till his death. During the intervening period he permitted his useful leisure hours to be occupied with the fulfilment of the duties of the mastership of mortifications for King's College, — certainly rather an anomalous office for a scholar, and one which, with a salary that could have been no inducement, seems to have brought along with it the qualities of its not very auspicious name. The duties, though petty and irksome in the extreme, were performed with the same scrupulous exactness which distinguished the professor's more important pursuits; and he had in the end, from his diligent discharge of these duties, and his being able to procure, from his personal influence with the government, a grant in favour of the university, the satisfaction of rescuing it from the poverty with which it was threatened, by a degree of augmentation of the stipends of several churches, of which the college was titular. During this period of adversity Dr. Gerard had before his eyes the brighter prospect of a benefice in the Scottish metropolis, which many of his friends there attempted to prevail on him to accept; but the retired habits consequent on a studious life, the small but select circle of intimate friends in the neighbourhood of his college, to whose appearance and conversation long intercourse had endeared him, and a desire to benefit an institution he might almost call paternal, prompted him to continue his useful duties.

Dr. Gilbert Gerard died on the 28th of September, 1815, and amidst the regrets of his acquaintances, the professional tribute to his memory was bestowed by the same reverend friend who preached his father's funeral sermon. His only published work is entitled *Institutes of Biblical Criticism*, published in Edinburgh in 1808. It has received from his profession that approval which the author's merit had given cause to anticipate. It is characterized by the author of the *Biographie Universelle* as "Un ouvrage plein d'érudition, et composé dans un bon esprit."

GIB, ADAM, long distinguished as leader of the religious party called Antiburghers, was a native of Perthshire, and born in 1713. He received his education at the university of Edinburgh. In the year 1741 he was ordained a minister of the Associated Presbytery, recently formed by Mr. Ebenezer Erskine and others, as detailed in the life of that eminent individual. Mr. Gib's charge was one of the most important in the kingdom — namely the congregation in the southern suburbs of Edinburgh, which was afterwards administered to by Dr. Jamieson, the learned author of the *Scottish Etymological Dictionary*. It is well known that during the progress of the rebellion of 1745-6, no body of individuals in Scotland manifested a warmer loyalty to the govern-

ment than that to which Mr. Gib belonged. When the insurgents were approaching Edinburgh, about 300 of the congregation in and around the city took up arms for its defence, hired a sergeant to teach them the military exercise, and were the last to deliver up their arms to the castle, when all hope of holding out the town had been abandoned. During the six weeks' occupation of the city by Prince Charles, the established Presbyterian clergy were, with one exception, mute, having mostly fled to the country. Mr. Gib was also obliged to abandon his meeting-house; but he did not flee so far as the rest, nor resign himself to the same inactivity. He assembled his congregation at Dreghorn, about three miles from the town, and within a short distance of Colinton, where the insurgents kept a guard, and not only preached the gospel as usual, but declared that he was doing so as an open proof and testimony "that we are resolved, through the Lord's grace, to come to no terms with the enemy that has power in the city, but to look on them as enemies, showing ourselves to be none of their confederacy. In our public capacity," he continued, "it is fit that we make even a voluntary removal from the place where they are, as from the seat of robbers, showing ourselves resolved that their seat shall not be ours." Mr. Gib thus discoursed on five different Sundays, "expressly preaching up an abhorrence of the rebellion then on foot, and a hope of its speedy overthrow, and every day making express mention of the reigning sovereign in public prayer; praying for the safety of his reign, the support of his government, a blessing on his family, and the preservation of the Protestant succession in that family; at the same time praying for the suppression of the rebellion, expressly under the characters of an unnatural and anti-christian rebellion, headed by a *Popish pretender*." What is most surprising of all, to pursue Mr. Gib's own relation of the circumstances, "while I was doing so, I ordinarily had a party of the rebel guard from Collington, who understood English, standing before me on the outside of the multitude. . . . Though they then attended with signs of great displeasure, they were restrained from using any violence: yet, about that time, as I was passing on the road near Collington, one of them who seemed to be in some command, fired at me; but for anything that appeared, it might be only with a design to fright me."

In a subsequent part of the campaign, when the Seceders re-appeared in arms along with the English army, Mr. Gib seems to have accompanied them to Falkirk, where, a few hours before the battle of the 17th January, he distinguished himself by his activity in seizing a rebel spy. When the rebels in the evening took possession of Falkirk, they found that person in prison, and, being informed of what Mr. Gib had done, made search for him through the town, with the intention, no doubt, of taking some measure of vengeance for his hostility.

Referring the reader to the article EBENEZER ERSKINE for an account of the schism which took place in 1747 in the Associated Presbytery, respecting the burgess oath, we shall only mention here that Mr. Gib took a conspicuous part at the head of the more rigid party, termed Antiburghers, and continued during the rest of his life to be their ablest advocate and leader. A new meeting-house was opened by him, November 4, 1753, in Nicholson Street, in which he regularly preached for many years to about 2000 persons. His eminence in the public affairs of his sect at last obtained for him the popular epithet of *Pope Gib*, by which he was long remembered. In 1765, when the General Assembly took the subject of the Secession into consideration, as a thing that

"threatened the peace of the country," Mr. Gib wrote a spirited remonstrance against that injurious imputation; and, as a proof of the attachment of the Seceders to the existing laws and government, detailed all those circumstances respecting the rebellion in 1745 which we have already embodied in this notice. In 1774 Mr. Gib published *A Display of the Secession Testimony*, in two volumes 8vo; and in 1784 his *Sacred Contemplations*, at the end of which was "An Essay on Liberty and Necessity," in answer to Lord Kaimes' essay on that subject. Mr. Gib died, June 18, 1788, in the seventy-fifth year of his age and forty-eight of his ministry, and was interred in the Grayfriars' Churchyard, where an elegant monument was erected to his memory, at the expense of his grateful congregation.

GIBB, JOHN. This active and skilful civil engineer was born at Kirkcows, a small property belonging to his father near Falkirk, in 1776. His father having died when he was only twelve years of age, John learned the first lessons of his future profession by serving an apprenticeship to a mechanical trade: after this he was so fortunate as to learn the higher departments of civil engineering at the Lancaster and Preston canal, in the construction of which his brother-in-law was engaged under its superintendent, Mr. Rennie. From this he was afterwards transferred to Leith, where he was employed in the formation of the Leith docks under his father-in-law, Mr. Easton.

Having thus acquired a knowledge of his profession under the patronage and direction of such near relatives, John Gibb was enabled to commence business on his own account; and his character for professional skill being established, he was employed by the magistrates and town-council of Greenock in the erection of the new harbour of that town, under the superintendence of Mr. Rennie. It was a fortunate turning-point in his progress, for, while employed upon this commission, he was so fortunate as to attract the attention of Mr. Telford to his superior management and skill. As Mr. Telford was at that time looking out for a resident engineer to the harbour-works at Aberdeen, he recognized in Gibb a fit person for so responsible a charge, and engaged him accordingly. The latter removed to Aberdeen in 1809, and warranted the recommendation by erecting the extensive piers at the entrance into the Aberdeen harbour. It was at an after period of his life that, along with his son, he deepened the bed, and constructed quay-walls for the conversion of the harbour into a wet-dock, as well as introduced many other important improvements—works which secured the high approbation of Mr. Telford, one of the most competent judges in civil engineering. These he declared Mr. Gibb had superintended with unremitting attention, and had distinguished himself in them by remarkable ingenuity and perseverance.

Aberdeenshire being found too contracted a field for his professional exertions, Mr. Gibb became a contractor for extensive works in other districts, and principally in the south of Scotland, and his first contract of this kind, in 1817, won him honourable commendation from the highest quarters. The Crinan Canal was to be finished in a twelvemonth, and at the end of February in that year it was closed to admit of the necessary operations. Mr. Gibb engaged to complete these operations within the specified time, and his offer was accepted. In this he was better than his word, for in nine months the arduous task was finished. In the report of the parliamentary commissioners for the improvement of the canal, consisting of Lords Castlereagh, Melville,

Binning, and Glenbervie, they thus record the gratifying fact:—"The canal was closed at the end of February, 1817, to admit of the necessary operations, for the completion of which we allowed the contractor (Mr. Gibb of Aberdeen) a twelvemonth, expiring February, 1818. But his activity has outrun our expectations, the canal having been actually opened for use in the beginning of November last. On a review of what has been done by Mr. Gibb, we cannot but be gratified at such an instance of exertion." Such promptitude, combined with such professional care and skill, necessarily led to numerous engagements in the erection or completion of public works, and as he was effectually aided by his son, who worked with him in partnership, he was enabled to continue his exertions to a good old age. The last commission in which they were conjointly occupied was the erection of the Glasgow bridge faced with Aberdeen granite, designed by Mr. Telford; and this they performed so satisfactorily, that the bridge trustees presented to them at the close of the work two elegant pieces of plate in token of their satisfaction. After having outlived most of his contemporaries, so that he was one of the oldest members of the Institution of Civil Engineers of London, Mr. Gibb died at Aberdeen on the 3d of December, 1850.

GIBBS, JAMES, a celebrated architect, was born in Aberdeen, according to the most approved authority, in the year 1674, though Walpole and others place the date of his birth so late as 1683, a period which by no means accords with that of his advancement to fame in his profession. He was the only son (by his second wife)¹ of Peter Gibbs of Footdeesmire, a merchant, and, as it would appear from his designation, a proprietor or feuar of a piece of ground along the shore at the mouth of the Dee, where his house, called "the White House in the Links," remains an evidence of the respectability and comparative wealth of the family. Old Gibbs retained, during the stormy period in which he lived, the religion of his ancestors, and was a staunch non-juror. An anecdote is preserved by his fellow-townsmen, characteristic of the man and of the times. The conflicting religious doctrines of Presbyterian and Episcopalian, and of course the political doctrines of Whig and Tory, found in Aberdeen a more equal balance than perhaps in any other part of Scotland; and history has shown that, in the event of a serious struggle, the influence of the Huntly family generally made the latter predominate; in these circumstances, it may easily be supposed that the city was a scene of perpetual petty jarring, and that pasquinades and abuse were liberally given and bitterly received. Gibbs being a Roman Catholic was the friend of neither party, and an object of peculiar antipathy to the Presbyterians, who testified their sense of his importance and wickedness by instructing the children in the neighbourhood to annoy the old gentleman in his premises, and hoot him on the streets. Gibbs, to show his respect for both parties, procured two fierce dogs for his personal protection, and engraved on the collar of the one "Luther," and on that of the other "Calvin;" the compliment was understood by neither party; and the dogs and their master being summoned before the bailies to answer for their respective misdemeanours, the former were delivered over to the proper authorities, and executed according to law, at the cross, the public place of execution. The subject of our memoir attended the usual

course of instruction at the grammar-school, and was afterwards sent to Marischal College, where he accepted of the easily acquired degree of Master of Arts. At that period when the Scottish colleges were partly remnants of monastic institutions, partly schools for the instruction of boys, having the indolence of the Roman Catholic age strangely mingled with their own poverty and the simplicity of Presbyterian government, there were but two classes of persons at the universities—the sons of the noblemen and gentlemen, living in a style superior to the citizens, and a poorer class who were supported by the bursaries, or even common charity; the two classes wore different dresses, and of course had little communication with each other, excepting such as might exist between master and servant. To which of these classes Gibbs may have belonged is not known; that it should have been the latter is not so improbable as it may appear, as custom, the master of everything, made it by no means degrading to those of inferior rank; while a Burgess, whatever might have been his wealth, would hardly in that age have been so daring as to have forced his son upon the company of the offspring of lairds. For some time after his father's death he was reared and educated by his uncle-in-law and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Morrison, people in much the same respectable circumstances with his father; but destitute, perhaps from his religious principles, of influence sufficient to enable him to follow his father's business with success, or more probably having a natural bent for more tasteful pursuits, Gibbs, at the early age of twenty, left his native town, nor did he ever return to a spot not very congenial to the pursuit of a profession which must be studied among the remains of ancient grandeur, and practised in the midst of luxury and profusion. From 1694 to 1700 he studied architecture and the mathematics in Holland, under an architect to whom the biographers of Gibbs have given the merit of possessing reputation, while neither his own talents nor the subsequent fame of his scholar has preserved his name from oblivion. Here the young architect made himself acquainted with the Earl of Marr, then on a visit to the Continent, who, according to the praiseworthy custom for which Scotsmen have received rather uncharitable commendation, of assisting their countrymen when they meet them in a foreign country, gave him recommendatory letters to influential friends, and money to enable him to pursue the study of his profession, for which it would appear the earl had a taste. After leaving Holland he spent ten years in Rome, where, according to Dallaway, he studied under P. F. Garroli, a sculptor and architect of considerable merit; and where, like many who have afterwards issued from the great manufactory of artists to astonish and gratify the world, he probably spent his days in labour and unnoticed retirement.

In 1710 Gibbs returned to Britain, and by the influence of the Earl of Marr, then secretary of state for Scotland in Queen Anne's Tory ministry, the means of exhibiting his knowledge to advantage, and gaining emolument, were amply provided. The renowned legislative measure by which the metropolis was to be made religious by act of parliament on the erection of fifty new churches having been passed, the name of Gibbs was added by his generous patron to the list of those eminent architects who were to put the vast plan in execution. Previous, however, to commencing this undertaking, he completed the first of his architectural labours, the additional buildings to King's College, Cambridge. It is generally allowed that this is a production on which the architect could not have found

¹ Cunningham errs in supposing that James Gibbs was the only son and only child of Peter Gibbs. There was a son William, by the first wife, who went abroad after his father's death—what became of him is not known.

ded much of his fame. "The diminutive Doric portico," says Dallaway, "is certainly not a happy performance, either in the idea or the execution. Such an application of the order would not occur in a pure and classic instance." While, on the other hand, the historian of the university of Cambridge remarks:—"It is built of white Portland stone, beautifully carved, with a grand portico in the centre; and contains three lofty floors above the vaults. The apartments, which are twenty-four in number, are exceedingly well fitted up, and in every respect correspond with the outward appearance, which equals that of any other building in the university." The latter part of the sentence, in reference to the spot which contains King's College Chapel and Clare Hall, is sufficiently complimentary for the architect's best works. The truth appears to be, that those trammels which architects have had more reason to detest than any other class of artists, restrained the genius of Gibbs in this instance, and that being obliged to apply given form, size, and number of apartments, to given space, he had no opportunity of displaying the beauties which attend his other works. The first of "the fifty," which Gibbs completed, was St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, a work which, with its calm tastefulness and simple grandeur, might have been honourable to the fame of the greatest architect the world ever saw. The west front of this building, surmounted by a light and neatly designed spire, is decorated with Corinthian columns, over which is a pediment bearing the royal arms; the order is continued round the sides in pilasters, and there is a double series of windows in the inter-columniations, an unfortunate sacrifice of architectural effect to internal accommodation. The interior is divided into three unequal parts, by a range of four Corinthian columns and two pilasters on each side, standing on tall pedestals; the central space or nave being covered by a semi-elliptical ceiling, rising from the top of the entablature over each column, and is rich in moulding and ornament. The following plainly told but judicious opinion of this building, is given by Ralph, in his *Critical Review of Public Buildings*:—"The portico is at once elegant and august, and the steeple above it ought to be considered as one of the most tolerable in town; if the steps arising from the street to the front could have been made regular, and on a line from end to end, it would have given it a very considerable grace: but, as the situation of the ground would not allow it, this is to be esteemed rather a misfortune than a fault. The round columns at each angle of the church are very well conceived, and have a very fine effect in the profile of the building: the east end is remarkably elegant, and very justly challenges particular applause. In short, if there is anything wanting in this fabric, it is a little more elevation, which I presume is apparently wanted within, and would create an additional beauty without." "All the parts," says Allan Cunningham, "are nicely distributed, and nothing can be added, and nothing can be taken away. It is complete in itself, and refuses the admission of all other ornament." Much discussion seems to have been wasted on the portico of St. Martin's, some insisting that it is a mere model of the portico of the Pantheon, or some other production of classic art; others maintaining its equality in merit and design to the best specimens of Grecian architecture. A portico, to bear the name, must have basements, pillars, capitals, and an entablature, just as a house must have a roof and windows, and a bridge arches; so all that originality can possibly achieve in such a work, is the harmony of the proportions and ornaments with each

other, and with the rest of the building; it is in having made the proportions and ornaments different from those of the Pantheon, and adapted them to a totally different building, that Gibbs has been original, and it is on the pleasure which the whole combination affords to the eye that his merit depends; a merit, however, which cannot come in competition with that of the *inventor* of the portico. The next church of the fifty undertaken by Gibbs was St. Mary's in the Strand, a work on which, if we may judge from its appearance, he bestowed more labour with less effect. Instead of appearing like the effort of a single grand conception, forming a complete and harmonizing whole, it is like a number of efforts clustered together. Instead of being one design, the interstices in which are filled up by details, it is a number of details united together; in gazing on which the mind, instead of absorbing the grandeur of the whole at one view, wanders from part to part, finding no common connection by which the joint effect of all may be summoned before it at once.

Gibbs had just prepared the plans of the buildings we have described, and was in the high and palmy state of his fortunes, when his kind patron, having had his overtures to procure the allegiance of the Highland clans contumeliously rejected, and having been disgusted and thrown in fear by the impeachment of Oxford and Stafford, and the exile of Ormond and Bolingbroke, resolved to avenge his personal wrongs by a recourse to the feudal fiction of the divine origin of hereditary right, to maintain the theoretic purity of which a nation contented with its king was plunged in civil war, that the king they ought not to have been contented without should be restored. Family ruin followed the rebellion of the earl; but the architect, fortified by the practice of a profession, the principles of which politics could not sway, and possessing knowledge which, unlike the art of governing, could not be deprived of its efficacy by the influence of the party in power, remained unmolested on the step to which he had advanced, and looked forward to the prospect of other honours.

The most magnificent, though perhaps not the purest of Gibbs' works, is the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, on the completion of which he received the degree of Master of Arts from that university. The Radcliffe Library is of a circular form, rising in the centre of an oblong square of 370 feet by 110, with a cupola 140 feet high and 100 feet in diameter. The lofty dome of this building raises itself in the centre of almost every prospect of Oxford, and gives a characteristic richness to the landscape. "The Radcliffe dome," says Allan Cunningham, "in fact conveys to every distant observer the idea of its being the air-hung crown of some gigantic cathedral or theatre. It is perhaps the grandest feature in the grandest of all English architectural landscapes; it rises wide and vast amid a thousand other fine buildings, interrupts the horizontal line, and materially increases the picturesque effect of Oxford;" on a nearer and more critical view, however, the spectator is disappointed to find that a want of proportion betwixt the cupola and the rest of the building, slight, but still very perceptible, deadens the effect of the magnificent whole, a mistake on the part of the architect which has frequently turned the whole mass of taste and beauty into an object of ridicule to the bitter critic. It may be in general questioned how far such a building, however much its swelling magnificence may serve to add dignity to a vast prospect without, or solemnity to an important pageant within, is suited for the more retired

purposes of a library. The student seldom wishes to have his attention obstructed by the intrusion of a wide prospect upon his view whenever he raises his eyes; and perhaps when extent and grandeur are desired, a more suitable method of accommodating them with comfortable retirement may be found in a corridor or gallery, where any one, if he is anxious, may indulge himself by standing at one end, and luxuriate in the perspective of the whole length, while he who wishes to study uninterrupted may retire into a niche, whence his view is bounded by the opposite side of the narrow gallery. In the completion of the quadrangle of All Souls, Gibbs had the great good fortune to receive a growl of uncharitable praise from Walpole. "Gibbs," says the imperious critic, "though he knew little of Gothic architecture, was fortunate in the quadrangle of All Souls, which he has blundered into a picturesque scenery not void of grandeur, especially if seen through the gate that leads from the schools. The assemblage of buildings in that quarter, though no single one is beautiful, always struck me with singular pleasure, as it conveys such a vision of large edifices unbroken by private houses, as the mind is apt to entertain of renowned cities that exist no longer." Such is the opinion of one whose taste in Gothic architecture, as represented by the straggling corridors and grotesque and toyish mouldings of Strawberry Hill, would not, if curiosity thought it of sufficient importance to be inquired into, bear the test of a very scrutinizing posterity. A comparison of his various opinions of the different works of Gibbs are among the most amusing specimens of the construction of the noble critic's mind. Where the architect has been tasteful and correct, he only shows that mere mechanical knowledge may avoid faults without furnishing beauties, "and where he has been picturesque and not void of grandeur, the whole is the effect of chance and blunder." Among the other works of Gibbs are the monument of Holles, Duke of Newcastle, in Westminster Abbey; the senate-house at Cambridge, a very favourable specimen of his correct and tasteful mind; and some buildings in the palace of Stowe. The west church of St. Nicholas in his native city, a very fine specimen, if we may believe the accounts of contemporaries, of Gothic taste, having fallen nearly to ruin, Gibbs presented the magistrates with a plan for a church that might reinstate it. In this production we look in vain for the mind which imagined the lofty pomp of the Radcliffe, or the eye that traced the chaste proportions of St. Martin's; and one might be inclined to question with what feelings the great architect made his donation. The outside is of no description of architecture under the sun "in particular;" it just consists of heavy freestone walls, with a roof, and plain Roman arched windows. The inside is a degree worse. Heavy groined arches, supported on heavier square pillars, overtop the gallery. There is in every corner all the gloom of the darkest Gothic, with square corners instead of florid mouldings, and square beams instead of clustered pillars; while the great arched windows of the Gothic piles, which send a broken and beautiful light into their farthest recesses, are specially avoided, a preference being given to wooden square glazed sashes, resembling those of a shop—in the whole, the building is one singularly repulsive to a correct taste.

Gibbs, in 1728, published a folio volume of designs, which have acquired more fame for the knowledge than for the genius displayed in them. By this work he gained the very considerable sum of £1900. Besides a set of plans of the Radcliffe

Library, this forms his only published work: his other papers and manuscripts, along with his library, consisting of about 500 volumes, he left as a donation to the Radcliffe Library. After five years of suffering from a lingering and painful complaint, this able, persevering, and upright man died in London, in 1754, having continued in the faith of his ancestors, and unmarried. He made several bequests, some to public charities, others to individuals, one of which in particular must not be passed over. Remembering the benefactor who had assisted him in the days of his labour and adversity, he left £1000, the whole of his plate, and an estate of £280 a year to the only son of the Earl of Marr; an uncommon act of gratitude, which, however party feeling may regret the circumstances which caused it, will in the minds of good and generous men, exceed in merit all that the intellect of the artist ever achieved.

GIBSON, SIR ALEXANDER, Lord Durie, an eminent lawyer and judge, was the son of George Gibson of Goldingstones, one of the clerks of session. The period of his birth we have been unable to discover; but as we find him admitted a clerk of session in 1594, we may conclude that he was born considerably more than twenty years previous to that period. It appears that the appointment of Gibson to this duty created a new clerkship, and as the addition in number would reduce the arbitrary sources of emolument of the other two clerks, it was naturally apprehended that the interloper would be received with the usual jealousy of those whose interests are unduly interfered with. King James VI., who had generally some deep and mysteriously wise purpose in all he did, chose to be personally present at the appointment of his nominee, in order that the royal choice might meet with no marks of contempt. The mindful sovereign was on this occasion pleased to be so highly delighted with the disinterested conduct of his obedient clerks, who had so willingly received a partner "at his highness's wish and special desire," that he promised in presence of the court to remunerate them with "ane sufficient casualty for said consents." The chamber in the Register House instituted by this appointment still retains the denomination of "Durie's Office." At that period the duties of a principal clerk of session were of a more politically important nature than they have been since the union: these officers had to register the decrees and acts of parliament, in addition to their present duties. The only remnant of their former occupations is their acting as clerks at the elections of the Scottish representative peers. Gibson continued in his clerkship for all the remainder of his life, notwithstanding the higher offices to which he was afterwards promoted. In 1621 he was appointed a lord of session; and as the duties of judge and clerk were rather anomalous, we find by the books of sederunt that the prudent clerk had procured in the previous month his son to be installed in the office. Mr. Alexander Gibson, junior, being appointed conjunct clerk with Mr. Alexander Gibson, senior, during the life of the longest liver, the senior, it may be presumed, continued to draw the salary, without being much troubled with the duties. Seven years after his appointment to the bench, we find him accepting a baronetcy of Nova Scotia, with a grant of some few square miles of land in that district. In 1633 he was appointed a member of one of the committees for the revision of the laws and customs of the country. In 1640 he appears to have been elected a member of the committee of estates, and his appointment as judge was continued

under a new commission to the court in 1641. From the period of his elevation to the bench in 1621, till the year 1642, this laborious lawyer preserved notes of such decisions of the court as he considered worthy of being recorded as precedents, a task for which a previously extensive practice had fitted him. These were published by his son in one volume folio, in 1688, and are valuable as the earliest digested collection of decisions in Scottish law. Their chief peculiarities are their brevity, and, what would not appear at first sight a natural consequence, their obscurity. But Gibson produced by a too niggardly supply the effect which is frequently attributed to a too great multitude of words. He appears, however, to have always known his own meaning; and when, with a little consideration, his *rationes decidendi* are discovered, they are found to be soundly stated. The clamours which other judges of the day caused to be raised against their dishonesty and cupidity, were not applied to Durie. He seems, indeed, as far as the habits of the times could allow the virtue to exist except in an absolutely pure being, to have been a just and fearless judge, for in a period of general legal rapine and pusillanimity, the possession of a very moderate share of honesty and firmness in the judgment-seat made their proprietor worthy of a nation's honour. If the affirmation of a professional brother may be credited, Durie possessed, according to the opinion of Forbes, a later collector of decisions, most of the intellectual and moral qualities which can dignify the bench. It is a proof of the respect in which his brethren held him, that while the office continued elective in the senators of the college, he was repeatedly chosen as president. At that period the legal practice of Scotland appeared to have improved for the mere purpose of substituting sophism and injustice under form for rude equity; it was a handle to be made use of, rather than a rule to be applied. The crown had recourse to legal fictions, and unjust and arbitrary presumptions, in its dealings with the subject. The subject, instead of calling for a recourse to constitutional principles, sometimes rose against the administration of the law, just or unjust. With private parties the more powerful got the command of the law, and used it against the weaker. A striking instance of contempt towards the laws, which took place during one of the presidencies of Gibson of Durie, is mentioned in *Douglas's Baronage*, and *Forbes's Journal*, and is more fully and pleasingly narrated in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. The Earl of Traquair had an action depending in court, in which it was understood the president would, by his influence, cause the court to give judgment against him. A border freebooter, or gentleman thief, known by the name of Christie's Will, owed to the peer some gratitude and allegiance, having gained his protection by an insolent jest on the subject of his having been imprisoned for theft. This person being a gentleman both by descent and education, insinuated himself into the president's company during his usual morning ride on the sands of Leith. On the two reaching a very lonely spot, the judge was snatched from his horse, rolled into a blanket, and carried off he knew not where. He was imprisoned three months, during which time his friends and himself considered that he was in fairyland. The case was decided in favour of Traquair, and a new president appointed, when the judge one morning found himself laid down in the exact spot from which he had been so suddenly carried off, and returned to claim his privileges. This useful man died at his house of Durie on the 10th of June, 1644. He left behind him a son of his own name, who was

active among the other persons of high rank, who came forward to protect their national church from the imposition of a foreign liturgy. He is known as having boldly resisted one of King Charles I.'s prerogations, by refusing the performance of the duty of clerk of parliament, already alluded to. He appears, however, not to have always given satisfaction to the cause he had so well espoused, as he is more than once mentioned in *Lamont's Diary* as a malignant. He was raised to the bench in 1646. Besides this son, the wealth of the father allowed him to provide a junior branch of the family with the estate of Adistone in Lothian.

GIBSON, PATRICK, an eminent artist and writer upon art, was born at Edinburgh, in December, 1782. He was the son of respectable parents, who gave him an excellent classical education, partly at the high-school, and partly at a private academy. In his school-boy days he manifested a decided taste for literature, accompanied by a talent for drawing figures, which induced his father to place him as an apprentice under Mr. Nasmyth, the distinguished landscape-painter; who was, in this manner, the means of bringing forward many men of genius in the arts. Contemporary with Mr. Gibson as a student in this school, was Mr. Nasmyth's son Peter; and it is painful to think, that both of these ingenious pupils should have gone down to the grave before their master. Mr. Nasmyth's academy was one in no ordinary degree advantageous to his apprentices: such talents as they possessed were generally brought into speedy use in painting and copying landscapes, which he himself finished and sold; and thus they received encouragement from seeing works of which a part of the merit was their own, brought rapidly into the notice of the world. About the same time Mr. Gibson attended the Trustees' Academy, then taught with distinguished success by Mr. Graham. While advancing in the practical part of his profession, Mr. Gibson, from his taste for general study, paid a greater share of attention to the branches of knowledge connected with it, than the most of artists had it in their power to bestow. He studied the mathematics with particular care, and attained an acquaintance with perspective, and with the theory of art in general, which was in his own lifetime quite unexampled in Scottish — perhaps in British — art. Mr. Gibson, indeed, might rather be described as a man of high literary and scientific accomplishments, pursuing art as a profession, than as an artist in the sense in which that term is generally understood. In landscape-painting he showed a decided preference for the classical style of Domenichino and Nicholas Poussin; and having studied architectural drawing with much care he became remarkably happy in the views of temples and other classical buildings which he introduced into his works. When still a very young man, Mr. Gibson went to London, and studied the best works of art to be found in that metropolis — the state of the Continent at that time preventing him from pursuing his investigations any further.

Mr. Gibson painted many landscapes which have found their way into the collections of the most respectable amateurs in his native country. His own exquisitely delicate and fastidious taste perhaps prevented him from attaining full success at first, but he was continually improving; and, great as the triumphs of his pencil ultimately were, it is not too much to say, that if life had been spared to him, he must have reached still higher degrees of perfection.

Mr. Gibson's professional taste and skill, along with his well-known literary habits, pointed him out

as a proper individual to write, not only criticisms upon the works of modern art brought under public notice, but articles upon the fundamental principles of the fine arts, in works embracing miscellaneous knowledge. He contributed to the *Encyclopædia Edinensis* an elaborate article under the head "Design," embracing the history, theory, and practice of painting, sculpture, and engraving, and concluding with an admirable treatise on his favourite subject, "Linear Perspective." This article extends to 106 pages of quarto, in double columns, and is illustrated by various drawings. It is, perhaps, the best treatise on the various subjects which it embraces ever contributed to an encyclopædia. To Dr. Brewster's more extensive work, entitled the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, Mr. Gibson contributed the articles "Drawing," "Engraving," and "Miniature-painting," all of which attracted notice for the full and accurate knowledge upon which they appeared to be based. In the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1816, published in 1820, being edited by Mr. J. G. Lockhart, was an article by Mr. Gibson, entitled "A View of the Progress and Present State of the Art of Design in Britain." It is written with much discrimination and judgment, and is certainly worthy of being transferred into some more extended sphere of publication than the local work in which it appeared. An article of a similar kind, but confined to the progress of the fine arts in Scotland, appeared in the *New Edinburgh Review*, edited by Dr. Richard Poole. In 1818 Mr. Gibson published a thin quarto volume, entitled *Etchings of Select Views in Edinburgh, with Letter-press Descriptions*. The subjects chiefly selected were either street scenes about to be altered by the removal of old buildings, or parts opened up temporarily by the progress of improvements, and which therefore could never again be observable in the point of view chosen by the artist. The most remarkable critical effort of Mr. Gibson was an anonymous *jeu d'esprit*, published in 1822, in reference to the exhibition of the works of living artists then open, under the care of the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland. It assumed the form of a report, by a society of cognoscenti, upon these works of art, and treated the merits of the Scottish painters, Mr. Gibson himself included, with great candour and impartiality. The style of this pamphlet, though in no case unjustly severe, was so different from the indulgent remarks of periodical writers, whose names are generally known, and whose acquaintance with the artists too often forbids rigid truth, that it occasioned a high degree of indignation among the author's brethren, and induced them to take some steps that only tended to expose themselves to ridicule. Suspecting that the traitor was a member of their own body, they commenced the subscription of a paper disclaiming the authorship, and this being carried to many different artists for their adherence, was refused by no one till it came to Mr. Gibson, who excused himself upon general principles from subscribing such a paper, and dismissed the intruders with a protest against his being supposed on that account to be the author. The real cause which moved Mr. Gibson to put forth this half-jesting, half-earnest criticism upon his brethren, was an ungenerous attack upon his own works which had appeared in a newspaper the previous year, and which, though he did not pretend to trace it to the hand of any of his fellow-labourers, was enjoyed, as he thought, in a too malicious manner by some to whom he had formerly shown much kindness. He retained his secret, and enjoyed his joke to the last, and it is only here that

his concern in the pamphlet is for the first time disclosed.

In 1826 he gave to the world *A Letter to the Directors and Managers of the Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland*. Towards the close of his life he had composed, with extraordinary care, a short and practical work on perspective, which was put to press, but kept back on account of his decease.

In June, 1818, Mr. Gibson was married to Miss Isabella M. Scott, daughter of his esteemed friend Mr. William Scott, the well-known writer upon elocution. By this lady he had three daughters and a son, the last of whom died in infancy. In April, 1824, he removed from Edinburgh, where he had spent the most of his life, to Dollar, having accepted the situation of professor of painting in the academy founded at that village. In this scene, quite unsuited to his mind, he spent the last five years of his life, of which three were embittered in no ordinary degree by ill health. After enduring with manly and unshrinking fortitude the pains of an uncommonly severe malady, he expired, August 26, 1829, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

Mr. Gibson was not more distinguished in public by his information, taste, and professional success, than he was in private by his upright conduct, his mild and affectionate disposition, and his righteous fulfilment of every moral duty. He possessed great talents in conversation, and could suit himself in such a manner to every kind of company that old and young, cheerful and grave, were alike pleased. He had an immense fund of humour, and what gave it perhaps its best charm was the apparently unintentional manner in which he gave it vent, and the fixed serenity of countenance which he was able to preserve while all were laughing around him. There are few men in whom the elements of genius are so admirably blended with those of true goodness, and all that can render a man beloved, as they were in Patrick Gibson.

GILCHRIST, JOHN BORTHWICK, LL.D. This learned oriental scholar was born at Edinburgh in 1759, and educated in George Heriot's Hospital, an institution to which he bequeathed a liberal donation, in acknowledgment of the benefits he had derived from it. Having studied for the medical profession, and obtained the appointment of assistant-surgeon in the East India Company's service, he went out in that capacity to Calcutta. At this period it was thought enough by the Company if its officials possessed a tolerable knowledge of Persian, the court language of India, in which the acts of the Anglo-Indian government and the proceedings of the legal tribunals were registered. But this limited means of intercourse with the people under our rule did not satisfy Dr. Gilchrist, and he saw, that to hold intercourse with them, as the proper means of governing and benefiting them, it was necessary to possess a proper knowledge of the various languages of Hindostan. To facilitate their acquirement, and at the same time to set an example to others, he assumed an eastern garb, and travelled over those provinces where Hindostanee was spoken in its greatest purity; and besides the native language in its various dialects, he obtained a complete knowledge of the Sanskrit, Persian, and other eastern tongues. His success in these attainments inspired a new spirit in the Company's servants, and the study of Hindostanee was pursued among them with a diligence that had as yet been unknown. To facilitate this hopeful commencement, Dr. Gilchrist published in 1786 and 1790 his *Anglo-Hindostanee Dictionary*,

and in 1796 his *Hindustanee Grammar*. But a still more favourable opportunity of communicating his acquirements in oriental learning was furnished to him in consequence of the foundation of the college of Calcutta by the Marquis Wellesley, governor-general of India, in 1800. On this occasion Dr. Gilchrist was appointed to the chair of the Hindustanee and Persian languages, being the first appointment of the kind that had been made by our government in India. He did not, however, long hold this office, being compelled in consequence of ill health to return home in 1804. His departure from India was accompanied with highly honourable testimonials of the diligence and success of his labours, and the estimation in which he was held. He received from the governor-general in council a public letter to the court of directors at home, recommending him to their favour in their endeavours to promote the study of the oriental languages. But besides this, the marquis introduced him to Mr. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, in a letter of which the following is an extract:—"Mr. John Gilchrist, late professor of the Hindustanee language in the college of Fort William, will have the honour of delivering this letter to you. The records of this government furnish ample proof of the importance of Mr. Gilchrist's services. I am anxious, however, that you should be apprised of the personal interest which I feel in Mr. Gilchrist's honourable reception in England; and I take the liberty of recommending him to your favourable notice, as a gentleman highly distinguished for his zeal in the promotion of an important branch of the public service, and for his eminent knowledge of the oriental languages."

On returning home Dr. Gilchrist set up his residence in his native Edinburgh, and there his fiery eastern temperament, his liberal opinions in politics, which trench upon republicanism, and his eccentricity in conduct as well as opinions, astonished the gravity of his wondering fellow-citizens. Being too impatient to be idle, he instituted, in conjunction with Mr. James Inglis, a bank in the Scottish capital, under the title of "Inglis, Borthwick Gilchrist, & Co.;" but the other banks, doubtful of its management, looked so unfavourably upon it, that the establishment after some time was closed. He set up an aviary at his house on the north side of Nicholson Square, the building being largely trellised with wire-work and stored with all manner of bright and curious birds—and the natives, who gazed and marvelled, thought it the strangest of Noah's arks, or the best of raree shows. From his strong language, especially at civic meetings, and his aptitude to take offence, he was liable to be involved in serious quarrels; and on one occasion, in June, 1815, when a gentleman was reading aloud in a coffee-room an account of the victory of Waterloo, Dr. Gilchrist, who was present, gave him the lie, and proclaimed the intelligence to be false. This mortal offence would probably have been followed by a deadly meeting, had not the friends of both parties interfered. Such was Dr. Gilchrist in Edinburgh, and where these singularities were perhaps more vividly remembered in later periods than his talents, his kindness, and benevolence, by which they were more than counterpoised.

In 1816 this learned orientalist left Edinburgh to settle in London; and here he found more congenial occupation, by teaching the eastern languages in his own house to such young gentlemen as were qualifying themselves for the Indian service. Two years after his class was removed to the Oriental Institution, Leicester Square, where he taught Hindustanee and Persian under the sanction of the East

India Company. This connection, however, lasted only six years, and its dissolution was probably owing to incompatibility of temper between the employers and the employed. Dr. Gilchrist was not of a temper to brook contradiction or interference. His mode of teaching was also apt to give offence to the grave and the formal. At this time his bushy head and whiskers were as white as the Himalayan snow, and in such contrast to the active expressive face which beamed from the centre of the mass, that he was likened to a royal Bengal tiger—a resemblance of which he was even proud. His lectures also, which were extemporaneous, and governed by the fitful impulses of the moment, were a singular medley of "orient pearls at random strung;" but still they were pearls of price, and those pupils who were willing to learn were enriched by his prelections, however oddly delivered or illustrated. Nor was his style of writing less strange than that of his lecturing; and besides the eccentricities of style and innovations in orthography with which it astonished the reader's eye, the doctor had a sublime contempt of capitals, which he had banished from his printed compositions. These serious offences against the common usages of good taste cannot be perpetrated with impunity; and those who might have been attracted by the doctor's valuable erudition, were offended by the adjuncts with which it was garnished. In the meantime his publications, which were numerous and valuable, and chiefly connected with the languages, condition, and history of India, were mingled with pamphlets and broad-sheets filled with his personal resentments, or expounding his own crotchets. His chief subject of complaint was the ill treatment he had received from the East India Company, which had only allowed him a retiring surgeon's pension of £300 instead of £500, and a salary of £350 as a teacher of eastern languages, which was greatly disproportioned, as he thought, to his services. It was in this mood that the writer of the present memoir found him in London some forty years ago. Among those who were persistent friends of Dr. Gilchrist, and knew his real talents, was the late Joseph Hume, whose career had in some cases been similar to his own. Both had commenced their career as surgeons in India; both had commenced their rise by the study of eastern languages, which they turned to a profitable account; both had returned with a competence after a short stay in the East; and they were heartily at one in perceiving the existing evils of government, and advocating a reform. But here the similarity ended. Dr. Gilchrist unfortunately could not lay claim to the temper, caution, management, and good sense by which his more fortunate but not more talented friend was distinguished.

While residing in Edinburgh, Dr. Gilchrist had married a Miss Mary Ann Coventry; and on removing to London, the pair, who had no children, occupied a house in the fashionable locality of Clarges Street. The doctor's means of living in such a place were comfortable, not only from the extensive sale of his principal works connected with India and its languages, but also from the result of his banking speculation in Edinburgh, which had turned out better than could have been anticipated. After he had given an impulse to the study of the eastern tongues which has steadily increased to the present day, and trained young cadets for the East India service, whose proficiency reflected honour upon their teacher, and by whom he was respected and beloved, Dr. Gilchrist, worn out with the infirmities of old age, lived in retirement, and died at Paris on the 9th of January, 1841, at the age of eighty-two years.

GILFILLAN, ROBERT. This amiable poet of domestic life and popular song-writer, was born in Dunfermline, Fife-shire, on the 7th of July, 1798, and was the second of three sons. His father was a man of respectable condition, according to the reckoning of the times in provincial towns, for he was a master weaver, and kept several looms in full employment. His mother, who died in 1844, was justly characterized as "a woman of high intellectual powers, and one who, belonging to the middle classes of society, was distinguished by high literary acquirements, united to a modesty that rather fostered the talents of others than exhibited her own." Can we easily imagine a poet of good, current, lasting songs, born in a loftier position, or independent of such a maternity? Like most bards, and especially of this particular class, Robert Gilfillan's natural tendency was called forth in early life, under the pressure of a stirring public impulse. While still a boy, he had joined a group of urchins like himself, to make merry during the Christmas holidays with the sport of *guising*, or *guisarding*—an old Saxon revel, scarcely yet disused in Scotland, but which is now generally supplanted by the drawing-room amusement of charades; and while employed in this merry street masquerade, instead of confining himself to the hundred-year-old hackneyed stanzas about Alexander the Great and Guloshin, he chanted a song of his own composition on the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, at that time a recent event, and by which the sympathies of every cottage in Scotland had been roused into full native vigour. Young Gilfillan on this occasion received more than the usual poet's meed of pence and praise from the goodwives of Dunfermline, who listened at their doors in silent admiration.

After this sudden outburst of rhyme a long interval succeeded: school-boy trials, and the succeeding cares and difficulties of apprenticeship, are generally sufficient to banish the Muses for years, if not for life; and Robert Gilfillan, who at the age of thirteen removed with his parents to Leith, was employed during a seven years' service in the unpoetical occupation of hammering tubs and barrels, having been bound apprentice for that period to a cooper. Although he manfully endured this probation, he abandoned the trade of a cooper as soon as his term of indenture had expired; and, returning to Dunfermline in 1818, he was employed for nearly three years in the superintendence of a grocery establishment. Here his first love returned upon him in full vigour, and his attempts in song-writing were accompanied with the work of self-improvement, which he prosecuted not only by general reading, but associating with the young men of his neighbourhood who were like-minded with himself. In this way not only his acquired knowledge, but his conversational power in the use of it, made him distinguished in Dunfermline society, and caused him to be regarded as one whose future career would surpass that of his companions. After this he again settled in Leith, where he was first employed in the warehouse of a firm of oil and colour merchants, and subsequently in that of a wine merchant, as confidential clerk, until 1837, when he was appointed collector of the police-rates at Leith, which situation he held till the close of his life.

In this way Mr. Gilfillan held onward in his course, and fulfilled his mission as a useful member of society; but as a poet he had continued during his several changes of store-keeper, clerk, and tax-gatherer, to labour for a wider sphere and a more permanent memorial. The first earnest of this he enjoyed in the popularity of his songs, which, although still

unpublished, were circulated over the whole of Scotland, and sung not only at public festivals, but also at social and domestic meetings. How was it possible, under such circumstances, to resist the temptations of the press? It speaks much, however, for his self-denial, that he did not yield until he had attained the matured reflective age of thirty-three, and when his songs had stood the test of years. In 1831 he became an author, by publishing a small volume of about 150 pages, under the title of *Original Songs*, which he dedicated to Allan Cunningham, himself, next to Burns, the prince of Scottish song-poets. So successful was this appeal to public approbation, that in 1835 he brought out a new edition, increased by fifty additional pieces; and soon after its appearance a public dinner was given to him in the Royal Exchange, Edinburgh, and a massive silver cup presented to him on the occasion thus inscribed:—"Presented to Mr. Robert Gilfillan by the admirers of native genius, in token of their high estimation of his poetical talents and private worth. Edinburgh, 1835." In 1839 he published a third and still larger edition of his original volume, sixty new songs being added to the collection; and by this completed work he will continue to hold an honoured place in the third rank of Scottish song-writers—Burns being of the first, and standing alone, and Hogg and Cunningham being taken as the representatives of the second. In addition to those warm but simple and narrowed home affections which formed the chief themes of his lyrics, and in the delineation of which he has not often been surpassed, there is a moral purity in the songs of Gilfillan in which he has very seldom been equalled. But how, indeed, could it be otherwise, when we take into account the ordeal to which he submitted them? "It was his practice," says his biographer, "to read to his mother and sister his songs as he wrote them; and he was entirely guided by their judgment regarding them." This was better still than the house-keeper of Molière! One circumstance connected with this gentle home tribunal of criticism first gave him the hope that fame was within his reach. He was reading his *Fare thee well, for I must leave thee*, when his sister and a young lady, a cousin of his own, who was present, were so deeply affected, that they burst into tears. After such an incident some of our readers might wish to know the song: it is as follows:—

"Fare thee well, for I must leave thee,
But, O! let not our parting grieve thee;
Happier days may yet be mine,
At least I wish them thine—believe me!"

"We part—but by those dew-drops clear,
My love for thee will last for ever;
I leave thee—but thy image dear,
Thy tender smiles, will leave me never.

"O! dry those pearly tears that flow—
One farewell smile before we sever;
The only balm for parting woe
Is—fondly hope 'tis not for ever.

"Though dark and dreary lowers the night,
Calm and serene may be the morrow;
The cup of pleasure ne'er shone bright,
Without some mingling drops of sorrow!

"Fare thee well, for I must leave thee,
But, O! let not our parting grieve thee;
Happier days may yet be mine,
At least I wish them thine—believe me!"

The rest of the incidents in Mr. Gilfillan's tranquil life scarcely require commemoration. Independently of his devotion to poetry, which was his master affection, he took pleasure in the various departments of light and every-day literature, and was a frequent contributor to the *Edinburgh Journal* and the *Dublin University Magazine*. Although he continued to the

end of his days a bachelor, he was not the less subject to painful bereavements, and these, too, at that period of life when the affections are most confirmed; for his mother died in 1844, and his sister in 1849, and thus the voices that had hitherto cheered him onward were no longer heard. His own death occurred on the 4th of December, 1850, and was occasioned by a stroke of apoplexy. His remains were buried in the churchyard of South Leith, where a monument, by the subscription of his admirers, has been erected to his memory.

GILLESPIE, GEORGE, an eminent divine at a time when divines were nearly the most eminent class of individuals in Scotland, was the son of the Rev. John Gillespie, minister at Kirkcaldy, and was born January 21, 1613. His advance in his studies was so rapid, that he was laureated in his seventeenth year. About the year 1634, when he must have still been very young, he is known to have been chaplain to Viscount Kenmure: at a subsequent period he lived in the same capacity with the Earl of Cassilis. While in the latter situation he wrote a work called *English Popish Ceremonies*, in which, as the title implies, he endeavoured to excite a jealousy of the episcopal innovations of Charles I., as tending to Popery. This book he published when he was about twenty-two years of age, and it was soon after prohibited by the bishops. Had Episcopacy continued triumphant, it is likely that Mr. Gillespie's advance in the church would have been retarded; but the signing of the national covenant early in 1638 brought about a different state of things. In April that year, a vacancy occurring at Wemyss in Fife, he was appointed minister; and at the General Assembly which took place at Glasgow in the ensuing November, he had the honour to preach one of the daily sermons before the house, for which he took as his text, "The king's heart is in the hands of the Lord." The Earl of Argyle, who had then just joined the covenanting cause, and was still a member of the privy-council, thought that the preacher had trenched a little, in this discourse, upon the royal prerogative, and said a few words to the assembly, with the intention of warning them against such errors for the future.

In 1641 an attempt was made to obtain the transportation of Mr. Gillespie to Aberdeen; but the General Assembly, in compliance with his own wishes, ordained him to remain at Wemyss. When the king visited Scotland in the autumn of this year, Mr. Gillespie preached before him in the Abbey Church at Edinburgh, on the afternoon of Sunday the 12th of September. In the succeeding year he was removed by the General Assembly to Edinburgh, of which he continued to be one of the stated clergymen till his death. Mr. Gillespie had the honour to be one of the four ministers deputed by the Scottish church, in 1543, to attend the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and it is generally conceded that his learning, zeal, and judgment were of the greatest service in carrying through the work of that venerable body, particularly in forming the Directory of Worship, the Catechisms, and other important articles of religion, which it was the business of the assembly to prepare and sanction. Bailie thus alludes to him in his letters: "We got good help in our assembly debates of Lord Warriston, an occasional commissioner, but of none more than the noble youth Mr. Gillespie. I admire his gifts, and bless God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in particular, as equal in these to the first in the assembly." It appears that Mr. Gillespie composed six volumes of manuscript during the course of his

attendance at the Westminster Assembly; and these were extant in 1707,¹ though we are not aware of their still continuing in existence. He had also, when in England, prepared his sermons for the press—part being controversial, and part practical; but they are said to have been suppressed in the hands of the printer with whom he left them, through the instrumentality of the Independents, who dreaded their publication. He also wrote a piece against toleration, entitled *Wholesome Severity Reconciled with Christian Liberty*.

In 1648 Mr. Gillespie had the honour to be moderator of the General Assembly; and the last of his compositions was the *Commission of the Kirk's Answer to the Estates' Observations on the Declaration of the General Assembly concerning the Unlawfulness of the Engagement*. For some months before this assembly he had been greatly reduced in body by a cough and perspiration, which now at length came to a height, and threatened fatal consequences. Thinking perhaps that his native air would be of service, he went to Kirkcaldy with his wife, and lived there for some months; but his illness nevertheless advanced so fast, that, early in December, his friends despaired of his life, and despatched letters to his brother, to Mr. Samuel Rutherford, the Marquis of Argyle, and other distinguished individuals, who took an interest in him, mentioning that if they wished to see him in life, speed would be necessary. The remainder of his life may be best related in the words of Wodrow, as taken, in 1707, from the mouth of Mr. Patrick Simpson, who was cousin to Mr. Gillespie, and had witnessed the whole scene of his death-bed:

"Monday, December 11, came my Lord Argyle, Cassils, Elcho, and Warriston, to visit him. He did faithfully declare his mind to them as public men, in that point whereof he hath left a testimony to the view of the world, as afterwards; and though speaking was very burdensome to him, and troublesome, yet he spared not very freely to fasten their duty upon them.

"The exercise of his mind at the time of his sickness was very sad and constant, without comfortable manifestations, and sensible presence for the time; yet he continued in a constant faith of adherence, which ended in an adhering assurance, his grippis growing still the stronger.

"One day, a fortnight before his death, he had leaned down on a little bed, and taken a fit of faintness, and his mind being heavily exercised, and lifting up his eyes, this expression fell with great weight from his mouth, 'O! my dear Lord, forsake me not for ever.' His weariness of this life was very great, and his longing to be relieved, and to be where the vail would be taken away.

"December 14, he was in heavy sickness, and three pastors came in the afternoon to visit him, of whom one said to him, 'The Lord hath made you faithful in all he hath employed you in, and it's likely we be put to the trial; therefore what encouragement do you give us thereant?' Whereto he answered, in few words, 'I have gotten more by the Lord's immediate assistance than by study, in the disputes I had in the assembly of divines in England; therefore, let never men distrust God for assistance, that cast themselves on him, and follow his calling. For my part, the time I have had in the exercise of the ministry is but a moment!' To which sentence another pastor answered, 'But your moment hath exceeded the gray heads of others; this I may speak without flattery.' To which he answered, disclaim-

¹ Wodrow's *Analeceta* (MS. Adv. Lib.), i. 329.

ing it with a noe; for he desired still to have Christ exalted, as he said at the same time, and to another; and at other times, when any such thing was spoken to him, 'What are all my righteousnesses but rotten rags? all that I have done cannot abide the touchstone of His justice; they are all but abominations, and as an unclean thing, when they are reckoned between God and me. Christ is all things, and I am nothing.' The other pastor, when the rest were out, asked whether he was enjoying the comforts of God's presence, or if they were for a time suspended. He answered, 'Indeed, they are suspended.' Then within a little while he said, 'Comforts! ay comforts!' meaning that they were not easily attained. His wife said, 'What reck? the comfort of believing is not suspended?' He said, 'Noe.' Speaking further to his condition he said, 'Although that I should never more see any light of comfort, that I do see, yet I shall adhere, and do believe that he is mine and that I am his.'

Mr. Gillespie lingered two days longer, and expired almost imperceptibly, December 16, 1646. On the preceding day he had written and signed a paper, in which "he gave faithful and clear testimony to the work and cause of God, and against the enemies thereof, to stop the mouths of calumniators, and confirm his children." The object of the paper was to prevent, if possible, any union of the friends of the Church of Scotland with the loyalists, in behalf of an uncovenanted monarch. The committee of estates testified the public gratitude to Mr. Gillespie by voting his widow and children £1000, which, however, from the speedily ensuing troubles of the times, was never paid.

GILLESPIE, Rev. THOMAS, was the first Relief minister, and founder of the synod of Relief. He was born in the year 1708, at Clearburn, in the parish of Duddingstone near Edinburgh, of parents distinguished for their piety. He lost his father, who was a farmer and brewer, when he was very young. His mother, who seems to have been a woman of decided piety, and at the same time of active business habits, continued her husband's business as farmer and brewer after his death. Gillespie, who was of delicate constitution and melancholy temperament, seems throughout life to have been marked by the shyness of disposition, the reserved manners, the fondness for retirement, and the tenderness yet conscientiousness of feeling, which usually distinguish the boy brought up in a retired domestic way, under a fond and widowed mother. His mother was accustomed to attend the services at the dispensation of the Lord's supper by Mr. Wilson of Maxton, Mr. Boston of Ettrick, Mr. Davidson of Galashiels, and other eminent evangelical ministers, with whom the south of Scotland was at that time favoured. On these occasions she commonly took with her her son Thomas, in whom the anxious mother had not yet traced those satisfactory evidences of decisive piety which her maternal regard for his best interests so earnestly desired; on one of these occasions she mentioned her distress on account of her son to Mr. Boston, who, at her request, spoke to him in private on his eternal interests. His counsels made a decisive impression upon the mind of Gillespie, at that time a young man about twenty years of age, and led him soon after to commence his studies as preparatory to the ministry, which he prosecuted at the university of Edinburgh.

After the origin of the Secession his mother became attached to that body; and through her advice and influence Gillespie went to Perth to study under Mr. Wilson, their first theological professor. In

this step he seems to have been influenced more by a desire to comply with the wishes of a fond and pious mother, than by personal attachment to the peculiarities of the Secession. His whole stay at Perth was ten days; for as soon as from conversations with Mr. Wilson he fully comprehended the principles on which the Secession were proceeding, he withdrew. He proceeded to England, where he pursued his studies at the theological academy in Northampton, at that time superintended by the celebrated Dr. Philip Doddridge. When he thus went to England Dr. Erskine states (in his preface to his *Essay on Temptations*) that he had attended the humanity, philosophy, and divinity classes in the college of Edinburgh, and that he carried with him attestations of his personal piety and acquirements in philosophical and theological literature from several ministers of the Church of Scotland: viz. Rev. Messrs. Davidson of Galashiels, Wilson of Maxton, Wardlaw of Dunfermline, Smith of Newburn, Gusthart, Webster, and Hepburn, of Edinburgh, James Walker of Canongate, M^r. Vicar of West Kirk, Kid of Queensferry, Bonnar of Torphichen, and Wardrope of Whitburn—all of whom mention their having been intimately acquainted with him.

After the usual trials, he was licensed to preach the gospel, 30th October, 1740, by a respectable class of English dissenters, among whom Dr. Doddridge presided as moderator, and ordained to the work of the ministry, 22d January, 1741. It is said that his first charge was over a dissenting congregation in the north of England. If so, it must have been for a very short time, for in March following he returned to Scotland, bringing with him warm and ample recommendations from Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Job Orton, and thirteen other ministers in that neighbourhood, "as a deeply experienced Christian, well qualified for the important work of the ministry, and one who bade fair to prove an ornament to his holy profession, and an instrument of considerable usefulness to the souls of men."

Soon after his return to Scotland he got a regular call to the parish of Carnock near Dunfermline, to which he was presented by Mr. Erskine of Carnock. At that time the forms of procedure in the Church of Scotland seem to have been not so strict and unaccommodating to circumstances as they are now; for in inducting him into Carnock the presbytery of Dunfermline proceeded on his deed of license and ordination by the English dissenters as valid, and dealt by him as one who had already held a charge. At his admission into Carnock he showed the influence which his theological education at Northampton, and his intercourse with the English dissenters had exerted upon his opinions as to Christian liberty, by objecting to the doctrine of the Confession of Faith respecting the power of the civil magistrate in religion; he was permitted to subscribe with an explanation of his meaning upon this point. The passages of the Confession to which he objected were the 4th section of the 20th chapter, and the 3d section of the 23d chapter: which declare that those may be proceeded against by the power of the civil magistrate who publish such opinions, or maintain such practices, as are contrary to the light of nature, the known principles of Christianity, or the power of godliness, or which are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church; and that the civil magistrate hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline, be prevented or reformed, and all

the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed, for the better effecting of which he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.

Mr. Gillespie laboured as parish minister of Carnock till the year 1752. He was a careful student, a diligent and faithful minister, and generally acceptable and useful in his pulpit labours, both in his own parish and as an occasional assistant elsewhere. The acceptance which his pulpit discourses met was not owing to any advantage of manner, for his delivery was uncouth, and his whole manner that of one nervously afraid of his audience. But he was solemn and affectionate, much impressed himself as conscious of his awful charge. He had struggled hard himself against the oppression of a constitutional tendency to despondency; and in his discourses he sought especially to comfort and counsel the desponding and tempted Christian. Dr. John Erskine, who was several months his stated hearer, and who besides this often heard him occasionally, bears witness in his preface to Mr. Gillespie's *Essay on the Continuance of Immediate Revelations in the Church*, that "he studied in his ministry what was most useful for the bulk of his hearers, giving law and gospel, comfort and terror, privileges and duties, their proper place. I never (says he) sat under a ministry better calculated to awaken the thoughtless and secure, to caution convinced sinners against what would stifle their convictions and prevent their issuing in conversion, and to point out the difference between vital Christianity and specious counterfeit appearances of it."

During the eleven years that Mr. Gillespie occupied the charge of Carnock he kept close to the humble and unostentatious yet useful duties of the pastor of a country parish. He seems never to have taken any prominent part in the business of the church courts: he was, both from habit and disposition, retiring and reserved, fond of the studies of the closet, but destitute alike of the ability and the inclination for managing public affairs, and leading the van in ecclesiastical warfare. It was his scrupulous conscientiousness, not his ambition, that made him the founder of a party. He was thrust on it by circumstances beyond his intention.

Mr. Gillespie entered the ministry in the Church of Scotland when the harsh operation of the law of patronage was causing painful and lamentable contests between the people and the dominant party in the church courts. It had already caused the secession; and there still remained in the Church of Scotland many elements of discord and sources of heart-burning; whole presbyteries even refused to act when the settlement of obnoxious presentees was enjoined by the superior courts—and to effect the execution of their sentences appointing the settlement of unpopular individuals, the General Assembly had at times wholly to supersede the functions of the presbytery, and appoint the induction to be completed by committees of individuals not connected with the presbytery; it might be men who, without scruple, were willing to act on whatever was ecclesiastical law, and carry through the matter intrusted to their care in the face of the menaces or murmurs of a dissatisfied and protesting people.

This method of settling obnoxious presentees by *riding committees*, as they were called in those days by the populace, was confessedly a most irregular and unconstitutional device. It was a clumsy expedient to avoid coming in direct collision with recusant presbyteries. It was found to answer the purpose very imperfectly; and it was soon seen that

there remained to the General Assembly but two alternatives, either to soften the operation of the law of patronage, and give way to the popular voice, or to compel the presbyteries to settle every man who received a presentation, against whom heresy or immorality could not be proved; otherwise there would be perpetual collision between themselves and the inferior courts. The assembly chose the latter and the bolder alternative. In 1750, accordingly, the assembly referred it to their commission, "to consider of a method for securing the execution of the sentences of the assembly and commission, and empowered them to censure any presbyteries which might be disobedient to any of the sentences pronounced by that meeting of assembly."

In 1751 Mr. Andrew Richardson, previously settled at Broughton, in the parish of Biggar, was presented to the charge of Inverkeithing by the patron of the parish. He was unacceptable to the body of the people, and his call was signed only by a few non-resident heritors. Opposition being made to his settlement by the parishioners, the presbytery of Dunfermline, and after them the synod of Fife, refused to comply with the orders of the commission to proceed to the settlement of Mr. Richardson. The case came before the assembly in 1752; and it was justly anticipated that it would bring to an issue the conflict between recusant presbyteries, who had a conscientious regard for the rights of the people, and the dominant party in the assembly, who had no regard for them, but were resolved to give effect to every presentation. The lord-commissioner, the Earl of Leven, in his opening speech, with sufficient plainness indicated the course of procedure which the government desired and expected the assembly should pursue, in the circumstances; and said that it was more than high time to put a stop to the growing evil of inferior courts assuming the liberty of disputing and disobeying their decisions. The ruling party in the assembly were prompt in obeying these orders of the lord-commissioner. They acted with more energy than prudence or tenderness. When the Inverkeithing case came to be considered, the assembly sent the presbytery from their bar to Inverkeithing with orders to complete Mr. Richardson's induction: they enjoined every member of presbytery to be present at the admission: they changed the legal quorum from three to five. These orders were issued by the assembly on Monday; the induction was appointed to take place on Thursday, and the members of the presbytery were all commanded to appear at the bar of the assembly on Friday, to report their fulfilment of these orders.

On Friday, when the members of the Dunfermline presbytery were called upon, it appeared that only three had attended at Inverkeithing, and they not being the number required by the decision of the assembly to constitute a presbytery, did not feel themselves authorized to proceed to the admission. Of the other six, Mr. Gillespie and other five pleaded conscientious scruples, and gave in a paper in defence of their conduct, quoting in their justification the language of the assembly itself, who in 1736 had declared that "it is, and has been ever since the Reformation, the principle of the church, that no minister shall be introduced into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation; and therefore it is seriously recommended to all judicatories of the church, to have a due regard to the said principle in planting vacant congregations, so as none be intruded into such parishes, as they regard the glory of God, and the edification of the body of Christ."

The assembly paid small regard to their own former declarations thus brought under their notice.

They felt, indeed, that it would be rather *trenchant* and severe, by one fell swoop to depose six ministers all equally guilty: they resolved, however, by a majority, to depose one of the six. This was intimated to them with orders to attend on the morrow. Next day Mr. Gillespie gave in a paper justifying a statement made in their joint representation, that the assembly had themselves stigmatized the act of 1712, restoring patronages, as an infraction of the settlement made at the union. The proof of this statement, which had been questioned in the previous day's debate, he proved by quotations from the assembly's act of 1736, made at the time when they wished to lure back and reconcile the four seceding brethren—the founders of the Secession.

After prayer to God for direction—which, in the circumstances of the case, and in the predetermined state of mind in which the ruling party in the assembly were, was a profane mockery of Heaven—they proceeded to decide which of the six should be deposed. A great majority of the assembly (102) declined voting; 52 voted that Mr. Gillespie should be deposed, and 4 that some one of the others should be taken. The moderator then pronounced the sentence of deposition on Mr. Gillespie. He stood at the bar to receive it, and when he had heard it to an end, with the meek dignity of conscious innocence, replied, "Moderator, I receive this sentence of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland with reverence and awe on account of the divine conduct in it. But I rejoice that it is given to me on the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but to suffer for his sake."

This hard measure dealt to him excited general commiseration and sympathy even among the ministers of the church. He was humble and unassuming, a quiet, retired student, not one versant in the warfare of church courts. Sir H. Moncrieff, in his *Life of Dr. Erskine*, testifies that he was one of the most inoffensive and upright men of his time, equally zealous and faithful in his pastoral duties, but one who never entered deeply into ecclesiastical business, and who was at no time a political intriguer. His sole crime was, that from a conscientious feeling, he would not be present or take any active part in a violent settlement, and they must be strangely fond of stretches of ecclesiastical power who will pronounce the deposition of such a man in such circumstances either praiseworthy or wise.

The sentence of deposition was pronounced on Saturday. On Sabbath, the day following, he preached in the fields at Carnock to his people, from the words of Paul, "For necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel." He told his hearers, that though the assembly had deposed him from being a member of the Established church, for not doing what he believed it was sinful for him to do, yet he hoped, through grace, no public disputes should be his theme, but Jesus Christ and him crucified,¹ and then went on to illustrate his text, without saying anything in justification of himself or in condemnation of the assembly.

He preached in the fields till the month of September, when he removed to the neighbouring town of Dunfermline, where a church had been prepared for him. At the following meeting of assembly, in 1753, an attempt was made by the evangelical party in the church to have the sentence of deposition rescinded; but though some of those who voted for his deposition, stung by their own consciences, or moved by sympathy, expressed their regret in

very poignant language,² yet the motion was lost by a majority of three.

He laboured in Dunfermline for five years without any ministerial assistance, and during that period he dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's supper thirteen times, preaching on these occasions commonly nine sermons, besides the exhortations at the tables. When he first determined to celebrate the Lord's supper in his congregation at Dunfermline, he requested the assistance of some of the evangelical ministers in the Church of Scotland; but from fear of the censures of the assembly, they refused him their aid.

The first minister who joined Mr. Gillespie in his separation from the Church of Scotland, was Mr. Boston, son of the well-known author of the *Fourfold State*. The parish of Jedburgh becoming vacant, the people were earnestly desirous that Mr. Boston, who was minister of Oxnam, and a man of eminently popular talents, might be presented to the vacant charge. No attention, however, was paid to their wishes. The people of Jedburgh took their redress into their own hands, they built a church for themselves, and invited Mr. Boston to become their minister; and he resigning his charge at Oxnam, and renouncing his connection with the Church of Scotland, cheerfully accepted their invitation. He was settled among them 9th December, 1757. He immediately joined Mr. Gillespie, to whom he was an important acquisition, from his popular talents and extensive influence in the south of Scotland. Though associated together, and lending mutual aid, they did not proceed to any acts of ecclesiastical government, till, by a violent settlement in the parish of Kilconquhar, in Fife, the people were led to erect a place of worship for themselves in the village of Colinsburgh, to which they invited as their pastor the Rev. Thomas Collier, a native of the district, who had for some time been settled at Ravenstonedale, in Northumberland, in connection with the English dissenters. At his admission to the charge of the congregation formed in Colinsburgh, on the 22d of October, 1761, Mr. Gillespie and Mr. Boston, with an elder from their respective congregations, first met as a presbytery. In the minute of that meeting they rehearsed the circumstances connected with their separation from the Church of Scotland, and declared that they had formed themselves into a presbytery for the relief of Christians oppressed in their privileges.

The number of congregations in connection with the Relief rapidly increased. It afforded an asylum for those who desired to have the choice of their own ministers, yet could not accede to the peculiarities of the Secession. Relief from patronage, the assertion of the people's right to choose their own ministers, the extending of their communion to all visible saints, to all sound in the faith and of holy life—these were the distinguishing peculiarities which marked the Relief. They were distinguished from the two bodies of the Secession by their permission of occasionally attending the ministry of other churches, their disregard of the covenants sworn by our Scottish ancestors, their neglect of the duty of covenanting, and their not restricting their communion to their own Christian societies. These peculiarities provoked the reproaches of the Secession writers of the day. In the progress of time, however, a large section of the Seceders came to be of one mind with their Relief brethren on all matters of doctrine and discipline. In the year 1847 the two

¹ Dr. Erskine's Preface to his *Essay on Temptations*.

² Memoir of Gillespie, in the *Quarterly Magazine*, by Dr. Stuart.

bodies were joined together under the designation of the United Presbyterian Church. This respectable denomination now (1866) numbers 588 congregations, with an aggregate attendance of 460,000 persons. The Relief and United Secession churches were both opposed to the principle of an established church; and although the voluntary principle of the United Presbyterian church is not formally avowed in her standards, it is distinctly implied in her position and actings.

It has been said that Gillespie cooled in his attachment to the Relief in the latter part of his life, and that he even expressed a wish that his congregation should join the Established church as a chapel of ease. This last assertion is certainly questionable. It has been contradicted by Mr. Smith in his *Historical Sketches of the Relief Church*, who, holding a charge in Dunfermline, and living among the personal associates of Gillespie, may be reckoned a competent witness as to what was known of Mr. Gillespie's sentiments. He states that the church and part of the congregation were carried over to the Establishment by the undue influence and representations of Mr. Gillespie's brother; and that Mr. Gillespie had no difference with his brethren as to the constitution and principles of the Relief church. He never discovered to his people any inclination to be connected again with the Establishment. His disapprobation of the church which deposed him continued to the end of his days. He was, however, dissatisfied with some of his brethren for the willingness they showed to listen to the application of Mr. Perrie (1770) to be received into the body. Perhaps, too, his being thrown into the shade in the conduct of the public affairs of the body, by the active business habits of Mr. Bain, after his accession to the Relief, might heighten his chagrin. These circumstances, operating on the tenderness of temper incident to old age and increasing infirmities, seem to have created in his mind a degree of dissatisfaction with some of his brethren; but that he repented of the steps he had taken in the formation of the presbytery of Relief, or that he had changed his sentiments on the terms of communion, on the impropriety of the civil magistrate's interference in ecclesiastical affairs, or similar points, there is no evidence.

The only productions of Gillespie that have been published are, *An Essay on the Continuance of Immediate Revelations in the Church*, published in his lifetime, and a *Treatise on Temptation*, in 1774, after his death, both prefaced by Dr. J. Erskine of Edinburgh. The first is designed to prove that God does not now give to any individuals, by impressions, dreams, or otherwise, intimations of facts or future events. He argues the point solidly and sensibly, and with some ingenuity. From his correspondence it appears that the topic had occupied his thoughts much. He corresponded with Doddridge, Harvey, and President Edwards; and his correspondence with Edwards was published in the *Quarterly Magazine*, conducted by Dr. Stuart, son-in-law to Dr. Erskine. Mr. Gillespie always prepared carefully for the pulpit. He left in MS. about 800 sermons, fairly and distinctly written. He died on the 19th of January, 1774.

GILLESPIE, REV. THOMAS, D.D., was born in the parish of Clossburn, Dumfriesshire, but in what year we have been unable to ascertain. He received the rudiments of education at the celebrated seminary of Wallacehall, in his own native parish, and afterwards went through the curriculum of the Dumfries Academy, a place noted for its excellence

among the educational establishments of Scotland. Having been designed for the church, Mr. Gillespie enrolled as a student in the university of Edinburgh; and after having been distinguished in the divinity-hall by his talents and scholarship, was licensed as a preacher, and a few years afterwards was presented by the United College, St. Andrews, to the parish of Cults, in the presbytery of Cupar-Fife. In this ministerial charge he was the immediate successor of the Rev. David Wilkie, father of the celebrated painter; and, on taking possession of his manse he was grieved to find that, in the process of cleaning and white-washing, the sketches with which Sir David Wilkie, when a little boy, had covered the walls of his nursery, were remorselessly swept away. To a man of Gillespie's taste and enthusiasm it seemed as if his entrance into a peaceful home had been preceded by an onslaught of the Vandals; but after settling in Cults he made many inquiries into the early history of Sir David, which he communicated to Allan Cunningham, the artist's eloquent biographer. Over the portal of the manse, also, in imitation of Gil Blas, he afterwards carved that couplet of the Latin poet—

Inveni portum, spes et fortuna valet;
Sat me lusingis, ludite nunc alios."

This final good-bye to hope and fortune, however, was somewhat premature; for having been appointed assistant and successor to Dr. John Hunter, professor of humanity in St. Andrews, whose daughter Mr. Gillespie had married, he relinquished the ministerial charge of Cults, and became a resident in the ancient town of St. Andrews.

In his capacity of a country divine, and afterwards as a professor, Mr. Gillespie was distinguished by superior talent, both as an able writer and ready eloquent speaker. His chief work was a volume of sermons on the *Seasons*; but his contributions to some of our best newspapers and journals, both in prose and verse, showed how high a rank he might have attained as an author had he devoted his labours to this department. But his productions through the press were the light buoyant sallies of an occasional hour of leisure, as a relief from more important occupations, rather than serious and continued efforts; and as such they were read, admired, and forgot, amidst the gay sparkling literature of the hour to which they were contributed. It was in the pulpit as an eloquent persuasive divine, and in his university chair as an effective teacher of classical literature, that his whole energies were thrown forth; and when he died a blank was left both in presbytery and college, which his learned and reverend brethren felt would not soon be filled up. Dr. Gillespie's death, which was sudden, occurred at Dunino, on the 11th of September, 1844. He was twice married, and his second wife was daughter of the Rev. Dr. Campbell, formerly minister of Cupar, and sister of the Right Hon. Lord John Campbell.

GILLESPIE, REV. WILLIAM, minister of Kells in Galloway, was the eldest son of the Rev. John Gillespie, who preceded him in that charge; and was born in the manse of the parish, February 18, 1776. After receiving the rudiments of education at the parish school, he entered the university of Edinburgh in 1792, and was appointed tutor to Mr. Don, afterwards Sir Alexander Don, Bart., in whose company he was introduced to the most cultivated society. While acting in this capacity, and at the same time prosecuting his theological studies, he amused himself by writing verses, and at this time commenced his poem entitled the *Progress of Refinement*, which was not completed or published till some years after-

wards. Among other clubs and societies of which he was a member may be instanced the Academy of Physics, which comprehended Brougham, Jeffrey, and other young men of the highest abilities, and of which an account has already been given in our article DR. THOMAS BROWN. In 1801, having for some time completed his studies and obtained a license as a preacher, he was ordained helper and successor to his father, with the unanimous approbation of the parish. Soon after he was invited by his former pupil, Mr. Don, to accompany him in making the tour of Europe; and he had actually left home for the purpose when the project was stopped by intelligence of the renewal of the war with France. In 1805 Mr. Gillespie published the "*Progress of Refinement*, an Allegorical Poem," intended to describe the advance of society in Britain from its infancy to maturity, but which met with little success. It was generally confessed that, though Mr. Gillespie treated every subject in poetry with much taste and no little feeling, he had not a sufficient amount of inspiration, or that vivid fervour of thought which is necessary, to reach the highest rank as a versifier. In 1806, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the full charge of the parish of Kells. For some years afterwards he seems to have contented himself in a great measure with discharging his duties as a clergyman, only making occasional contributions to periodical works, or communicating information to the Highland Society, of which he was a zealous and useful member. At length, in 1815, he published, in an octavo volume, *Consolation and other Poems*, which, however, received only the same limited measure of applause which had already been bestowed upon his *Progress of Refinement*. Mr. Gillespie, in July, 1825, married Miss Charlotte Hoggan; but being almost immediately after seized with erysipelas, which ended in general inflammation, he died, October 15, in the fiftieth year of his age. As the character of this accomplished person had been of the most amiable kind, his death was very generally and very sincerely mourned: his biographer, Mr. Murray, in his *Literary History of Galloway*, states the remarkable fact, that, amidst the many wet eyes which surrounded his grave, "even the sexton—a character not in general noted for soft feelings—when covering the remains of his beloved pastor, sobbed and wept to such a degree that he was hardly able to proceed with his trying duty."

GILLIES, JOHN, LL.D., F.R.S., F.A.S., member of many foreign societies, and historiographer to his majesty for Scotland. The many literary titles of this erudite and once popular historian, evince the high estimation in which he was held by the learned men of his day. He was born at Brechin, in the county of Forfar, on the 18th of January, 1747. Although of a family belonging to the middling classes, he was not its only distinguished member, as one of his younger brothers became an eminent lawyer at the Scottish bar, and finally attained the rank of lord of session. John Gillies was educated at the university of Glasgow, and there he so highly distinguished himself by his classical attainments, that, before he was of age, he was appointed to teach the classes of the Greek professor, who had been laid aside by old age and infirmity. Instead of waiting, however, for those turns of fortune that might have elevated him to the chair which he had filled as deputy, he repaired to London, for the purpose of devoting himself to authorship. Before he settled down in the metropolis he resolved still further to qualify himself for his future occupation

by the study of the living languages; and for this purpose he took up his residence for some time on the Continent. Upon his return he was engaged by the Earl of Hopetoun to accompany his second son as travelling tutor; and as it was necessary that he should relinquish certain profitable literary engagements into which he had already entered, before he set out with his pupil, he was remunerated for the sacrifice by the earl in 1777, who settled upon him a pension for life. But in the year previous his young charge died abroad; and a few years afterwards he was induced to undertake the charge of two other sons of the earl, who were about to travel on the Continent—one of them being John, afterwards Sir John Hope, and finally Earl of Hopetoun, distinguished by his military achievements—the other, Alexander, afterwards Sir Alexander Hope, lieutenant-governor of Chelsea Hospital. During the interval that elapsed between his first and second tutorship, and when no such interruption was anticipated, he had commenced the purposed business of his life in earnest, by publishing his first work. This was the "*Oration of Lysias and Socrates*, translated from the Greek, with some account of their Lives; and a Discourse on the History, Manners, and Character of the Greeks, from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Chæronea," 1778, 4to. About the same time he received the diploma of LL.D., the first of his literary distinctions.

On returning from the Continent, when his office of travelling-tutor had ended, which it did in 1784, Dr. Gillies resumed those labours which were so congenial to his tastes and habits, and which were now continued to the end of a very long life. His previous duties had not only furnished him with such a competence as to make him independent of the many painful contingencies to which authorship as a profession is subject, but had closely connected him with the Hopetoun family, to whose early patronage and continuing kindness he was wont to attribute much of the happiness by which his tranquil course was enlivened. Two years after his return to England he published the first portion of the work by which he is best known, entitled the "*History of Ancient Greece*, its Colonies and Conquests, from the Earliest Accounts till the Division of the Macedonian Empire in the East; including the History of Literature, Philosophy, and the Fine Arts," 2 vols. 4to, 1786. This work, which was continued in a second part, was so acceptable to the scholars of Germany, that a translation of it into German was published at Vienna in 1825, while at home it was so popular that it went through several editions. Time, however, which has so much diminished the lustre that invested the literature and science of the last century, has not spared his history any more than it has done the more distinguished productions of Hume and Gibbon; and Gillies, the once distinguished historian of Greece, is now subjected to an ordeal through which few of his contemporaries have passed unscathed. Newer and juster views, the fruit of a more ample experience and sounder philosophy; a more extensive knowledge of Grecian history and antiquity, and a more rigid and severe taste in historical writing, by which the present day is in the habit of judging the labours of the past, will no longer be satisfied with any history of ancient Greece that has as yet been produced. But, notwithstanding the faults that have been objected to the work of Gillies under this new and improved school of criticism, it was certainly a most useful production in its day, and well worthy of the approval with which it was welcomed by the learned; so that, not-

withstanding the complaints that have been made of the dullness of his dissertations, the pomposity of his style, and the occasional unfaithfulness of his translations, we have still to wait for a better history of Greece. By a curious coincidence the first part of the work, and the first volume of Mitford's *History of Greece*—two rival publications upon a common subject—were published during the same year.

The rest of the life of Dr. Gillies presents few incidents for the biographer. In 1793 he succeeded Dr. Robertson as historiographer royal for Scotland, a sinecure office, to which a salary of £200 per annum is attached. He was also elected a member of several societies in our own country, as also a corresponding member of the French Institute and of the Royal Society of Gottingen. In 1794 he married. His various publications continued to appear at distant intervals, until the debility of old age compelled him to lay aside his pen; and, having done enough for fame and fortune, he retired in 1830 to Clapham, near London, where the rest of his life was passed in tranquil enjoyment, until he died at the age of ninety without disease and without pain. This event occurred on the 15th of February, 1836.

Besides his writings which we have already specified, Dr. Gillies published:—1. "*View of the Reign of Frederic II. of Prussia, with a Parallel between that Prince and Philip II. of Macedon*," 1789, 8vo. 2. "*Aristotle's Ethics and Politics*, comprising his Practical Philosophy, translated from the Greek; illustrated by Introductions and Notes, the Critical History of his Life, and a New Analysis of his Speculative Works," 1797, 2 vols. 4to. 3. "*Supplement to the Analysis of Aristotle's Speculative Works*, containing an Account of the Interpreters and Corrupters of Aristotle's Philosophy, in connection with the Times in which they respectively flourished," 1804, 4to. 4. "*The History of the Ancient World, from the Dominion of Alexander to that of Augustus, with a Preliminary Survey of Preceding Periods, 1807–10*," 2 vols. 4to. This was afterwards reprinted in 4 vols. 8vo, as the *History of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquests*, Part II., 1820. 5. "*A New Translation of Aristotle's Rhetoric*, with an Introduction and Appendix, explaining its Relation to his Exact Philosophy, and vindicating that Philosophy by Proofs that all Departures from it have been Deviations into Error," 1823, 8vo.

GLASS, JOHN, founder of a sect still known by his name, was the son of the Rev. Alexander Glass, minister of the parish of Auchtermuchty, in the county of Fife, where he was born on the 21st of September, 1695. In the year 1697 his father was translated to the parish of Kinclaven, at which place Mr. John Glass received the rudiments of his education. He was afterwards sent to the grammar-school of Perth, where he learned the Latin and Greek languages. He completed his studies at the universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, and having been licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Perth, was in 1719 ordained a minister of the Church of Scotland, in the parish of Tealing, in the neighbourhood of Dundee. Mr. Glass had been a diligent student, was deeply impressed with the importance of the ministerial character and the awful responsibility which attached to it, and was anxious, in no common degree, about the due discharge of the various duties which it involved. In his public services he was highly acceptable; had a singular gift of prayer; and in his sermons, which, according to the fashion of the time, were seldom less than two, sometimes three, hours in length, he attracted and kept up the unwearied attention of

crowded audiences. His fame as a preacher, of course, soon spread abroad, and his sacramental occasions attracted vast crowds from distant quarters; the usual concomitant, in those days, of popularity. But it was not public services alone that absorbed his attention; the more private duties of his station were equally attended to. Even so early as 1725, only two years after his settlement, he had formed within his parish a little society of persons whom he found to be particularly under serious impressions, and with whom he cultivated a more intimate intercourse, though no part of his charge was neglected. It is probable, however, that his peculiar notions of the constitution of a Christian church were by this time beginning to be developed, and this intercourse with a detached and particular part of his charge must have tended to hasten the process. Breach of covenant engagements, from a combination of circumstances, was at this time the topic very generally insisted on in the ministrations of the Scottish clergy. The binding obligation of both the national covenant of Scotland, and the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms being universally admitted, Mr. Glass began to preach against these covenants, as incompatible with the nature of the gospel dispensation and the sacred rights of conscience. A paper written by him at this time to the above effect excited a very great sensation throughout the country, and called forth some of the ablest defences of these famous deeds that have yet appeared. In the above paper Mr. Glass did not state himself as formally an enemy to the covenants, but only as an inquirer, wishing further light and information respecting them; yet it was evident to every intelligent person that he was no longer a Presbyterian. He was forthwith summoned before the church courts; and, refusing to sign the formula and some passages of the Confession of Faith, was, by the synod of Angus and Mearns, deposed from his office, on the 12th of April, 1728.

The same year he published his *King of Martyrs*, in which he embodied his views more fully matured. This book had no inconsiderable share of popularity, and it has served for a general storehouse, whence Mr. Patrick Hutchison, and after him all the modern advocates of spirituality, as a peculiar and distinguishing characteristic of the New Testament church, have drawn their principal arguments. On his deposition Mr. Glass removed from Tealing to Dundee, where, several persons joining him, he formed the first church of the kind in Scotland. This small body was not without its share of the obloquy to which Independency had long been exposed in Scotland, nor were the members without their fears respecting the practicability of the scheme, being doubtful of a sufficiency of gifts in the lay brethren. When they came to the proof, however, they were agreeably disappointed; and wherever they had occasion to form churches, which was in a short time in a great many places, appear to have found no lack of qualified persons. In the year 1733 Mr. Glass removed from Dundee to Perth, where he erected a small meeting-house, which was thought great presumption, especially as the handful of people that attended arrogated to themselves the name of a church. Attempts were even made to eject them forcibly from the town; and a zealous lady beholding Mr. Glass in the street, was heard to exclaim, "Why do they not rive [tear] him in pieces!" In the year 1739 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the same that gave positive orders to the commission to proceed against the Seceders with the censures of the church, took off, by a very curious act, the sentence of deposition

that had been passed against Mr. Glass. In this act he is stated to hold some peculiar views, which the Assembly do not think inconsistent with his being a minister. They accordingly restored him to the character of a minister of the gospel of Christ, but declared at the same time he was not to be considered a minister of the Established Church of Scotland, or capable of being called and settled therein, till he should renounce these peculiar views. This act, even among the anomalous acts of church courts, was certainly a very strange one. If Mr. Glass, however, was satisfied on scriptural grounds that he was a minister of Christ, it could make little difference whether he belonged to the Church of Scotland or not. At the time of his deposition Mr. Glass had a large family, and when he was deprived of his stipend had no visible means of supporting it. This, taken in connection with the persecutions of another kind which he was made to endure, affords sufficient evidence, whatever any may think of his principles, that he was sincere and conscientious in their profession. In this sacrifice of worldly interests it is pleasing to learn that he had the cheerful concurrence of his excellent wife, Catharine Black, a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Black of Perth. This worthy woman, persuaded that the cause in which he was engaged was the cause of God, encouraged him in his darkest moments to perseverance, and to a cheerful trust in Divine Providence, even for such things as might be needful for this present frail and transitory life; nor was his confidence in vain. In the death of their children (fifteen in number, all of whom he survived) their faith and patience were also severely tried, especially in the case of such of them as had arrived at the years of maturity. One of his sons was the occasion of much trouble to him, and left his house a disobedient son. Like the prodigal in the parable, however, he repented in his affliction, and returned a very different person. His son Thomas lived to become a respectable bookseller in Dundee, where he was settled in life, and was pastor to the congregation which his father had left in that place; but he was cut off in the prime of life by a fever. Another of his sons, George, was a sea-captain, and known as the author of the *History of the Canary Islands*, published by Dodsley in 1764. He afterwards went out for a London company to attempt forming a settlement on the coast of Africa, where he was seized by the Spaniards, and kept a prisoner for several years. The men whom he had conducted to Africa were in the meantime murdered, and his ship plundered. Having, by a pencil note inclosed in a loaf of bread, found means to make his case known to the British consul, the government interfered, and he was set at liberty. He took his passage with his wife and daughter for London, intending to revisit his native country. The ship in which he embarked was unfortunately loaded with specie, which, awakening the cupidity of a part of the crew, they conspired to murder the captain and secure the vessel. Captain Glass, hearing the disturbance on deck when the mutiny broke out, drew his sword, and hastening to the rescue, was stabbed in the back by one of the conspirators, who had been lurking below. Mrs. Glass and her daughter clung to one another imploring mercy, but were thrown overboard locked in each other's arms. The murderers landed on the coast of Ireland, where they unshipped the money-chests, which they hid in the sands, and went to an ale-house to refresh themselves. Here they were taken up on suspicion, confessed the atrocious crime, and were subsequently executed. Mr. Glass and his friends in Perth had

been apprised by letter that his son was on his voyage home, and were in daily expectation of his arrival, when intelligence of the fate of the ship and her crew reached Perth in a newspaper. Mr. Glass sustained the shock with his wonted resignation and equanimity. He died in 1773, aged seventy-eight. The doctrines and practices of his sect were afterwards modified by his son-in-law Mr. Robert Sandeman, author of *The Letters on Theron and Aspasio*, and from whom the members of the body are sometimes denominated Sandemanians.

GLENNIE, JAMES, a distinguished geometrician, a native of Fife, was born in 1750. His father was an officer in the army, and saw much severe service. Glennie received the rudiments of his education at a parochial school, and was afterwards removed to the university of St. Andrews, where he made considerable proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, but early discovered a strong and peculiar propensity to the sciences in general, but more particularly to geometry, a branch which he pursued with such zeal and success as to carry off two successive prizes in the mathematical class, when he was only nineteen years of age. Glennie was originally intended for the church, and with this view attended the divinity class, where he also distinguished himself, becoming a keen polemic and theologian, and an acute and able disputant. Whether, however, from his finding a difficulty in obtaining a church, or from the impulse of his own disposition, he abandoned the idea of entering into holy orders, and chose rather to seek his fortune in the army. Through the interest of the Earl of Kinnoull, then chancellor of the university of St. Andrews, and of the professors of that university, to whom Glennie's talents had strongly recommended him, he obtained a commission in the artillery, a branch of the service for which his geometrical knowledge eminently fitted him. On the breaking out of the American war, in 1775, Glennie embarked for that country with the troops sent out by the mother country to co-operate with those already there, in the suppression of the insurgents. On his arrival, now a lieutenant of artillery, he was placed under the command of General St. Leger; his reputation, however, as a promising officer and skilful engineer was already so great, that he was left in full command of his own particular department. Throughout the whole campaign which followed he conducted all his operations with such judgment and intrepidity as to attract the notice of the Marquis of Townshend, who, without solicitation or any interest whatever being made, transferred Glennie to the engineers; and this flattering circumstance, together with the reasons annexed, were certified in the *London Gazette*. In 1779 he was further gratified by being nominated one of the thirty practitioner engineers, and appointed second, and soon after first, lieutenant. So active and industrious were Glennie's habits, that even while engaged in the arduous and dangerous duties of his profession in America, he wrote a number of important papers on abstruse subjects. These he transmitted to the Royal Society, where they were read, and deemed so valuable as to procure him the honour of being elected a member, and that, as in the case of the celebrated Dr. Franklin, without fees, and even without his knowledge.

On his return to England Mr. Glennie married Miss Mary Anne Locke, daughter of the store-keeper at Plymouth.

The good fortune, however, which had hitherto attended Glennie, and the prosperous career which apparently lay still before him, were now about to close

in darkness and disappointment. The first blow to Glennie's hopes of future promotion proceeded from a circumstance sufficiently remarkable in itself. The Duke of Richmond, who was, at the time of Glennie's return from America, master-general of the board of ordnance, in which he had displaced Glennie's early patron the Marquis of Townshend, had conceived the absurd idea of fortifying all our naval arsenals, and of forming lines of defence on the coast, instead of increasing the navy, and trusting to that arm for protection against a foreign enemy. The duke was much opposed on this point in parliament; but as it was a favourite idea, he persevered, and supported as he was by the influence and eloquence of Pitt, would have carried the measure, but for the skill and talent of a subaltern of artillery; and that subaltern, who coped successfully with a minister of state on a great national question, was Glennie.

The Duke of Richmond, aware of Glennie's talents in the sciences of gunnery and fortification, frequently and anxiously endeavoured to obtain his approbation of his plans; with more candour than wisdom, however, he not only steadfastly withheld this approbation, but unhesitatingly declared them to be absurd and impracticable. Glennie's early patron, the Marquis of Townshend, knowing the former's opinion of the Duke of Richmond's plans, invited him to his residence, where he detained him until he had composed, which he did at the marquis's request, a pamphlet on the subject. The pamphlet, which was written with great ability and discovered a profound knowledge of the matter of which it treated, was immediately published, and produced a prodigious effect. It instantly opened the eyes of the public to the absurdity of the minister's ideas: his projects were overturned, and the country was saved; but Glennie was ruined.

In this celebrated pamphlet, which is simply entitled *A Short Essay*, it was demonstrated that extensive lines produce prolonged weakness, not strength, and showed that troops are much more formidable as an active and movable force than as an inert body, cooped up in fortifications. It showed further that the sum (calculated at forty or fifty millions) which should be required to carry the duke's plans into effect, was more than would be necessary to build a new and complete fleet, superior to that of any power on earth. Besides all this, it was shown that it would require 22,000 soldiers for the intended fortifications of Portsmouth and Plymouth alone.

Glennie, perceiving that all hopes of further promotion were now at an end, resigned his commission and emigrated to British America with his wife and children. Here he purchased a tract of land, and soon afterwards became a contractor for ship-timber and masts for government. The speculation failed, and both Glennie himself and a partner, a wealthy man who had joined him in it, were ruined. Driven back to England, but now, as many years had elapsed, forgotten and without friends, Glennie applied to the Earl of Chatham, who, recognizing his merits, but unable to do more for him, retained rather than employed him as "engineer extraordinary." Soon after, however, he procured Glennie the appointment of instructor to the East India Company's young artillery officers, with salary and emoluments amounting to £400 per annum. Glennie's good fortune was, however, again but of short duration. He was summoned as an evidence on some points in the celebrated trial of the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke; his evidence was unfavourable to the duke; the consequence was, that he soon afterwards received an official letter

from the board of directors, dispensing with his services.

In 1812 Glennie, now in the sixty-second year of his age, went out to Copenhagen at the request of a gentleman who then held a seat in parliament, to negotiate the purchase of a certain plantation. Glennie having set out on his mission without coming to any explicit terms with his employer, his claim for compensation on his return was disputed, and referred to arbitration; but the referees could not agree, and the matter therefore was never adjusted. Glennie, now in an exceedingly destitute condition, without friends who could assist him, his health destroyed, and himself far advanced in life, made an unsuccessful attempt to procure a few mathematical pupils, and finally died of apoplexy on the 23d November, 1817, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His remains were interred in the churchyard of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

Amongst other proofs of Glennie's geometrical knowledge is to be found a solution of Dr. Matthew Stewart's "42d proposition on 39th theorem," which had remained unsolved, and had puzzled the learned for sixty-five years; and also a demonstration of the impossibility of "squaring the circle," a question which has long excited public curiosity, and which it is said engaged the attention and eluded the research of the great Newton.

GOODAL, WALTER, well known as a historical antiquary, was the eldest son of John Goodal, a farmer in Banffshire, and was born about the year 1706. In 1723 he was entered as a student in King's College, Aberdeen, but did not continue long enough to take a degree. In 1730 he obtained employment in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh under the famous Thomas Ruddiman, who was a native of the same district, and perhaps patronized him on account of some local recommendations. He assisted Ruddiman in the compilation of the first catalogue of the library, which was published in 1742. When Ruddiman was succeeded by David Hume, Goodal continued to act as sub-librarian, probably upon a very small salary. Like both of his successive superiors, he was a Tory and a Jacobite, but, it would appear, of a far more ardent character than either of them. Being, almost as a matter of course, a believer in the innocence of Queen Mary, he contemplated writing her life, but afterwards limited his design to a publication entitled *An Examination of the Letters said to be written by Mary to James Earl of Bothwell*, which appeared in 1754. In this work, says Mr. George Chalmers, he could have done more, if he had had less prejudice and more coolness. Hume had become librarian two years before this period; but "the chief duty," we are informed, "fell upon Walter, or, as he good-naturedly permitted himself to be called, Watty Goodal. One day, while Goodal was composing his treatise concerning Queen Mary, he became drowsy, and laying down his head upon his manuscripts, in that posture fell asleep. Hume, entering the library and finding the controversialist in that position, stepped softly up to him, and laying his mouth to Watty's ear, roared out with the voice of a stentor, that Queen Mary was a whore, and had murdered her husband. Watty, not knowing whether it was a dream or a real adventure, or whether the voice proceeded from a ghost or living creature, started up, and before he was awake, or his eyes well opened, he sprang upon Hume, and, seizing him by the throat, pushed him to the further end of the library, exclaiming all the while that he was some base Presbyterian parson, who was come to murder the character of Queen Mary as his predecessors had

contributed to murder her person. Hume used to tell this story with much glee, and Watty acknowledged the truth of it with much frankness."

In 1753 Mr. Goodal acted as editor of a new edition of the work called *Crawford's Memoirs*, which he is generally blamed for not having corrected or purified from the vitiations of its author. In 1754 he published an edition, with emendatory notes, of Scott of Scotstarvet's *Stair's Opening, State of Scots Statesmen*, and wrote a preface and life to Sir James Balfour's *Practicks*. He contributed also to Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, and published an edition of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, with a Latin introduction, of which an English version was given to the world in 1769. Goodal died July 28, 1766, in very indigent circumstances, which Mr. Chalmers attributes to habits of intemperance. The following extract from the minutes of the Faculty of Advocates throws a melancholy light upon the subject, and is fully entitled to a place in Mr. D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors*:—

"A petition was presented in name of Mary Goodal, only daughter of the deceased Mr. Walter Goodal, late depute-keeper of the Advocates' Library, representing that the petitioner's father died the 28th last month; that by reason of some accidental misfortunes happening in his affairs, any small pieces of household furniture or other movables he hath left behind will scarcely defray the expense of his funeral; that if there is any overplus, [it] will be attached by his creditors; that she is in the most indigent circumstances, and without friends to give her any assistance; that she proposes to go to the north country, where she hath some relations, in order to try if she can be put upon any way of gaining her bread; that she would not be permitted to leave the town until she should discharge some small debts that she was by necessity obliged to contract; that, besides, she was in such want of clothes and other necessities, that she can scarcely appear in the streets; and that, in her most distressed situation, she hath presumed to make this humble application to the honourable the dean and faculty of advocates, praying that they would be pleased to order her such a sum from their fund as they shall judge her necessities require.

"The dean and faculty, taking this clamant case under their consideration, were unanimously of opinion that the petitioner should have some allowance out of their fund." The sum given was ten pounds.

GORDON, ALEXANDER, author of various learned and useful antiquarian works, is one of the numerous subjects for the present publication, of whom nothing is known except their birth in Scotland, and their transactions in public life out of it. He was a well-educated man, possessing what was not in his time common among the Scottish literati—an intimate knowledge of the Greek language. In early life he travelled through France and other parts of the Continent, and spent some years in Italy. His first publication referred to the antiquities of his native country, which he seems to have explored with minute and painstaking fidelity. The work appeared in 1726, under the title of "*Itinerarium Septentrionale, or a Journey through most Parts of the Counties of Scotland*, in two parts, with sixty-six copperplates," folio; a supplement, published in 1732, was entitled *Additions and Corrections to the Itinerarium Septentrionale, containing several Dissertations on and Descriptions of Roman Antiquities discovered in Scotland since publishing the said Itinerary*. These were among the first efforts in what may be called pure antiquities which were made in Scotland. The *It-*

inerary was considered so valuable a work, that it was translated into Latin and published in Holland in 1731 (the supplement included), for the use of general scholars throughout Europe. In 1729 Mr. Gordon published "*The Lives of Pope Alexander VI. and his Son Cesar Borgia*, comprehending the Wars in the Reign of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII., Kings of France, and the Chief Transactions and Revolutions in Italy from 1492 to 1516, with an Appendix of Original Pieces referred to in the Work." This work was also in folio. In 1730 he published in octavo, "*A Complete History of Ancient Amphitheatres, more particularly regarding the Architecture of these Buildings, and in particular that of Verona*," by the Marquis Scipio Maffei; translated from the Italian." In 1736 Mr. Gordon was appointed secretary to the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, with an annual salary of £50; and also secretary to the Antiquarian Society: the former place he resigned in 1739, and the latter in 1741. About the same time he officiated as secretary to the Egyptian Club, an association of learned individuals who had visited Egypt, comprising Lord Sandwich, Dr. Shaw, Dr. Pococke, and others of nearly equal distinction. Mr. Gordon published two other works—*An Essay towards Explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures on the Coffin of the Ancient Mummy belonging to Captain William Lethicullier, 1737, and Twenty-five Plates of all the Egyptian Mummies and other Egyptian Antiquities in England, about 1739*—both in folio.

Mr. Gordon was destined, after doing so much to explain the antiquities of the old world, to the uncongenial fate of spending his last years in the new, where so few are to be found. He was induced in 1741 to accompany Governor Glen to Carolina in North America, where, besides a grant of land, he had several offices, particularly that of registrar of the province. He died about 1750, leaving a valuable estate to his family.

GORDON, GEORGE, commonly called Lord George Gordon, one of the most remarkable Scotsmen who have flourished in modern political history, was the third son of Cosmo George, third Duke of Gordon, by Catharine, daughter of William Earl of Aberdeen. He was born in Upper Brook Street, London, in December, 1750, and was baptized in January, 1752; George II. standing as his sponsor or godfather. Of his boyhood or education we know little or nothing; nor does there appear to have supervened any peculiar trait of conduct or bias of disposition, during his juvenile years, to distinguish him from his compeers, or forbode the singular eccentricity and erratic waywardness of his future career. At a very tender age he entered the navy, in which he arrived, by due gradation, at the rank of lieutenant. The reason of his afterwards abandoning the naval profession was a pretended disappointment at non-promotion in the service, while it was, in fact, a mere job effected by some of the opposition members to win him to their ranks, as will afterwards be seen. In the year 1772, being then little more than twenty years of age, he went to reside in Inverness-shire, with the view of opposing General Fraser of Lovat, as member for the county, at the next general election, which would of necessity take place in two years thereafter at farthest. This was indeed bearding the lion in his den, and appeared about as Quixotic an undertaking as that of displacing one of the chieftain's native mountains. Such, however, were his ingratiating qualities, the frankness of his manners, the affability of his address, and his happy knack of accommodating himself to the

humours of all classes, that, when the day of election drew nigh, and the candidates began to number their strength, Lovat found, to his unutterable confusion and vexation, that his beardless competitor had actually succeeded in securing a majority of votes! Nor could the most distant imputations of bribery or undue influence be charged upon the young political aspirant. All was the result of his winning address and popular manners, superadded to his handsome countenance, which is said to have been of almost feminine beauty and delicacy. He played on the bagpipes and violin to those who loved music. He spoke Gaelic and wore the philabeg, where these were in fashion. He made love to the young ladies, and listened with patience and deference to the garrulous sermonizing of old age. And, finally, he gave a splendid ball to the gentry at Inverness—one remarkable incident concerning which was his hiring a ship, and bringing from the isle of Skye the family of the M'Leods, consisting of *fifteen* young ladies—the pride and admiration of the north. It was not to be tolerated, however, that the great feudal chieftain should thus be thrust from his hereditary political possession by a mere stripling. Upon an application to the duke, Lord George's eldest brother, a compromise was agreed on, by which it was settled, that upon Lord George's relinquishing Inverness-shire, General Fraser should purchase a seat for him in an English borough; and he was accordingly returned for Ludgershall, the property of Lord Melbourne, at the election of 1774.

It would appear that, for some time after taking his seat, Lord George voted with the ministry of the day. He soon, however, and mainly, it is affirmed, by the influence of his sister-in-law, the celebrated Duchess of Gordon, became a convert to the principles of the opposition; and it was not long ere, at the instigation of Governor Johnston and Mr. Burke, he fairly broke with the ministry, upon their refusal to comply with a most unreasonable demand for promotion over the heads of older and abler officers, which the gentlemen just named had incited him to make. From this time forward he became a zealous opponent of government, especially as regarded their policy towards America, where discontents against their measures were becoming rife and loud. It was not, however, until the session of 1776 that he stood forth as a public speaker, when he commenced his career by a furious attack on ministers, whom he accused of an *infamous* attempt to bribe him over to their side by the offer of a sinecure of £1000 a year. Whether this charge was true or false, certain it is that ministers felt the effects of the imputation so severely, reiterated and commented on as it was in the withering eloquence of Fox, Burke, and others, that an attempt was made to induce him to cede his seat in parliament, in favour of the famous Irish orator Henry Flood, by the offer of the place of vice-admiral of Scotland, then vacant by the resignation of the Duke of Queensberry. Notwithstanding that Lord George's fortune was then scarcely £700 per annum, he had the fortitude to resist the proffered bait, and seemed determined, like Andrew Marvel, to prefer dining for three days running on a single joint, rather than sacrifice his independence by the acceptance of court-favour. His lordship, indeed, soon began to estrange himself from both parties in the house, and to assume a position then entirely new in parliamentary tactics, and somewhat parallel to the course chalked out for themselves by a few of our patriots in the House of Commons at a later period. Disclaiming all connection with either Whigs or Tories, he avowed himself as being devoted solely to the cause of the people. Continu-

ing to represent the borough of Ludgershall, he persevered in animadverting with great freedom, and often with great wit, on the proceedings on both sides of the house, and became so marked, that it was usual at that time to say that "there were three parties in parliament—the ministry, the opposition, and Lord George Gordon."

A bill had been brought into parliament, in the session of 1778, by Sir George Saville, who is described by a writer of the Whig party as one of the most upright men which perhaps any age or country ever produced, to relieve the Roman Catholic subjects of England from some of the penalties they were subject to by an act passed in the eleventh and twelfth year of King William III.—an act supposed by many to have originated in faction, and which at all events, from many important changes since the time of its enactment, had become unnecessary, and therefore unjust.

On the passing of this bill, which required a test of fidelity from the parties who claimed its protection, many persons of that religion, and of the first families and fortunes in the kingdom, came forward with the most zealous professions of attachment to the government; so that the good effects of the indulgence were immediately felt, and hardly a murmur from any quarter was heard. This act of Sir George Saville did not extend to Scotland; but in the next winter a proposition was made by several individuals to revise the penal laws in force against the Catholics in that kingdom also, at least a report prevailed of such an intention. The people in general, having still a keen recollection of the religious dissensions of the preceding century, were strongly excited by this rumour, and formed numerous associations throughout the country for the purpose of resisting, by petition, any remission of the Catholic penalties. In this movement they were countenanced generally by the evangelical section of the national clergy, and perhaps the public fervour was raised by no circumstance so much as by the indifference with which the majority of the moderate party had treated the subject in the General Assembly of 1778, when the idea of a prospective declaration against the measure was coldly negated. The proceedings in Scotland, and some inflammatory pamphlets published about the same time, gradually awakened the public mind in England, or at least the less informed part of it, to a conviction of the danger of Sir George Saville's act, and a powerful society was formed at London, under the name of the "Protestant Association," for endeavouring to procure the repeal of the bill. Large subscriptions were raised in different parts of the kingdom, a secretary was publicly chosen, and correspondences set on foot between the different societies in England and Scotland. To crown all, in November, 1779, Lord George Gordon, M.P., was unanimously invited to become president of the association, of which situation he accepted. One thing ought here to be observed, in judging of the sincerity of this nobleman in the part he took in the subsequent public proceedings on this subject, both in and out of parliament, that he offered no opposition whatever to the passing of Sir George Saville's repeal act.

In detailing the fearful events which ensued both in England and Scotland, in consequence of this struggle of parties, it is necessary that some regard be had to chronological order; and we must, therefore, first of all turn our attention to the posture of affairs in our own country.

Soon after the passing of the tolerating act in favour of the English and Irish Catholics, those of that creed in Scotland, encouraged, as we have said,

by demonstrations in their favour in various influential quarters, prepared a petition to parliament, praying for the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges which had been extended to their more fortunate brethren. At this juncture an anonymous pamphlet appeared at Edinburgh, which caused an extraordinary sensation throughout the country. Its effects were first developed by the proceedings in the provincial synods, by almost all of which (excepting that of Lothian and Tweeddale) violent and angry resolutions were passed against the Papists, and the firmest determination expressed to oppose their petition. These resolutions being published in the newspapers, soon propagated the ferment, and fanned the popular excitement into a blaze. Numerous societies were organized at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and elsewhere, who severally passed resolutions to the same effect. That at Edinburgh, together with all the incorporations of the city, excepting the surgeons, the merchant company, and the society of candle-makers, petitioned the town-council early in January, 1779, to oppose the bill, which was agreed to; and the members for the city and county were instructed accordingly. Similar proceedings also took place at Glasgow.

The populace, however, were far too highly irritated to await patiently the issue of these decided measures, and on the 2d of February their fury burst out at Edinburgh with uncontrollable violence. Incendiary letters had previously been distributed in the streets, calling upon the people to meet at the foot of Leith Wynd on the above day, "to pull down that pillar of Popery lately erected there"—alluding to a house occupied, along with other families, by a Roman Catholic bishop, and which was supposed to contain a Catholic place of worship. A large mob accordingly assembled, and in spite of the exertions of the magistrates, backed by a regiment of fencibles, the house was set on fire and reduced to ashes. The house of another Popish clergyman in Blackfriars' Wynd was completely gutted. The Catholics in all the other parts of the town were indiscriminately abused, and their houses pillaged. Nor against these alone was the violence of the mob directed. The liberal Protestants known to favour toleration towards the Catholics became equally the marks of popular fury. Amongst these were the celebrated Professor Robertson, and Mr. Crosbie, an eminent advocate, whose houses were attacked, and which, but for the timely interference of the military, would doubtless, like the rest, have been fired and razed to the ground. Seeing no likelihood of a termination to the tumults, the provost and magistrates, after several days' feeble and ineffectual efforts to restore order, at length issued a proclamation of a somewhat singular description, *assuring* the people that *no repeal of the statutes against Papists should take place*, and attributing the riots solely to the "fears and distressed minds of well-meaning people." This announcement, nevertheless, had the effect of partially restoring quiet. The example of Edinburgh was in part copied in Glasgow; but the disturbances there, owing to the exertions and influence of the principal merchants and others, were soon got under;—the provost and magistrates finding it necessary, however, to issue a notice similar to that of their civic brethren at Edinburgh. But notwithstanding that these magisterial assurances were corroborated by a letter to the same effect from Lord Weymouth, home-secretary, dated 12th February, addressed to the lord justice-clerk, the excitement throughout the country every day increased, instead of abating. At no period of our history, unless perhaps during

the political crisis in 1831-32, has either branch of the legislature been addressed or spoken of in language half so daring, menacing, or contemptuous. The resolutions passed by the heritors and heads of families in the parish of Carluke, Lanarkshire, may vie with the most maledictory philippics poured forth on the heads of the "boroughmongers" in modern days. To such a height did this anti-catholic feeling at last rise, that the Papists deemed it at last prudent to memorialize parliament on the subject, and pray for protection to their lives and property, as well as redress for what they had already suffered. This petition was laid before the house by Mr. Burke on the 18th of March, and it is in the debate which thereupon ensued that we first find Lord George Gordon standing forth in parliament as the champion of the Protestant interests. In the following August, after the rising of the session, Lord George paid a visit to Edinburgh, where he was received with extraordinary attention, and unanimously chosen president of the "committee of correspondence for the Protestant interest." We ought to have mentioned that, in the month of April, the sum of £1600 had been adjudged by arbitration to the Catholics in compensation of their loss in the city of Edinburgh, which amount was paid from the city's funds.

The remarkable respect and honours which Lord George experienced from the Protestant societies in Scotland appear to have operated like quicksilver in his veins. He forthwith devoted himself heart and hand to their cause; and on his return to London he was, as we have already mentioned, chosen president of the formidable Protestant Association.

Encouraged by the deference paid by government to the wishes of the Scottish Protestants, the members of the London Association entertained the most sanguine hopes of getting a repeal of the late toleration act for England. The most strenuous exertions by advertisement and otherwise were therefore made to swell the numbers of the society; meetings were called, and resolutions passed, to petition the House of Commons for an abrogation of the obnoxious act.

After various desultory motions in parliament, which it is unnecessary to specify, Lord George, on the 5th of May, presented a petition from Plymouth, praying for a repeal of Sir G. Saville's act. Finding, however, the government and legislature little disposed to pay any attention to these applications, the members of the association resolved upon adopting more active and unequivocal measures to accomplish their object. A meeting was accordingly held in Coachmakers' Hall, on the evening of the 29th May—at which Lord George, who was in the chair, addressed them in a long and inflammatory harangue upon the wicked designs of the Papists, the fearful increase of Popery in the kingdom in consequence of the late act, and the measures indispensably necessary to be adopted for the salvation of Protestantism. He said their only resource was to go in a body to the House of Commons, and express their determination to protect their religious privileges with their lives; that for his part he would run all hazards with "the people," and if they were too lukewarm to do the like with him, they might choose another leader. This speech was received with tremendous acclamations; and resolutions were passed, that the whole Protestant Association should assemble in St. George's Fields on the following Friday (June 2d), to accompany his lordship to the House of Commons, where he was to present the Protestant petition, and that they should march to the house in four divisions, and by different routes.

His lordship also added, that unless 20,000 people, each decked with a blue cockade, assembled, he would not present the petition. Next evening Lord George gave notice in the House of Commons of his intention of presenting the petition on the appointed day, as also of the proposed processions of the association; and it is a remarkable fact, that although by the act of 1661 such a proceeding was declared quite illegal, not the slightest intimation was given to him by the ministry to that effect.

On the day appointed an immense concourse of people, not less, it was computed, than 100,000, assembled in St. George's Fields. Lord George arrived about twelve o'clock, and after haranguing them for a considerable time, directed them how they were to march. One party, accordingly, proceeded round by London Bridge, another over Blackfriars, and a third accompanied their president over Westminster Bridge. The petition, to which the subscriptions of the petitioners were appended, on an immense number of rolls of parchment, was borne before the latter body. On their assembling at the two houses of parliament, which they completely surrounded, they announced their presence by a general shout, and it was not long ere the more unruly of them began to exercise the power they now felt themselves to possess; by abusing and maltreating the members of both houses, as they severally arrived. At the door of the House of Lords the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Litchfield and Lincoln, the Duke of Northumberland, Lords Bathurst, Mansfield, Townshend, Hillsborough, Stormont, Dudley, and many others, were all more or less abused, both in character and person. Lord Boston, in particular, was so long in the hands of the mob, that it was at one time proposed that the house should go out in a body to his rescue. He entered at last, unwigged, and with his clothes almost torn from his person.

In the meantime the rioters had got complete possession of the lobby of the House of Commons, the doors of which they repeatedly tried to force open; and a scene of confusion, indignation, and uproar ensued in the house, almost rivalling that which was passing out of doors. Lord George, on first entering the house, had a blue cockade in his hat, but upon this being commented upon as a signal of riot, he drew it out. The greatest part of the day was consumed in debates (almost inaudible from the increasing roar of the multitude without) relative to the fearful aspect of affairs; but something like order being at last obtained, Lord George introduced the subject of the Protestant petition, which, he stated, was signed by 120,000 Protestants, and moved that it be immediately brought up. Leave being given, he next moved that it be forthwith taken into consideration. This informal and unprecedented proposition was of course resisted; but Lord George, nevertheless, declared his determination of dividing the house on the subject, and a desultory but violent debate ensued, which was terminated by the motion being negatived by 192 to 9. During the course of the discussion the riot without became every moment more alarming, and Lord George was repeatedly called upon to disperse his followers; but his manner of addressing the latter, which he did from the top of the gallery stairs, leaves it doubtful whether his intention was to quiet or irritate them still farther. He informed them, from time to time, of the progress of the debate, and mentioned by name (certainly, to put the best construction upon it, an extremely thoughtless proceeding) those members who opposed the immediate consideration of the petition; saying—"Mr. So-and-

so is now speaking against you." He told them it was proposed to adjourn the question to the following Tuesday, but that he did not like delays; that "parliament might be previously prorogued, and there would be an end of the affair." During his harangues several members of the house warmly expostulated with him on the imprudence of his conduct; but to no purpose. General Grant attempted to draw him back, begging him "for God's sake not to lead these poor deluded people into danger;" and Colonel Gordon (or, as other authorities say, Colonel Murray, uncle to the Duke of Athol), a near relative of his lordship's, demanded of him—"Do you intend, my Lord George, to bring your rascally adherents into the House of Commons? If you do, the first man that enters, I will plunge my sword not into his body, but *yours*." In this state did matters continue until about nine o'clock at night, when a troop of horse and infantry arrived. Lord George then advised the mob to disperse quietly, observing "that now their gracious king was made aware of the wishes and determination of his subjects, he would no doubt compel his ministers to comply with their demands." Those who attended from purely religious motives, numbering, it is said, not more than 600 or 700, immediately departed peaceably, first giving the magistrates and soldiers three cheers. The remainder also retired about eleven o'clock, after the adjournment of the house; but soon began to display the villainous designs which had congregated them. Dividing themselves into two bodies, one proceeded to the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador in Duke Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, the other to that of the Bavarian ambassador in Warwick Street, Golden Square, both of which edifices they completely gutted, burning the furniture, ornaments, &c., in heaps on the public street. A party of guards arrived, but after the mischief was over, who succeeded in capturing thirteen of the rioters. In concluding our account of this eventful day's proceedings, we must mention, that great negligence was charged, and seemingly not without reason, against government as well as the magistracy, for the absence of everything like preparation for preserving the peace—aware, as they perfectly were, of the intended multitudinous procession.

Next day (Saturday) passed over without any disturbance; but this quiescence proved only a lull before the storm. In the afternoon of Sunday, an immense multitude met simultaneously, and evidently by previous concert, in Moorfields, and raising the slogan of "No Popery," "Down with the Papists," &c., immediately attacked and utterly demolished the Catholic chapel, burning the altar, images, pictures, &c., in the open street. Here again, the guards arrived (to use an Iricism) in time to be too late; and encouraged by this circumstance, as well as by the lenient deportment of the military, who up to this time had refrained from the use of either sabre or fire-arms, the rioters hourly grew more daring and outrageous. They renewed their violence early on Monday (the king's birth-day), by destroying a school-house and three dwelling-houses, with a valuable library belonging to Papists, in Rope-makers' Alley. Separating their force into several detachments, they proceeded into various quarters of the city at once; thus distracting the attention of the authorities, who appeared to be paralyzed by the fearful on-goings around them—losing all self-possession, and of course their efficiency in checking the career of the rioters. The houses of Sir George Saville and several other public and private gentlemen, together with several Popish chapels, quickly fell a prey to pillage and flame. The violence of the

mob also received an accession of fury this day from two circumstances—the first, a proclamation offering a reward of £500 for the discovery of those concerned in destroying the Bavarian and Sardinian chapels; and the public committal to Newgate of three of the supposed ringleaders on those occasions.

It must here be recorded that early on the same morning (Monday, 5th June) the Protestant Association distributed a circular disclaiming all connection with the rioters, and earnestly counselling all good Protestants to maintain peace and good order.

Tuesday the 6th being the day appointed for the consideration of the Protestant petition, a multitude not less numerous than that of the previous Friday assembled round both houses of parliament, coming in however, not in one body, but in small parties. A disposition to outrage soon manifested itself, and Lord Sandwich, who fell into their hands, with difficulty escaped with life, by the aid of the military, his carriage being smashed to pieces. The House of Peers, after several of their lordships had commented on the unprecedented circumstances in which they were placed, unanimously decided on the absurdity of transacting business while in a state of durance and restraint, and soon broke up, after adjourning proceedings till the Thursday following. In the House of Commons, after several remarks similar to those in the upper house, and the passing of various resolutions to the same effect, a violent attack was made upon ministers by Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, and others of the opposition, on account of the relaxed state of the police, which had left the legislature itself at the mercy of a reckless mob. Lord George Gordon said if the house would appoint a day for the discussion of the petition, and appoint it to the satisfaction of the people, he had no doubt they would quietly disperse. Colonel Herbert remarked that although Lord George disclaimed all connection with the rioters, it was strange that he came into the house with their ensign of insurrection in his hat (a blue cockade), upon which his lordship pulled it out. A committee was then appointed "to inquire into the causes of the riot," &c., and the house adjourned to Thursday. Upon the breaking up of the house Lord George addressed the multitude, told them what had been done, and advised them to disperse quietly. In return, they unharnessed his horses, and drew him in triumph through the town.

In the meantime a furious attack had been made on the residence of Lord North in Downing Street, which was only saved from destruction by the interposition of the military. In the evening the house of Justice Hyde was surrounded, sacked, and all the furniture, pictures, books, &c., burned before his door. The rioters then directed their steps towards Newgate, for the purpose of releasing their companions in outrage, who were there confined. On arriving at the gates they demanded admittance; which being refused by Mr. Akerman, the governor, they forthwith proceeded to break his windows, and to batter in the doors of the prison with pickaxes and sledge-hammers. Flambeaus and other fire-brands being procured, these were thrown into the governor's house, which, along with the chapel and other parts of the prison, was speedily in flames. The prison-doors were also soon consumed, and the mob rushing in set all the prisoners, to the number of 300 (amongst whom were several under sentence of death), at liberty. One most remarkable circumstance attending this daring proceeding must not be passed over in silence—that from a prison thus enveloped in flames, and in the midst of a scene of such uproar and confusion, such a number of

prisoners, many of them shut in cells to which access was at all times most intricate and difficult, could escape without the loss of a single life, or even the fracture of a limb! But what will appear perhaps scarcely less astonishing, is the fact, that within a very few days almost the whole of the individuals thus unexpectedly liberated were recaptured, and lodged either in their old or more secure quarters.

Still more emboldened by this reinforcement of desperate confederates, the rioters proceeded in different detachments to the houses of Justice Cox and Sir John Fielding, as also to the public office in Bow Street, and the new prison, Clerkenwell—all of which they broke in upon and gutted, liberating the prisoners in the latter places, and thereby gaining fresh numbers and strength. But the most daring act of all was their attacking the splendid mansion of Lord Chief-justice Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square. Having broken open the doors and windows, they proceeded, as was their custom, to fling all the rich and costly furniture into the street, where it was piled into heaps and burned amid the most exulting yells. The library, consisting of many thousands of volumes, rare MSS., title-deeds, &c., together with a splendid assortment of pictures—all were remorselessly destroyed. And all this passed, too, in the presence of between 200 and 300 soldiers, and under the eye of the lord chief-justice himself, who calmly permitted this destruction of his property, rather than expose the wretched criminals to the vengeance of the military. At last, seeing preparations made to fire the premises, and not knowing where the conflagration might terminate, a magistrate read the riot act; but without effect. The military were then reluctantly ordered to fire; but although several men and women were shot, the desperadoes did not cease the work of destruction until nothing but the bare and smoking walls were left standing. At this time the British metropolis may be said to have been entirely in the hands of a lawless, reckless, and frenzied mob! The vilest of the rabble possessed more power and authority than the king upon the throne; the functions of government were for a time suspended; and the seat of legislation had become the theatre of anarchy and misrule. So confident now were the rioters in their own irresistible strength, that on the afternoon of the above day they sent notices round to the various prisons yet left standing, to inform the prisoners at what hour they intended to visit and liberate them! If any one incident connected with a scene of such devastation, plunder, and triumphant villany, could raise a smile on the face of the reader or narrator, it would be the fact, that the prisoners confined in the Fleet, sent to request that they might not be turned out of their lodgings so late in the evening; to which a generous answer was returned, that they would not be disturbed till next day! In order not to be idle, however, the considerate mob amused themselves during the rest of the evening in burning the houses of Lord Petre and about twenty other individuals of note—Protestant as well as Catholic—and concluded the labours of the day by ordering a general illumination in celebration of their triumph—an order which the inhabitants were actually compelled to obey!

On Wednesday this horrible scene of tumult and devastation reached its acme. A party of the rioters paid a visit to Lord Mansfield's beautiful villa at Caen-wood in the forenoon, and coolly began to regale themselves with the contents of his larder and wine-cellar, preparatory to their commencing the usual work of destruction. Their orgies were interrupted, however, by a party of military, and they fled in all directions. It was not until the evening

that the main body seriously renewed their diabolical work; and the scene which ensued is described by contemporary writers, who witnessed the proceedings, as being too frightful for the power of language to convey the slightest idea of. Detachments of military, foot and horse, had gradually been drawing in from different parts of the interior; the civic authorities, who up to that time had been solely occupied consulting and debating upon the course they should pursue in the awful and unparalleled circumstances in which they were placed, began to gather resolution, to concentrate their force, and to perceive the absolute necessity of acting with vigour and decision—a necessity which every moment increased. The strong arm of the law, which had so long hung paralyzed over the heads of the wretched criminals, once more became nerved, and prepared to avenge the cause of justice, humanity, and social order. The struggle, however, as may well be conceived, was dreadful; and we gladly borrow the language of one who witnessed the awful spectacle in detailing the events of that ever-memorable night. The King's Bench, Fleet Prison, Borough Clink, and Surrey Bridewell were all in flames at the same moment, and their inhabitants let loose to assist in the general havoc. No less than *thirty-six* fearful conflagrations in different parts of the metropolis were seen raging simultaneously, "*licking up everything in their way*," as a writer at the time expressively described it, and "*hastening to meet each other*."

"Let those," observes the writer before alluded to, "call to their imagination flames ascending and rolling in vast voluminous clouds from the King's Bench and Fleet Prisons, the Surrey Bridewell, and the toll-houses on Blackfriars Bridge: from houses in flames in every quarter of the city, and particularly from the middle and lower end of Holborn, where the premises of Messrs. Langdale and Son, eminent distillers, were blazing as if the whole elements were one continued flame; the cries of men, women, and children, running up and down the street, with whatever, in their fright, they thought most necessary or most precious; the tremendous roar of the infernal miscreants inflamed with liquor, who aided the sly incendiaries, whose sole aim was plunder; and the repeated reports of the loaded musketry dealing death and worse than death among the thronging multitude!" But it was not what was doing only, but what *might yet be done*, that roused the fears of all classes. When they beheld the very outcasts of society everywhere triumphant, and heard of their attempting the Bank; threatening Doctors-Commons, the exchange, the pay-office; in short, every repository of treasure and office of record, men of every persuasion and party bitterly lamented the rise and progress of the bloody and fatal insurrection, and execrated the authors of it. Had the Bank and public offices been the first objects of attack, instead of the jails and houses of private individuals, there is not the smallest reason to doubt of their success. The consequences of such an event to the nation may well be imagined!

The regulars and militia poured into the city in such numbers during the night of Wednesday and the morning of Thursday, that, on the latter day, order was in a great measure restored; but the alarm of the inhabitants was so great that every door remained shut. So speedily and effectually, however, did the strict exercise of authority subdue the spirit of tumult, that on Friday, the 9th of June, the shops once more were opened, and business resumed its usual course.

So terminated the famous riots of 1780—an event

which will long be memorable in the history of our country, and ought to remain a warning beacon to future popular leaders, of the danger of exciting the passions of the multitude for the accomplishment of a particular purpose, under the idea that they can stop the career of the monster they have evoked *when the wished-for end is attained*. It was impossible to ascertain correctly the exact number of the unhappy beings whose depravity, zeal, or curiosity hurried them on to a fatal doom. The sword and the musket proved not half so deadly a foe as their own inordinate passions. Great numbers died from sheer inebriation, especially at the distilleries of the unfortunate Mr. Langdale, from which the unrectified spirits ran down the middle of the streets, was taken up in pailfuls, and held to the mouths of the deluded multitude, many of whom dropped down dead on the spot, and were burned or buried in the ruins.

The following is said to be a copy of the returns made to Lord Amherst of the killed and wounded by the military during the disturbances:—

By association troops and guards, . . .	105	killed.
By light horse, . . .	161	
Died in hospitals, . . .	75	
Prisoners under cure, . . .	173	
	488	

To this fatal list, which, it will be seen, is exclusive of those who perished by accident or their own folly or infatuation, may be added those whom the vengeance of the law afterwards overtook. Eighty-five were tried at the Old Bailey, of whom thirty-five were capitally convicted, forty-three acquitted, seventeen respited, and eighteen executed. At St. Margaret's Hill forty were tried under special commission, of whom about twenty were executed. Besides these, several of the rioters were afterwards from time to time apprehended, tried, and executed in various parts of the country. Amongst those convicted at the Old Bailey, but afterwards respited, probably on account of the immediate occasion for his services, was the common *hangman*, Edward Dennis, the first of his profession, we believe, who was dubbed with the *sobriquet* of *Jack Ketch*. In concluding our account of these riots, we may mention that similar disturbances also broke out at the same time at Hull, Bristol, Bath, and other places, but were suppressed without almost any mischief, and no bloodshed.

On Thursday the 8th, the commons met, according to appointment, but as it was still thought necessary to keep a guard of military round the house, a state of investment incompatible with free and deliberative legislation, they immediately adjourned to the 19th. On Friday a meeting of the privy-council was held, when a warrant was issued for the apprehension of Lord George Gordon. This was forthwith put into execution, and Lord George was brought in a hackney-coach to the Horse Guards, where he underwent a long examination, and was afterwards committed a close prisoner to the Tower, being escorted by a strong guard of horse and foot. It is scarcely necessary to state, before tracing the subsequent career and fate of this singular individual, that no repeal of the toleration act took place. The question was taken up in the House of Commons on the very first day after the recess, when all parties were unanimous in reprobating the desired repeal, and the "Protestant Petition," which had given occasion, or been made the pretext, for so much mischief and loss of life, accordingly fell to the ground.

Having given such ample details of the cause, rise, and progress of what some zealous Protestant writers

of the day termed, rather inconsistently, the "Popish Riots," it would be equally tedious and supererogatory to enter into a lengthened account of the trial of the individual upon whom government charged the *onus* of the fatal events. The proceedings, as may be imagined, engrossed the undivided attention of the whole kingdom during their progress, but almost the sole point of interest connected with them now, after such a lapse of time, is the speech of the celebrated Honourable Thomas Erskine, counsel for the prisoner, which has been regarded as one of the very highest of those flights of overpowering eloquence with which that remarkable man from time to time astonished his audiences, and indeed the whole world. The trial of Lord George Gordon did not come on until the 5th of February, 1781; the reason of this delay—nearly eight months—we do not find explained. During his confinement Lord George was frequently visited by his brother the duke, and other illustrious individuals, and every attention was paid to his comfort and convenience. He was accompanied from the Tower to Westminster Hall by the duke and a great number of other noble relatives. His counsel were Mr. (afterwards Lord) Kenyon and the Honourable Thomas Erskine. The charge against the prisoner was that of high treason in attempting to raise and levy war and insurrection against the king, &c. His lordship pleaded *not guilty*. The trial commenced at nine o'clock on the morning of Monday the 5th, and at a quarter past five next morning the jury returned an unqualified verdict of acquittal. Twenty-three witnesses were examined for the crown, and sixteen for the prisoner. The evidence, as may be imagined, was extremely contradictory in its tendency, proceeding, as it did, from individuals whose impressions as to the cause and character of the fatal occurrences were so very dissimilar—one party seeing in the conduct of Lord George merely that of an unprincipled, callous-hearted, and ambitious demagogue, reckless of consequences to the well-being of society, provided he obtained his own private ends; while another looked upon him as an ill-used and unfortunate patriot, whose exertions to maintain the stability of the Protestant religion, and vindicate the rights and privileges of the people, had been defeated by the outrages of a reckless and brutal mob. By the latter party all the evil consequences and discreditability of the tumults were charged upon the government and civic authorities, on account of the lax state of the police, and the utter want of a properly-organized defensive power in the metropolis. A third party (we mean in the kingdom) there was, who viewed Lord George merely as an object of compassion, attributing his, certainly unusual, behaviour to an aberration of intellect—an opinion which numerous subsequent eccentricities in his conduct have induced many of a later era to adopt.

The speech of Mr. Erskine was distinguished for that originality of style and boldness of manner which were the chief characteristics of his forensic displays. One very remarkable passage in it has been considered by his political friends and admirers as the *ne plus ultra* of rhetorical tact and effective energy, although we confess that, as a precedent, we would reckon the employment of such terms more honoured in the breach than the observance. In reviewing Lord George's conduct and deportment during the progress of the unhappy tumults, the orator abruptly broke out with the following emphatic interjection:—"I say, BY GOD, that man is a *ruffian* who will dare to build upon such honest artless conduct as an evidence of guilt!" The effect of this most unexpected and unparalleled figure of oratory is

described by those who heard it to have been perfectly magical. The court, the jury, the bar, and the spectators were for a while spell-bound with astonishment and admiration. It is acknowledged by all that the speech of Mr. Erskine on this occasion was almost the very highest effort of his powerful and nervous eloquence. The speech of Mr. Kenyon was likewise remarkable for its ability and effect. Great rejoicings took place on account of his lordship's acquittal amongst his partisans, particularly in Scotland. General illuminations were held in Edinburgh and Glasgow; congratulatory addresses were voted to him; and £485 subscribed to reimburse him for the expenses of his trial. Although, however, Lord George continued in high favour with the party just named, and took part in most of the public discussions in parliament as usual, his credit seems to have been irretrievably ruined with all the moderate and sober-minded part of the nation. He was studiously shunned by all his legislative colleagues, and was in such disgrace at court, that we find him detailing to his Protestant correspondents at Edinburgh, in language of the deepest mortification, his reception at a royal levee, where the king coldly turned his back upon him, without seeming to recognize him. Repeated efforts appear to have been made by his relatives at this time to induce him to withdraw from public life, but without success; and his conduct became daily more eccentric and embarrassing to his friends. It is impossible indeed to account for it upon any other ground than that of gradual aberration of mind.

In April, 1787, two prosecutions were brought against Lord George at the instance of the crown; one for preparing and presenting a pretended petition to himself from certain prisoners confined in Newgate, praying him to intercede for them, and prevent their being banished to Botany Bay; the other for a libel upon the Queen of France and French ambassador. Mr. Wilkins, the printer of the petitions, was also proceeded against. Both pleaded not guilty. It is a somewhat curious fact, that on this occasion Mr. Erskine, Lord George's former counsel, appeared against him. Lord George acted as his own defendant, on the score of being too poor to employ counsel. The Newgate petition, evidently his lordship's production, was a mere farrago of absurdity, treason, and blasphemy, reflecting on the laws, railing at the crown-officers, and condemning his majesty by large quotations from the book of Moses. He was found guilty, as was also Mr. Wilkins. Upon the second charge, the gist of which was a design to create a misunderstanding betwixt the two courts of France and England, he was also found guilty. His speech on this last occasion was so extravagant, and contained expressions so indecorous, that the attorney-general told him "he was a disgrace to the name of Briton." The sentence upon him was severe enough: upon the first verdict he was condemned to be imprisoned two years—upon the second, a further imprisonment of three years; at the expiration of which he was to pay a fine of £500, to find two securities in £2500 each, for his good behaviour for fourteen years; and himself to be bound in a recognizance of £10,000. In the interval, however, between the verdict and the passing of the sentence, he took an opportunity of escaping to Holland, where he landed in May. Here, however, he was not allowed to remain long. He was placed under arrest, and sent back from Amsterdam to Harwich, where he was landed in the latter end of July. From that place he proceeded to Birmingham, where he resided till December, having in the meantime become a proselyte

to Judaism, and performing rigidly the prescribed rites and duties of that faith. Information having reached government of his place of residence, and the increasing eccentricities of his conduct evidently pointing him out as an improper person to be allowed to go at large, a messenger was despatched from London, who apprehended him and brought him to town, where he was lodged in Newgate. His appearance in court when brought up to receive the sentence he had previously eluded is described as being miserable in the extreme. He was wrapped up in an old greatcoat, his beard hanging down on his breast; whilst his studiously sanctimonious deportment, and other traits of his conduct, too evidently showed an aberration of intellect. He bowed in silence, and with devout humility, on hearing his sentence. Soon after his confinement, he got printed and distributed a number of treasonable handbills, copies of which he sent to the ministry with his name attached to them. These, like his *Prisoners' Petition*, were composed of extracts from Moses and the Prophets, evidently bearing upon the unhappy condition of the king, who was then in a state of mental alienation.

In the following July, 1789, this singular and unhappy being addressed a letter or petition to the National Assembly of France, in which, after eulogizing the progress of revolutionary principles, he requests of them to interfere on his behalf with the English government to get him liberated. He was answered by that body, that they did not feel themselves at liberty to interfere; but he was visited in prison by several of the most eminent revolutionists, who assured his lordship of their best offices for his enlargement. To the application of these individuals, however, Lord Grenville answered that their entreaties could not be complied with. Nothing further worthy of mention remains to be told in the career of this unhappy man. After Lord Grenville's answer he remained quietly in prison, occasionally sending letters to the printer of the *Public Advertiser*, written in the same half-frenzied style as his former productions. In November, 1793, after being confined ten months longer than the prescribed term of his imprisonment, for want of the necessary security for his enlargement, he expired in Newgate of a fever, having been delirious for three days previous to his death.

GORDON, JAMES, a member of the noble family of Gordon, and distinguished for his erudition, was born in the year 1543. Having been sent to Rome for his education, he there became a Jesuit, while yet in the twentieth year of his age; and such was his extraordinary progress in learning, that in six years afterwards (1569) he was created Doctor of Divinity. He next became professor of languages and divinity, in which capacity he distinguished himself in various parts of Europe, particularly in Rome, Paris, and Bordeaux. In these duties he was occupied for nearly fifty years, during which time he acquired much reputation for learning and acuteness. Gordon was frequently deputed as a missionary to England and Scotland, and was twice imprisoned for his zeal in attempting to make converts. He was also, on account of his superior abilities, often employed by the general of his order in negotiating their affairs; a duty for which his penetration and knowledge of the world especially qualified him.

Alegambe describes Gordon as a saint; but with all his talents and learning he does not seem to have had any very great pretensions to the honour of canonization, since it is beyond doubt that he led, notwithstanding Alegambe's account of him, an

exceedingly dissipated life. He, however, rigidly practised all the austerities of his order, and, with all his irregularities, rose every morning at three o'clock. His only writings are *Controversiarum Fidei Epitome*, in three parts or volumes; the first printed at Limoges, in 1612, the second at Paris, and the third at Cologne, in 1620.

GORDON, SIR JOHN WATSON. Among the distinguished painters whom Scotland has lately produced in such abundance, and of whom she is justly proud, a high place was occupied by the subject of the present memoir. He was born in Edinburgh, A.D. 1790, and was the son of Captain James Watson of the royal navy. He was descended from the Watsons of Overmains, a respectable family of Berwickshire, on which account John Watson, through his father, could claim kindred with Sir Walter Scott; and through his mother, with Principal Robertson the historian, and Falconer the author of the *Shipwreck*. For what reason he assumed the additional name of Gordon we are unable to discover.

Having selected the art of painting as his future occupation, John Watson Gordon entered the Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh, and studied four years under John Graham, the teacher of so many of our eminent artists; and here among others he had Wilkie and Allan for his class-fellows. At first it was uncertain what department of painting he would select, and he tried several with a view to discover in which of them he would be likely to excel. Of these, historical painting chiefly attracted his liking, and would probably have decided his choice, had he not by trial discovered the true bent of his own genius. He resolved to become a portrait painter, and it was a happy election for his excellence and his fame. Having made his choice, he pursued it with the diligence and perseverance that distinguished his character, and his future life became mainly a record of the numerous portraits he executed, and the universal recognition of their excellence. His sitters were the principal citizens of Edinburgh, and most eminent Scotsmen of the day; and of the latter class it is sufficient to mention the names of Sir Walter Scott, the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, Professors Wilson, Ferrier, and Munro, Principal Lee, Dr. Brunton, Lord-president Boyle, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquis of Dalhousie, Professor Simpson, Sir George Clark, George Combe, &c. &c. From his works alone could be formed a large picture-gallery of the portraits of the most eminent Scotsmen of the nineteenth century, arranged in chronological order and classified in their different departments. Nor was the admiration of these portraits exclusively confined to our own country, where they could be best recognized as striking and faithful likenesses; foreigners saw and appreciated their excellence as works of art, and were reminded of the portraits of Van Dyck or Velasquez. His professional excellence and the peculiar characteristics of his paintings are thus described by a contemporary critic in the *Athenæum*:—

"Apparently almost heedless of colour, this artist seized with extraordinary vigour the salient points of a sitter's countenance, and gave them with the force of life. It would seem that not even Reynolds surpassed his brother knight in the swift and certain manner of his practice. Very often his pictures were little else than sketches on a large scale. This has been especially the case of late years, and is remarkably so in the portraits now in the Royal Academy; but even these display such admirable mastery of form and knowledge of personal character, that they

are more precious than most men's completed likenesses. Gordon's feeling for tone exhibited itself in every work he produced, and really did, in some degree, compensate by the richness of its manifestations, for the effect of what was with him something approaching colour-blindness. The last-named shortcoming was less perceived in Edinburgh than in the metropolis—an effect to be expected. It should be said in his honour that he always painted in a manly way; never exaggerating or aiming at sentiment, he never fell into sentimentality. He could put a figure on the canvas better than any of his contemporaries who were portrait painters. The characteristic love of the mass of his sitters for black garments found no corrective in Gordon's mind or taste; he not unfrequently sacrificed too much of the general brilliancy of his pictures to the effectiveness of the head; but that head was always worth looking at when you got to it."

It was in 1827 that Sir John Watson Gordon first began to exhibit his works in London at the Royal Academy; and this practice he continued annually without intermission until the close of his life, so that five of his pieces were hung in the gallery in the year in which he died. On the death of Raeburn he was recognized as his successor, although their style in national portraits was so different, for while Raeburn idealized the Scottish character, the other represented it exactly as he found it. In 1841 Watson Gordon was elected associate of the Royal Academy; and in 1850, on the death of Sir William Allan, he was elected president of the Royal Scottish Academy. This was an honour which naturally devolved upon him by the silent claims of gratitude, for the institution had been greatly indebted to his patriotic exertions, especially in the formation of an excellent gallery of paintings at a moderate cost—an advantage which it owed in a great measure to his correct discriminating judgment. In the same year he was appointed "limner" to her Majesty, and received the honour of knighthood. At the close of 1850 the most distinguished of Edinburgh in art, science, and literature entertained Sir John in the Waterloo Rooms, as a testimony of their admiration and esteem, and a celebration of his election as president of their Royal Academy; and in 1851 he was elected academician by the Royal Academy of London. In 1855 he sent two portraits to the Universal Exposition of Paris, for which the jury awarded him a first-class medal. But although honours thus crowded upon him in his declining years, the veteran of art still continued to keep the field as if his career had only commenced; his industry was as great, his eye as correct, and his pencil as firm and vigorous as ever, and he continued to work until his last illness warned him that his occupation had come to an end. That close was sudden and unexpected, and after a short term of suffering he died at Catherine Bank House, Edinburgh, on the 1st of June, 1864, at the age of seventy-three. Except to his art, Sir John Watson Gordon was never married, but his urbanity and kindly disposition were everywhere acknowledged, while the younger artists of Scotland loved and venerated him as a father. Amidst the regret of that chosen circle by whom his memory will continue to be venerated he passed away.

GORDON, GENERAL PATRICK. Even upon so remote an empire as Russia, which has grown into the chief political power of our age, an important influence has been exercised by Scotsmen. By one of our nation (General Patrick Gordon) the power of the Strelitzes was broken, and the throne of Peter

the Great securely established. By another, a Barclay of Towie, but known in history as Prince Barclay de Tolly, the mode of resistance to the French invasion was planned, by which Napoleon's design of universal conquest was frustrated, and his power irretrievably wounded. By another, Admiral Greig, the navy of Russia was put into a state of efficiency, and for the first time led to victory. It is of the first of these personages that we present the following brief notice.

Patrick Gordon was descended of a respectable parentage on both sides, his father, the younger brother of a younger house, being a grandson of Gordon of Haddo, and his mother heiress of Auchleuchries, part of the barony of Belhevie, Aberdeenshire, a possession, however, so overwhelmed by mortgages, that, besides the advantages of gentle birth, the pair had little else to bestow upon their children. Patrick was born at Auchleuchries on the 31st of March, 1635. Until he reached the age of sixteen, he was educated at the country schools; but when fit for a university education he was unwilling to attend college, on account of his creed, his mother having brought him up a Roman Catholic. This circumstance, also, in connection with his impatience of parental supervision, and his being only a younger son, made him resolve to go abroad in quest of fortune, not caring to what country he might direct his course, as he had no friend in any foreign place. In this bold reckless spirit he embarked at Aberdeen for Dantzic, and at the end of his voyage resumed his studies at the college of the Jesuits at Braunsberg; but finding the strictness of this place still more intolerable than that of the paternal abode, he resolved to return to Scotland, though he had only the suit of clothes he wore, and seven rix-dollars in his pocket, while he was unable to speak Dutch. Thus he "pilgrim'd it away all alone," meeting with the due share of adventures and mischances attendant on such a mode of travelling, and often through necessity or caprice deflecting from the way, so that he traversed a considerable part of Poland. On arriving at Hamburg, still undecided as to what course of life he should follow, he was easily persuaded to forego his purpose of returning home, and to enlist as a soldier in the Swedish service, where Scottish recruits were in great demand.

Having thus decided in favour of a military life, he was soon introduced to its hardships and disappointments. His first service was in a campaign against the Poles, where, after being twice severely wounded, he was at last taken prisoner, and could only obtain his liberty by enlisting in the service of Poland. It was a Dugald Dalgetty transition, but to Gordon the cause of quarrel between Sweden and Poland seems to have been a matter of indifference; and he marched with the Lithuanian army that drove his late employers the Swedes out of their occupation of Warsaw. During the short siege he was employed chiefly in learning the Polish language, and studying the military profession by volunteering in every hazardous exploit. But while thus training himself for his future distinguished career, he also showed himself an adept in the levying of black mail, which he seems to have considered a perquisite of war that was neither dishonest nor unsoldierly. Thus some peasants having taken refuge with their property on an island of the Vistula, Gordon undertook to insure their safety as long as the siege lasted on their paying him a weekly pension of sixteen guldens and four florins. His traffic for the recovery of stolen cattle was still more reprehensible. Some comrades in the camp, with whom he acted in concert, would drive off the herds belonging to the

nobility in the neighbourhood; and, in these cases, Gordon was always ready, for a proper consideration, to find and bring them back. Only a month after the Swedes had been driven from Warsaw they returned to it in greater force, and Gordon was taken prisoner by some Brandenburg troopers. His career might, in this case, have been ingloriously ended as a deserter, had not fortune proved his friend, for he was carried before his countryman and former commander, General Douglas, who had now risen to the rank of lieutenant field-marshal in the Swedish army. The explanations and apologies of Gordon, that he had been captured and forced into the Polish service against his will, were favourably received; and he consented once more to become a soldier of the King of Sweden, and to serve in a picked corps of Scots which Douglas was about to organize as a training-school for officers. This second service under the Swedish banner lasted three years, and during that time Gordon had ample opportunities, which he was not slow to embrace, of establishing his character for courage and military skill. He also continued his practices of exacting tribute and lifting cattle, in which his Scottish fellow-soldiers showed themselves "to the manner born;" and if anything could excuse such unwarrantable doings, it was, that their pay was not only small, but often in arrear, so that they were frequently on the brink of starvation. It was in this picarooning way indeed that armies during war were chiefly maintained in the seventeenth century. But worse than these marauding exploits was a design, which, had it succeeded, would have covered the perpetrators with infamy. Gordon, as a Tory or Cavalier, could not but lament the execution of Charles I.; and, learning that an ambassador from the English Commonwealth, named Bradshaw, had arrived at an inn in the neighbourhood on his way to the Russian court, he conceived from the name that this must be no other than the man who presided over the court by which Charles was tried and sentenced to execution. Fired at the thought, Gordon and his associates resolved to put him to death, and for that purpose set off at midnight well armed to the inn. But before they reached it they learned that several officers and about forty dragoons had arrived to escort the ambassador to Marienburg. Thus a plot as iniquitous as that by which Dr. Dorislaus was assassinated in Holland, was fortunately defeated.

Gordon, who had now attained the rank of ensign, continued to signalize himself by dashing exploits and hair-breadth escapes, until he was captured by the Poles, and, knowing his daring character, they urged him with every inducement to re-enter the Polish service. Even John Sobieski himself, the heroic deliverer of Vienna, endeavoured to tempt him with the offer of the command of a company of dragoons stationed on the Sobieski estates. At last Gordon, after being a prisoner eleven weeks, once more deserted the Swedish service, and entered that of Poland, on being promoted to the rank of quartermaster. Thus his conduct hitherto had been "turn and turn again" with a facility and frequency seldom exhibited even by a mere soldier of fortune, and the excuse which he makes in his journal for this last instance is, that his main object "was to make his own fortune, and that he had little chance to do this among the Swedes, who had too many enemies to be successful." His services against the Russians and Cossacks were now so distinguished that he was promoted to the rank of captain of dragoons, and on the restoration of peace was stationed at Warsaw while the diet was sitting. But this inert life did not suit Gordon's views, and while he was deliberat-

ing what standard he should next follow, two tempting offers were presented; the one was to take service under the Austrians, and the other to become a soldier of the Russian czar. The Austrian offer for the time prevailed, and he was on his way to Vienna when unfavourable reports of the Austrian service made him pause, and ultimately fall back on that of Russia. To Russia accordingly his route was directed, and on reaching Moscow he was graciously received by the czar, thanked for his kindness to the Russian prisoners during the late war, and appointed to the rank of major. But finding the pay small, and the coarse manners and barbarous arrogance of the Russians intolerable, he would have left the service and the country altogether, had he not been warned that such a proceeding would be regarded as suspicious, and might subject him to the treatment of a spy. He was committed to the country, and there he found he must remain.

Among the many troubles with which Gordon had to contend, and by which his life at this time was embittered, was the difficulty of reducing the soldiers to order and discipline. Another was the insubordination and mal-practices of his own officers, by which his best efforts were counteracted. One of his captains, who assumed superior authority over the soldiers, and treated them as beasts of burden, had on one occasion caught some of them playing at cards, and not only deprived them of all the money they were using in their play, but imprisoned them until they had paid a heavy ransom. Major Gordon, on hearing of this tyrannical conduct, sent for the captain, and denounced his proceedings, upon which the other began to storm and become downright mutinous. Perceiving that it was now to be a question of superior force rather than authority, Gordon seized the man by the head, threw him down, and with a fresh, short, oaken cudgel so belaboured his back and sides, that he was scarcely able to rise, after which the major threatened to break his neck if he played such tricks hereafter, and packed him out of doors. It was a strange kind of military punishment to inflict by one officer upon another; but a Russian army at this time was little better than a mob over which military law slumbered and slept. The captain brought his complaint next day to the authorities, and Gordon got out of the difficulty by a not very creditable shift; "I denied all," he says in his journal, "according to the fashion of this country, where there are not witnesses," and the captain, finding that he could obtain no remedy, was fain to quit the regiment. It thus appears that our military adventurer was not too superior to the people whom he helped to drill and civilize. Both had points enough in common for the purposes of a mutual understanding.

In 1662 Gordon, being now twenty-seven years of age, rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He now resolved to lead a virtuous life, and after much deliberation and many prayers he concluded that the best step to such a course was marriage, from which his erratic life had hitherto debarred him. His choice was then to be fixed, and for this purpose, after passing all his female acquaintances in review before his mind's eye, he selected as the object of his addresses a young lady scarcely thirteen years of age, who was handsome, amiable, and virtuous, the daughter of a colonel who was high in favour with the czar. The courtship was as summary and decisive as the election. He called upon the young lady when she was alone; and on her proposing to send for her mamma, he assured her it was unnecessary, as his business was with herself. She gave him, according to the custom of the country, a small glass

of brandy, with which he proposed to drink the health of her lover; but when she assured him she had none, and repeated her denial, he then came to the point, by proposing that she should accept of himself as her suitor. A modest gratified blush was the answer, and thus a cordial agreement was established between them which needed no further explanation. An immediate marriage would have followed, but that the lady's father was a prisoner to the Poles, and on this account the union was not celebrated until the beginning of 1665.

In the following year Colonel Gordon was employed not in a military but civil capacity, being sent to England as envoy of the czar, to treat with Charles II. on subjects connected with the commercial intercourse between their respective subjects. This was a new task for our Scottish adventurer, but it was ably executed, and the visit enabled him to renew his intercourse with several of his countrymen in London, and some of the most distinguished cavaliers of the period. On his return to Russia in 1667 there occurs a gap in his diary; but the displeasure of the czar, who ordered him into confinement, and refused to defray the expenses of his mission to England, may explain the causes of the hiatus. He still, however, retained his military rank and regiment, as his services were too valuable to be dispensed with; and while stationed in the Ukraine for seven years, he signalized his courage and skill in subjugating the Cossacks of Little Russia. During this interval the Czar Alexis died, and was succeeded by Feodor; but both sovereigns were at one in refusing permission, which Gordon repeatedly asked, to quit the Russian service. At length an event occurred in 1678 which, by offering him an opportunity of distinguishing himself, reconciled him to his bondage. Tschigirin, the capital of the Zaporogian Cossacks, being besieged by the Turks and Tartars, Gordon was sent to assist in its defence, as chief engineer. The Russian garrison did not amount to more than 12,000 soldiers, while the enemy, commanded by Kara Mustapha, the grand vizier, and the Khan of the Crimea, mustered 100,000, provided with all the necessities for a siege. Under such circumstances, a single attack might have sufficed to win the city, had not Gordon so skilfully fortified it, that the hosts of Turks and Tartars were successfully resisted during four weeks of desperate onsets. The governor was killed by the bursting of a shell, and Gordon succeeded him, at the request of the garrison. After inspiring them with his own dauntless spirit, and repairing the damages of the fortifications as fast as they occurred, the defence of Tschigirin was continued until neither city nor citadel could hope to hold out much longer. In the meantime the Russian army of relief was encamped in the neighbourhood, but did nothing; and when Gordon besought that only 6000 men should be sent to reinforce him, with which he promised to make good the defence, he was ordered by the Russian general in reply to evacuate the fortress. Rendered spiritless by this command, the garrison only thought of abandoning the place, and hearing volleys of musketry and loud outcries in the streets, they fled pell-mell through the town gates, leaving their commander to shift for himself. With his own hands he broke open the powder magazine, threw in straw, boards, and other combustible articles among the powder; and then, having set fire to the nearest house, made for the camp of the relieving army, which he reached through imminent dangers both from friend and enemy. The Turks entered and took possession of Tschigirin, but their triumph was soon marred, for the fire which Gordon had kindled at his departure caused the powder

magazine to explode, by which 4000 Turks were blown into the air. For his conduct in this defence he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and appointed to the chief command in Kiev, and in 1683 made a lieutenant-general. But let him rise as he might, nothing could reconcile him to a residence in Russia; and his repeated petitions for leave of absence that he might revisit Scotland, which were always refused by the Russian court, without doubt strengthened his desire for his native home. In the meantime Czar Feodor died, leaving his successor Peter, a boy only ten years of age, under the regency of his sister Sophia; but although the new regent and her minister treated Gordon with high consideration, his services being deemed too valuable to be dispensed with, he still remained an honoured prisoner at large. At length the death of Charles II. of England, and the succession of James II. to the British throne, made him appeal more urgently than ever for his discharge from the Russian service, or failing this, that a six months' leave of absence should be granted to him; and after much demur and delay his petition was favourably answered. But the permission extended only to a short visit to Britain, while his wife and children were to be retained in Russia as hostages for his return.

Of this second return to his native land there is little particularly to be noticed. Gordon had now won for himself a name that was well known, and his reception by all ranks, both in England and Scotland, was worthy of his reputation. Such was especially the case in his interviews with his majesty James II., who inquired of him particularly the nature of his military services, and the modes of conducting war among the Russians, and wished to retain him in his own employment instead of sending him back to Russia. That unhappy monarch could not but be aware that the changes he contemplated in the national religion could only be effected by the sword, in which case it would be necessary to have the bold and skilful on his side, and that in such an issue the adherence of General Gordon would be valuable, more especially as he was a devoted Papist. The Russianized Scot, however, was obliged to return to his old service, according to the terms of agreement, carrying with him a letter from James II. to the Russian powers, of which the following extract was the purport:—"Whereas, we are informed that our trusty and well-beloved subject Patrick Gordon, hath served your imperial majesties many years, and now serveth in the quality of lieutenant-general; who now, by the decease of his father, is to inherit lands, for which he is to perform service unto us; and we having use for the service of such of our subjects as have been bred up in military employments; we do, therefore, desire of your imperial majesties that you would dismiss the said Patrick Gordon, with his wife, children, family, and effects, out of your dominions, which we rather desire, because we know that your great virtue hath procured from God the blessing of a universal peace with all your neighbours. The doing this will be an encouragement for men of honour to repair to your service, whenever you shall have occasion for them; and whenever the opportunity is given us of doing you the like pleasure, we shall heartily embrace it." This letter, however, instead of effecting the release of Gordon from the Russian service, only made his bondage more strict and intolerable. Another device for securing his liberty did not fare better: it was, his appointment as envoy-extraordinary of the King of Great Britain to the Russian court, by which James would be able to recal him to England at his own pleasure. This unsatisfactory negotiation between two great powers,

which Gordon terms "a stage play," was at last ended by his being sent to the war against the Tartars in the Crimea. It was fortunate for him, however, that he was not secured for the service of James, whom no counsels could persuade, and whose disasters no skill or courage could retrieve.

The situation of the Russian empire was now so critical, that its fate seemed to hang upon the slightest chance. It had two czars, of whom the elder was an idiot unfit for the succession, while the younger, Peter, was only seventeen years old. Over this nominal sovereignty their sister Sophia, as regent, exercised complete control, but she was in turn governed by the Strelitzes—the janizaries of Russia—who in such a state of government established their own rule of military force and violence. There was no prospect of safety for the country unless the selfish and ambitious Sophia could be deposed, the incompetent czar set aside, and Peter raised to the supreme and sole authority. Here was a sphere of action which Gordon nobly occupied, and the success of which will be imperishably inscribed in the history of Russian greatness. The conflict commenced by the flight of Peter to the monastery of Troitzka, about forty miles from Moscow, in consequence of the explosion of a conspiracy by which his life was threatened; and when he issued orders to the troops to come to his rescue, Sophia countermanded his orders, and the troops remained in their cantonments. None obeyed the summons of Peter except Gordon, now raised to the rank of general, and who had a considerable force under his command. Aware of the real state of affairs, and in defiance of the countermands of the regency, he marched all night with his regiments, and reached the monastery next day, where Peter was still unprotected, and liable every moment to death or deposition. This bold movement of Gordon, in which he risked his head, saved the Russian empire, and prepared the way for its regeneration. Peter thus reinforced returned to Moscow in triumph, Sophia was immured in a convent, the chief conspirators banished or executed, and the imbecile Ivan, the elder czar, having agreed to resign his share of the empire, Peter himself was recognized as sole Czar of Russia. From this moment Gordon became the most distinguished and influential man in the empire; he was the valued friend and counsellor of his imperial master; and the latter showed, in his various reforms which he introduced into Russia, that the instructions of his Scottish preceptor were neither undervalued nor forgot.

The principal enemies of Russia at this time being the Turks, the young czar in 1695 laid siege to Azof, in which Peter's inexperience and impetuosity disregarded the prudent cautions of his Scottish general, and was requited by the enemy with such severe repulses as might have caused the siege to be raised with disgrace, had not Gordon succeeded in repairing the imperial blunders. As it was, the siege was discontinued until the following year, and this time the advices of Gordon had their due weight. Seeing that there was little hope of taking Azof by the operation of mines, batteries, and other usual operations of a siege which the council of war recommended, he stated that the best way of taking the town would be to carry on a whole rampart of earth along the front of the town, which as they advanced would hourly increase. "By having," he said, "ten or twelve thousand men night and day at work, we shall carry and roll as much earth before us as will not only be sufficient to fill up the fosse, but will have more over and above them than will exceed the height of the town walls; by which means, in a few weeks, we shall oblige the enemy to surrender, or

we shall bury them alive." This tedious and mechanical mode of operation, so unlike the stirring attempts of breaching and storming, was fortunately adopted by Peter, and the extraordinary method of taking towns was commenced: ten or twelve thousand men were constantly employed, who threw the earth from hand to hand like so many steps of a stair, while the process was protected by strong guards on the right, left, and rear. In this way the mound silently crept city-ward, until, in five weeks, it was close to the walls and ramparts, which it overtopped, and by which the Russians had full command of the city below. Confounded at this strange mode of attack, upon which the Turks had not calculated, Azof surrendered. By this event a most important acquisition was made by Russia, and to render it more grateful, her loss during the process did not amount to above 300 men. Czar Peter returned in triumph to Moscow, and, besides other distinctions, bestowed on General Gordon an estate with ninety serfs.

The last and also the most important of Gordon's military services in Russia, was the suppression of the Strelitzes—an event but for which Peter would have probably been dethroned, and the Russians thrown back into their original barbarism. This insolent soldiery, discontented at those reforms both civil and military by which their power would be subverted, and conceiving that the absence of the czar on his travels through Western Europe was a favourable opportunity for regaining their ascendancy, raised the standard of revolt, and resolved to march upon Moscow. Gordon, who had been left second in command to the general-in-chief by his imperial master, and was at the head of 12,000 soldiers stationed in Moscow, no sooner heard of this demonstration than he adopted the most vigorous measures to check it; but finding these ineffectual, he took the field, resolving to crush the mutiny by force. In the meantime the Strelitzes were not idle, and on their officers refusing to lead them to Moscow, they deposed them, elected other captains in their stead, and commenced their march to the capital. On the other hand, Gordon proceeded against them with such celerity that he met them mid-way, and tried the effect of negotiation, but in vain: to Moscow they declared they were determined to march, or die by the way. An engagement followed, but such were the masterly dispositions of Gordon, that the Strelitzes were defeated at every point, and driven off the field beyond the power of rallying. The leaders of the conspiracy and many of their followers were taken prisoners, and the judicial severity of their punishment so completely quelled this formidable spirit of discontent, that even its murmuring was now unheard. There was no longer the slightest hope of the deposition of the czar, and the restoration of Sophia or the widow of Ivan, under whom the Strelitzes would have been once more the real sovereigns of Russia. It was fortunate also that Peter, alarmed at the tidings of the conspiracy, had returned home, where he arrived in time to concert new measures for the public safety. His first step was to supersede these useless Strelitzes by new troops, armed and disciplined in the best European fashion, and he was soon at the head of armies by which native discontent and foreign hostility could be quelled, and his vast designs for the regeneration of Russia carried out.

So important an event in the history of Russia as the suppression of the Strelitzes occupied the larger portion of the year 1698, and at the close of it the brave old Scot was conscious that his last fight was fought, and his career about to be ended. This

he himself noted in the last entry of his journal, dated December 31st, in the following solemn words:—"Almighty God be praised for his gracious long-suffering towards me in sparing my life so long. Grant, gracious God, that I may make a good use of the time that thou mayest be pleased yet to grant me for repentance. This year I have felt a sensible decrease of health and strength. Yet thy will be done, gracious God." During the following summer he was so weak as to be unable to leave his bed, and he died on the 29th November, 1699. During the last stage of his illness the grateful czar had daily visited his old servant, friend, and preceptor; and when Gordon breathed his last sigh, Peter, who stood weeping by his bedside, closed his eyes, and departed a mourner from the house of mourning. The interment was that which graces a national benefactor. The long line was headed by the czar; the chief nobles of his empire followed, and after them the ambassadors of the principal powers of Europe. The body was carried on the shoulders of twenty-eight colonels, and twenty ladies of the highest families in Muscovy followed in the train of his widow. The remains were interred before the high altar of the first chapel of stone which the Roman Catholics were allowed to raise in Moscow, and built chiefly by the bounty of the deceased; and on the tomb the following inscription still arrests the eye of the passenger:—

"Sacrae Tzareae Majestatis Militiae Generalis
 Patricius Leopoldus Gordon
 Natus Anno Domini 1635 die 31 Martii
 Denatus Anno Domini 1699 29 Novembris
 Requiescat in Pace."

GORDON, ROBERT, of Straloch, an eminent geographer and antiquary, was born at Kinmundy in Aberdeenshire, on the 14th September, 1580. He was the second son of Sir John Gordon of Pitlurg, a gentleman who long stood high in the favour of his sovereign James VI., as appears, amongst other circumstances, from some curious letters addressed to him by that monarch, in one of which he is laid under contribution, though in the most affectionate terms, for a horse for the king's approaching marriage, and in another is warmly invited to the baptism of the unfortunate Charles I.

Robert Gordon received the first rudiments of his education at Aberdeen, and having passed the usual course of the humanity, mathematical, and philosophical classes, was the first graduate of the Marischal University, then recently founded by George Earl of Marischal. In 1598, being in his eighteenth year, he was sent to Paris to complete his education. Here he remained for two years. On his father's death, which happened in 1600, he returned to Scotland; and in 1608, having married a daughter of Alexander Irvine of Lenturk, he bought the estate of Straloch, ten miles north of Aberdeen, and now devoted himself to the pursuit of his favourite studies—geography, history, and the antiquities of Britain. To the first of these he seems to have been especially attached, and it was his perseverance, industry, and accuracy in this science, then in an extremely rude state, that first obtained him the celebrity which he afterwards enjoyed. There were only at this time three maps of Scotland in existence, all of them so rude and inaccurate as to be wholly useless. The inaccuracy of these sketches had been long known, and was the subject of great and universal complaint. Urged on by this, and the general dissatisfaction, Mr. Gordon employed himself in making geographical surveys by actual mensuration; a labour which none of his predecessors had ever subjected themselves to. He has therefore the merit of being the

first who applied this indispensable but tedious and laborious process for securing accuracy in topographical surveys to Scotland.

One consequence of Mr. Gordon's zeal and industry in these patriotic pursuits, was a great extension of his celebrity, which at length even reached the royal ear. In 1641 King Charles was applied to by the celebrated map and atlas publishers, the Bleaus of Amsterdam, for his patronage of an atlas of Scotland, which they were then contemplating, and requesting his majesty to appoint some qualified persons to assist them with information for the intended work; and, in especial, to arrange and amend certain geographic sketches of one Timothy Pont,¹ of which they had been previously put in possession, but in a confused and mutilated state. This task King Charles, in the following flattering letter, devolved upon Mr. Gordon. "Having lately seen certain charts of divers shires of this our ancient kingdom, sent here from Amsterdam, to be corrected and helpit in the defects thereof, and being informed of your sufficiency in that art, and of your love both to learning and to the credit of your nation; we have therefore thought fit hereby earnestly to entreat you to take so much pains as to revise the said charts, and to help them in such things as you find deficient thereuntil, that they may be sent back by the direction of our chancellor to Holland; which, as the same will be honourable for yourself, so shall it do us good and acceptable service, and if occasion present we shall not be unmindful thereof. From our palace of Holyrood House, the 8th October, 1641."

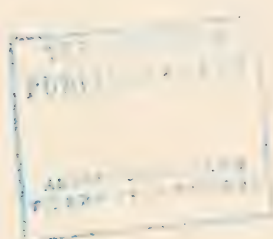
Mr. Gordon readily undertook the task thus imposed upon him, and in 1648 the atlas was published with a dedication from Mr. Gordon to Sir John Scott of Scotstarvit, who had greatly encouraged and forwarded the work. A second edition of this atlas, which was long the standard book of reference for Scotland and its numerous islands, was published in 1655, and a third in 1664. It is now, of course, superseded by later and more scientific surveys.

The work consists of forty-six maps, general and particular, with ample descriptions and detached treatises on the antiquities of Scotland. Of such importance was this undertaking considered, that, wild and disordered as the times were, Mr. Gordon was during its progress made a special object of the care and protection of the legislature. An act of parliament was passed exempting him from all new taxations, and relieving him from the quartering of soldiers. To carry this law into effect, orders were issued from time to time by the various commanders of the forces in North Britain, discharging all officers and soldiers, as well horse as foot, from troubling or molesting, or quartering on Mr. Robert Gordon of Straloch, his house, lands, or tenants, and from levying any public dues on the said Mr. Robert Gordon, or on any of his possessions.

The charts exclusively executed by Mr. Gordon were: 1st. A chart of Great Britain and Ireland, taken from Ptolemy and the most ancient Roman authors. 2d. A map of ancient Scotland, as described in the Roman itineraries. 3d. A map of modern Scotland. 4th. A map of the county of Fife, from actual survey and mensuration. 5th. A map of the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, with part of the county of Kincardine. 6th. A large map or geographical view, taken from actual survey, of the most inland provinces of Scotland lying between the river Tay and the Murray Frith. 7th. A large map, from actual survey, of the most northern,

¹ Son of Mr. Robert Pont, minister of the West Kirk Edinburgh.





mountainous, and inaccessible parts of Scotland, including part of the island of Skye. To all of these Mr. Gordon appended treatises, descriptive of everything remarkable contained within their various bounds—towns, castles, religious houses, antiquities, rivers, lakes, &c., and occasionally introducing some interesting accounts of the most distinguished families in the different counties.

One of the treatises alluded to is particularly curious, from its containing an attempt to overturn the commonly received opinion as to the Ultima Thule of the Romans. This tract, which is entitled *De Insula Thule Dissertatio*, endeavours to show that none of the Orkney or Shetland Islands, and still less Iceland, answers to Ptolemy's chart of Thule; and Mr. Gordon concludes by giving it as his opinion that the island of Lewis, the most westerly of the Hebrides, is the real Thule of the ancient Romans. Besides these meritorious works, Mr. Gordon wrote many detached pieces of much interest and value; none of which, however, though many extracts have been made from them, have yet been published. Amongst the most important of these are, a critical letter in Latin to Mr. David Buchanan, containing strictures on the histories of Boyce, Buchanan, and Knox, and on Buchanan's treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; and a preface intended to be prefixed to a new edition of Spottiswood's *History*. The last work of any importance which he undertook was a *History of the Family of Gordon*. This work, however, is incorrect in many important particulars, and in many instances erroneous with regard to its historical facts, especially previous to the year 1403. When Mr. Gordon undertook this work he was far advanced in years, led a retired life, and had no ready access to those documents and records which alone could have insured accuracy, circumstances which may be admitted as some apology in the case of a man who had already done so much, and had rendered such important services to his country. Mr. Gordon finally closed a long and active life in August, 1661, having then attained the eighty-first year of his age. It is much to be regretted that he did not, as he appears to have contemplated, write an account of his own times, which comprise one of the most important periods of Scottish history. There was no one better fitted for this task, as well from the talents which he possessed, as from the uncommon opportunities which he enjoyed of studying the leading characters and events of these stirring times; for his superior judgment, peaceable demeanour, and generally judicious conduct, gained him the confidence and esteem of all parties, and thus brought him often in contact, as an adviser and mediator, with the chief men of both the factions which then distracted the state. With the view of compiling such a work as has been alluded to, Mr. Gordon had collected a vast quantity of interesting documents relative to the Montrose wars. These his son, Mr. James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay, afterwards employed in compiling such an account as his father had contemplated. This latter work, which contains the transactions of the northern part of Scotland beyond the Forth from 1637 to 1643, after remaining in MS. until 1841, was published by the Spalding Club in three volumes 4to.

As has been already said, Mr. Gordon, though residing in the very midst of civil war and commotion, was not only permitted to live in quiet, and to pursue his studies without interruption, but was frequently summoned to attend the meetings of the commissioners appointed by parliament and by the General Assemblies of the church.

One of these invitations, from the Earl of Marischal and General Middleton, besides showing the importance which was attached to Mr. Gordon's advice, is sufficiently curious in itself. It is addressed "to the Right Honourable the Laird of Stralloch," and runs as follows:—"Right Honourable: in regard we are called to be here for the time, for taking course for what may concern the public, &c., these are, therefore, to desire that you will be here at Aberdeen on Friday next, the 3d of October, 1645, when we shall meet you there. So looking assuredly for your meeting us, as you will testify your affection to the business, and have us to remain your affectionate friends. (Signed) MARISCHAL, JOHN MIDDLETON."

Another extract, still more interesting, from one of many letters addressed to Mr. Gordon, by Lord Gordon, craving his advice and assistance, will not only show the deference which was paid to his candour and judgment, but will also show how fully they were appreciated by both parties. Lord Gordon, who was afterwards killed at Alford, after earnestly soliciting a meeting for advice, adds, "If I be too far engaged, or be not well advised, my friends and I both may find the prejudice. In conscience this is no draught, but a mere necessity, which I hope you will consider. I do neither envy you in enjoying your furred gown nor the fireside, I promise you, but do earnestly wish to see you."

Besides his other accomplishments Mr. Gordon was a profound classical scholar, and wrote Latin with much readiness and elegance.

GORDON, REV. ROBERT, D.D. This acute original thinker and eloquent preacher was born in Glencairn, Dumfriesshire, on the 5th of May, 1786. His early opportunities for obtaining a superior education appeared certain, as his father, a man of considerable natural endowments, as well as high religious worth, was parochial schoolmaster at Kirkland of Glencairn. This prospect, however, was apparently extinguished when Robert was about six years old, by the death of his father; but it often happens that such a bereavement, instead of discouraging, only braces a mind of native energy, and fits it for future excellence by a stern apprenticeship of effort and self-reliance. Besides this, he still possessed an able guide, so far as his school-boy studies and the bias of his mind were concerned, in his surviving parent, of whom he was the only son; a woman characterized in her limited circle by strong intellect, as well as pious principles. How Robert availed himself of these advantages was well attested by the fact, that when he had scarcely reached his sixteenth year he was appointed by the heritors of Kirkland to the office of parish teacher, which his father had occupied. Not only the excellence of his scholarship, but also the steadiness and energy of his character, must have been well established, when they were allowed to outweigh such an immaturity in point of years. The choice was justified; for though so young, he conducted himself in such a trying position with the steadiness and gravity of matured manhood; and his pupils, several of whom were older than himself, regarded him not only with affection, but deep, dutiful respect.

As it was to the office of the ministry that the wishes of Robert Gordon had been directed, he did not long remain in that of a schoolmaster. Attendance at the university was necessary, and he repaired to Edinburgh, where, like many of those who have become the most talented divines of the day, he supported himself during his course of study at the university by the scanty resources of tutorship; and thus fought his way onward, step by step, until

he reached the divinity-hall. In this rough fashion not a few of the ablest linguists, as well as profoundest thinkers of our church are formed for active service. A situation as tutor in Perthshire occasioned his removal from Edinburgh, and the prosecution of his theological studies at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he enrolled as a student in divinity in 1809, at the age of twenty-three. At this period, also, he was a member of the Theological Society, composed of theological students of the college, and there formed acquaintanceships with several who afterwards became distinguished ornaments in the church, and with whom his intercourse continued till the close of life. His appearances as a student at this period are thus described by one of the members. He "soon attracted much attention by his power of reasoning and of expressing his thoughts in nervous language. In fact there was a general reluctance to encounter him in argument, or to take the opposite side of a question to that which he supported. He manifested both a great facility in dealing with principles, and a great acuteness in detecting the fallacies of an opponent. Still, his example unquestionably exercised a very salutary influence in stimulating the other members to prepare themselves on questions to be discussed, so as not to treat them in a superficial manner, as they were aware that their reasonings and averments would have to undergo a sifting process. His manner of debating, too, characterized by great fairness, tended much to correct a habit into which young controversialists are apt to fall, viz. that of triumphing in small advantages, and of substituting empty declamation for argument." While such was his intellectual character, his moral deportment was in admirable coincidence and harmony. The same commemorator of his early days thus continues:—"Modesty was a quality by which he was eminently characterized at the time of which we speak. He could bear his part well in general society; but he always showed much deference to his elders, especially if they had other claims to respect. His early friends will remember that he used to manifest the deepest abhorrence of anything in the shape of falsehood, mean selfishness, and hypocrisy, and a most withering contempt of all false and hollow pretensions." In what strong relief all these qualities of his youth were brought out when Dr. Gordon entered into public life, can be well remembered by those who enjoyed his society.

The attendance of Mr. Gordon at the divinity-hall extended over five sessions, partly at the university of Edinburgh, but more especially at Aberdeen; and with the study of theology, that of the exact sciences occupied much of his attention. It was to these, indeed, that his original bias tended, and their study influenced his intellectual character both as a scholar and theologian. He cared little for the produce of imagination, and would at any time have preferred a problem to a poem: instead of being contented to see an idea looming in the distance and through the mist, and taking it upon such doubtful security, he must needs gauge it in all its length, breadth, and thickness, before he could be satisfied. It was no wonder, therefore, that he was so impassive to transcendentalism, and that in after-years he characterized one of Coleridge's marvellous monologues, to which he had listened with a countenance of mathematical severity, as "all buff." This intellectual tendency had made him a close and accurate meteorological observer; had enabled him to discharge successfully the duties of a factor as well as tutor to one of his employers, and had pointed him out as the fittest person to write the articles "Geography,"

"Euclid," and "Meteorology," in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*. It was also these powers of calculation, combined with capacity for the multifarious details of business, that procured for him the tempting offer of an important situation in the East India House. But all these capacities he devoted exclusively to the service of the church; and they were manifested not only in his mode of teaching as an investigator and expounder of the lessons of divine truth, but the efficiency with which he managed those financial operations connected with the church's welfare that were committed to his care.

The first public situation which Robert Gordon held was that of master in the academy of Perth; but not long after, he was appointed minister to the parish of Kinfauns, Perthshire. In this rural charge he remained only four years, having been called in 1820 to the old chapel of ease in Buccleuch Street, Edinburgh; and soon after to the *quoad sacra* church of Hope Park, which was built for him. His arrival in Edinburgh produced an unwonted stir, and he was soon one of the most popular preachers of the day. At this no one was so astonished as himself: his innate modesty could not perceive wherefore he was so followed after; and while he shrunk from such popularity as a misplaced and uncertain liking, it only clung to him the more pertinaciously on that account. His preaching, indeed, was in a style that was all his own—it was religious truth in its own native simplicity and distinctness, enforced with all the impassioned earnestness of one pleading upon a life-and-death question—theological speculation without its coldness and abstraction, and oratory without its meretricious ornaments. Few could refuse to listen, or listening, fail to comprehend such preaching, although it so much transcended, both in expansiveness and depth, the usual standard of pulpit ministrations. A volume of these sermons, which he published, attested its true character, so that the work went through several editions, and is still prized as a standard production, while the most intellectual of the inhabitants of Edinburgh became part of his regular congregation. As might be expected, also, the diploma of Doctor in Divinity was speedily conferred upon him. In 1825 he was translated from Hope Park to the new North Church, and in 1830 to the High Church of Edinburgh.

During the whole course of Dr. Gordon's ministry he was seldom to be found engaged in the controversies of church courts; but when it was necessary in any important question to express his sentiments, they bore the stamp of his reflective conscientious character, and were received with respect. Such was the case in 1829, when the great question of Catholic emancipation would not permit him to be silent, and when he also found himself compelled to dissent from most of his brethren. In spite of all the warnings of history to the contrary, the majority had persuaded themselves into the fond belief that Popery, which must be all or nothing, would be contented with only a part; and that when its present demands were conceded, the question would be settled to all future time, and a vexatious controversy for ever laid to rest. His prophetic declarations upon this occasion, while they have been but too well justified by succeeding events, were very different from that uncharitable sweeping condemnation with which it is so much the fashion to condemn every item of Popery, and every individual holder of its tenets. Addressing the presbytery of Edinburgh, who had for the most part become enamoured of the soothing system, he said:—"I know nothing in the history of Popery, and I have been able to discover nothing in the manifestations of its spirit, that

will warrant me to hope that the removal of Catholic disabilities will induce the priesthood of the Romish church to remove the seal which they have dared to put on the Word of God, and to permit us to carry the Bible, without let or hindrance, among the multitudes from whom they have hitherto excluded it. I give them credit for a deeper and a stronger attachment to their faith, than to suppose that any political boon, or, as they think it, any act of political justice on our part, will have any weight with them in rendering them more willing to see their flocks transferred to the guardianship of Protestant pastors; nor can I conceive that they will do otherwise than smile at our simplicity when we avow a hope, that by conceding to them the privileges which they now demand, we shall have disarmed their hostility to our tenets, and drawn them over to what they think our heresies and our delusions. I should be disposed to draw the very opposite conclusion. It is by their fidelity to their common cause—their determined, persevering, united efforts—such efforts as a religious union alone could make—that they have compelled government to adopt the measures now in progress for conceding to them certain privileges. I say, *compelled*; for, after all the attempts to explain it away, this is in reality the acknowledgment of the highest political authority in the empire. And are they so unskilful either in spiritual or political tactics—so little able to avail themselves of the vantage-ground on which this measure, if successful, will place them—as to be less careful of the union which has secured so important a step towards the attainment of what must be the wish and ultimate object of every consistent Catholic—the supremacy of their system? Such were his sentiments upon the question of Catholic emancipation in 1829, and the events of the present day but too well attest their soundness.

After this decided stand, which Dr. Gordon made in opposition to the most esteemed and talented of his brethren, events succeeded of still more imperious urgency, which dragged him from his peaceful seclusion, and sent him into the arena. These were, the preludes to the disruption of the Church of Scotland, and finally the disruption itself. Still, however, his gentle spirit predominated, and throughout the storm of controversy that raged for years, his words were like oil upon the troubled waters when their commotion is at the fiercest. So high, however, was his intellectual standing, and so well understood the uncompromising conscientiousness of his principles, that this very gentleness, which in an inferior or doubtful person might have gone for nothing, only seemed, in the case of Dr. Gordon, to give his opinions greater weight and ascendancy. The public, that looked on in doubt and uncertainty, were compelled to respect a cause which had such a man for its advocate, and even the wavering of his own party were confirmed when they saw his hearty zeal in its behalf, and remembered his well-established character for wisdom, circumspection, and forbearance. Such was especially the case when they beheld him accompanying the presbytery of Dunkeld to the bar of the Court of Session in 1839, to be censured for ordaining a minister to the parish of Lethendy in opposition to a civil interdict. In 1841 he presided as moderator of the General Assembly, and in this capacity it was his painful duty—from which he did not shrink—to depose the seven ministers of Strathbogie. In the same year Dr. Gordon presided at the great meeting which was held on the 25th of August in the West Church, Edinburgh—a meeting limited expressly to those office-bearers of the church who approved of its late

resistance to the civil power, and were willing to persevere at every hazard; and his address on that solemn occasion, to about twelve hundred ministers and elders assembled from every part of Scotland, while he announced the principles for which they were now called to contend, and his own settled resolution to maintain them at whatever cost or hazard, sunk deep into every heart. His next public appearance was at the convocation held at Edinburgh in November, 1842, in consequence of the judgment pronounced by the House of Lords on what was called the second Auchterarder case, in which it was declared that the refusal of a people to a patron's presentee was not only no bar to his enjoying the temporalities of his parochial charge, but none also to his being ordained as minister of the parish. It was evident that the contest had come to such a height that a separation between church and state was inevitable, if each party still continued to hold by its respective principles; and accordingly the convocation was called for the purpose of considering whether, and in what manner, the separation should take place. These meetings extended over several evenings, and were held in Roxburgh Church, where between four and five hundred ministers gave their attendance. It was at one of those meetings that a speech of Dr. Gordon made a solemn impression upon the hearts of his auditory; and in the course of it he so clearly defined and so distinctly announced the duties of a church thus circumstanced, that his statements form the best apology for the disruption that afterwards ensued. "I set out," he said, "with the principle, that the state, the supreme power in the state, has an absolute, uncontrolled, uncontrollable dominion over civil things. Civil rulers may exercise their power in a bad way—they may do what is clearly wrong; but theirs is the power, as an ordinance of God: to God they are responsible; but I, as a subject of the realm, am bound to obey them. In the next place, I hold that we have a certain connection with the state, in which connection a certain temporal thing is concerned. They were entitled to offer us these temporalities on any conditions they chose at first. In the same way they may come forward at any future period and say, 'We have changed our mind;' they may propose new conditions to us; and if we cannot agree to these conditions, they may take back the temporalities they gave us. But then it may be said, 'We are not come to that; the state does not insist yet on the conditions to which we object.' It must be admitted, however, that the judgment of the supreme civil court is a *prima facie* ground for the belief that the state regards these conditions as binding, and that these decisions, unless repudiated by the state, must be so interpreted. We don't need them to pass a new statute declaring what the conditions are. The statute, as interpreted by the supreme court, is virtually a new statute. It is thought by some parties that the ecclesiastical courts will succumb to the decisions of the civil, and therefore that the interference of the state will not be required; it is therefore our duty to go to the state, and say that we cannot and will not succumb. I cannot understand how I, as an honest man, could retain my temporalities on other conditions than those on which they are offered me. A reverend gentleman in the house spoke of voluntarily abandoning the temporalities, and said that to do so would be to act at a disadvantage. Now, I do not go out of the Establishment voluntarily; I am forced to it by what is infinitely more terrible to me than the soldier's sword or the constable's baton—my own conscience. I am persecuted into it. You may talk of main-

taining the people's privileges; I cannot maintain them at the expense of honesty. Some may think that the attachment of the people to our cause would be much stronger if they saw our ministers thrust out by violence, but that is not the sort of attachment we desire. We wish the attachment of men conscientiously holding our views, for that is the only kind of attachment which will stand the test to which our people may be exposed. Any feeling towards a minister arising from indignation at personal violence offered to him would be of very short duration."

Day by day events went onward until the moment of trial arrived. And would a disruption in very deed take place at last, and five hundred clergymen be found so true to their promise, and so self-denying, as to lay down their comfortable state endowments at the demand of what so many considered a mere abstract principle? No, it is impossible: martyrdom is only for a rough cheerless period of society, and not for the sleek comfortable days of this middle term of the nineteenth century in which our happy lot has been cast! So said statesmen; so said the well-endowed dignitaries of the Church of England; so said the moderate party of the Church of Scotland, whose violence had precipitated matters to this dangerous point. But it was not among them alone that there was either scornful scepticism or sympathetic doubt; for among the most confirmed of the outgoers also there was a painful apprehension that, even at the last moment, there might be a wavering among their ranks, and a falling away of many. Upon this point even Dr. Gordon too had experienced moments of gloomy anticipation, in which he feared that the promised disruption would finally dwindle down into a trivial dissent, whose testimony would be unheard or unnoticed. But still, the fact that he did not flinch for an instant in his purpose, whether he might be accompanied by many or by few, only places his high conscientious disinterestedness in a stronger and fairer light. To him, also, the sacrifice was accompanied with peculiar aggravations. The clerical charge he held, besides being one of the highest in Scotland, enabled him, from its being a collegiate one, to devote a considerable portion of time to his favourite studies; and he held also the lucrative office of collector of the Widows' Fund, to which he had been appointed in 1836. But high office, leisure, and emolument, were to be foregone for the labour and precariousness of a missionary life, burdened in his case by the growing infirmities of age, and the maintenance of a very large family of young children, who looked wholly to him for support, and whose interests would be deeply compromised by the sacrifice. But he rendered it cheerfully, and went forth with the rest; and perhaps, as his eye glanced backward at the long array of his brethren on their march to the new place of meeting at Tanfield, and contrasted their numbers with his previous doubts and misgivings, the devout joy of the triumph swallowed up all remembrance of the sacrifice.

The remaining years of the life of Dr. Gordon were spent in domestic comfort, as well as public honour and usefulness. He threw himself into his new sphere of increased duties with all the ardour of his matured manhood, and the energy with which these were discharged showed little or no abatement of his former power. If any change indeed was perceptible, it was that his style of preaching betokened the purifying furnace of trial through which his mind had passed, for his sermons had an increase of apostolic simplicity and unction, which made his pulpit ministrations even more effective than

before. His studies also were more exclusively confined to his pulpit ministrations; and although he might have lightened these labours by accepting a colleague, he conscientiously persisted in encountering the same amount that fell to the lot of his younger brethren. His death, which occurred in Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, on the 21st of October, 1853, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his ministry, was occasioned by a stroke of paralysis.

Dr. Gordon was a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts; he was also one of her majesty's master printers for Scotland. Besides the volume of sermons, and the articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* which we have mentioned, he published nothing; but from the care with which his discourses were written, a series of them were deemed fit for the press, and were accordingly published under the title of *Christ as made known to the Ancient Church*, in four octavo volumes.

GORDON, THOMAS, an eminent party writer, and translator of Tacitus, is supposed to have been born in the parish of Kells, in the stewartry of Kirkcubright, about the end of the seventeenth century. His father, the representative of an ancient family descended from the Gordons of Kenmuir, was proprietor of Gairloch in that parish. Thomas Gordon is said to have received a university education in his own country, and then to have gone to London as a literary adventurer: joining these circumstances with his avowed infidelity, it is probable that he was a renegade student of divinity or licentiate—almost always an unprincipled and odious character. In London he supported himself at first as a teacher of languages, and gradually became an author by profession. He is said to have been employed as a political writer by the Earl of Oxford, in the support of the Tory ministry of which that nobleman was the head; but this hardly corresponds with the other dates of his literary exertions, for Mr. Gordon appears to have written nothing of which the title has been commemorated till he formed an intimacy with Mr. Trenchard; and on the 20th of January, 1720, commenced, in conjunction with that individual, a weekly political sheet called the *Independent Whig*. If Gordon wrote in the reign of Queen Anne, what was he doing in the course of the six intervening years? Nor is it of small importance to his reputation that this point should be settled, as he became a distinguished patriot and a supporter of Sir Robert Walpole—the very reverse, in every respect, of what he is said to have been in the days of Queen Anne's Tory ministry. It is our own opinion that the latter allegation is not well founded; it does not appear in the original memoir of Gordon in the *Biographia Britannica*, 1766, an article evidently written by a person that must have known him personally, or at least his surviving family; that sketch represents him in the more probable character of a young man taken into employment by Mr. Trenchard as an amanuensis, and subsequently so much improved by the conversation and instructions of his employer, as to be fitted to enter into a literary partnership with him as an independent patriotic writer. Thus we see much cause to relieve the memory of this clever person from no small share of the odium which has been cast upon it by subsequent biographical writers.

Trenchard, the partner of Gordon, was a political writer of some standing, and no small influence. It was in consequence of a pamphlet from his pen that the parliament obliged King William to send home.

his Dutch guards; a proceeding which is said to have moved that grave monarch to tears, and almost induced him to go back to Holland himself. Mr. Trenchard was the author of a work which appeared in 1709, under the title of the *Natural History of Superstition*, and held the office of commissioner of the forfeited estates in Ireland. His acquaintance with Gordon appears to have been commenced without the formality of an introduction. "From a perfect stranger to him," says the latter, "and without any other recommendation than a casual coffee-house acquaintance, and his own good opinion, he took me into his favour and care, and into as high a degree of intimacy as ever was shown by one man to another. This was the more remarkable," continues Gordon, "and did me the greater honour, as he was naturally as shy in making friendships as he was eminently constant to those which he had already made." The *Independent Whig*, which seems to have been their first joint production, was continued for a year, stopping in January, 1721. Before its conclusion, namely in November, 1720, the two writers had begun a series of letters signed "Cato," in the *London*, and afterwards in the *British Journal*, which was continued almost to the death of Mr. Trenchard, an event that happened in December, 1723. A new edition of the *Independent Whig*, including a renewed series published by Gordon after Mr. Trenchard's death, appeared in two volumes 12mo. A similar collection of *Cato's Letters* appeared in four volumes, and went into a fourth edition in 1737.

Of the *Independent Whig* Dr. Murray thus speaks in his *Literary History of Galloway*:—"It is a fortunate circumstance that this work is known only by name; for it is disfigured by sentiments which are deserving of great reprobation. It was more immediately directed against the hierarchy of the Church of England; but it was also meant, or at least has a direct tendency, to undermine the very foundation of a national religion, under any circumstances, and to bring the sacred profession, if not religion itself, into contempt. The sacerdotal office, according to this book, is not only not recommended in Scripture, but is unnecessary and dangerous; ministers of the gospel have ever been the promoters of corruption and ignorance, and distinguished by a degree of arrogance, immorality, and a thirst after secular power, that have rendered them destructive of the public and private welfare of a nation. 'One drop of priestcraft,' say they, 'is enough to contaminate the ocean.'

"The object of *Cato's Letters*," continues Dr. Murray, "is nearly the same with that of the *Independent Whig*—with this difference, that its theological and ecclesiastical discussions are much blended with political disquisitions. It was indeed directed particularly against the South Sea scheme; the knavery and absurdity of which our authors had the merit of exposing at a time when almost the whole nation was intoxicated with dreams of wealth and independence, which it artfully cherished, and by which so many were ruined and betrayed.

"Notwithstanding the insuperable objections we have stated to the most of the principles of these works, they are characterized, we must confess, by no mean portion of talents and learning. The authors seem always masters of the subjects of which they treat, and their discussions are clear, close, and vigorous.

"Like every person who in any way attempts to undermine the welfare and interests of society, Gordon and Trenchard laid claim to great purity of intention. According to their own statement, they formed the

only two wise, patriotic, and independent men of the age in which they lived. 'As these letters,' says Gordon in his preface, 'were the work of no faction or cabal, nor calculated for any lucrative or ambitious ends, or to serve the purposes of any party whatsoever; but attacked falsehood and dishonesty in all shapes and parties, without temporizing with any, but doing justice to all, even to the weakest and most unfashionable, and maintaining the principles of liberty against the practices of most parties: so they were dropped without any sordid composition, and without any consideration, save that it was judged that the public, after its terrible convulsions, was again become calm and safe.'

After the death of Mr. Trenchard, his widow, after the manner of ladies in a more expressly commercial rank of life, became the second wife of her husband's journeyman and partner, Mr. Gordon—apparently induced to take this step by the usefulness of Gordon in managing her affairs. By this lady, who survived him, and was living in 1766, he had several children. His circumstances were now very easy and agreeable, and he appears to have contemplated tasks which required leisure, and promised to give him a permanent fame. A translation of Tacitus executed by him (the third printed in the English language), with discourses taken from foreign commentators and translators of that historian, appeared in 1728, two volumes folio; and the subscription being patronized by Sir Robert Walpole, it proved a very lucrative speculation. Of this work one writer speaks as follows:—"No classic was ever perhaps so miserably mangled. His (Gordon's) style is extremely vulgar, yet affected, and abounds with abrupt and inharmonious periods, totally destitute of any resemblance to the original; while the translator fancied he was giving a correct imitation."¹ Another writer adverts to it in very different terms. "Though it is now," says Dr. Murray,² "in a great degree superseded by the elegant translation of Mr. Murphy, it is nevertheless a work of no inconsiderable degree of merit. Mr. Gordon probably understood his author better than any who have presented him to the world in an English dress; and the only objection that has been made to the work, even by Murphy himself, is, that he foolishly attempted to accommodate the English language to the elliptical and epigrammatic style of the Roman historian." Gordon afterwards published a translation of Sallust in the same style as his version of Tacitus.

During the long period of Walpole's administration the subject of this memoir acted as his literary supporter, enjoying in return either a regular pay or the office of first commissioner of wine licenses. After his death, which happened on the 28th of July, 1750, two collections of his fugitive writings appeared under the respective titles of *A Cordial for Low Spirits* and *The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken*—works which had better, both for his own fame and the welfare of society, been suppressed. Finally, a volume entitled *Sermons on Practical Subjects addressed to Different Characters*, appeared in 1788.

GORDON, WILLIAM, of Earlston, a zealous defender of the covenant, and this by inheritance as well as principle, being lineally descended from Mr. Alexander Gordon, who entertained some of the followers of John Wickliffe, the first of the English reformers—reading to them, in their secret meetings in the wood of Airds, a New Testament translated into English, of which he had got possession.

¹ Chalmers' *General Biographical Dictionary*, xvi. 107.

² *Literary History of Galloway*, second edition, 182.

As the subject of this notice, however, was—notwithstanding his zeal in the cause of the covenant, and his steady and warm friendship for those who adhered to it—himself a retired and peaceful man, little of any interest is left on record regarding him. And, excepting in one of the last acts of his life, he mingled little with the public transactions of the period in which he lived. So far, however, as his personal influence extended, he did not fail to exhibit, both fearlessly and openly, the religious sentiments which he entertained. He would give no lease of his lands to any one, whatever might be offered, but on condition of their keeping family worship; and he was in the habit of meeting his tenants at a place appointed every Sunday, and proceeding with them to church. He had also acquired a reputation for his skill in solving cases of conscience, of which some curious enough instances are to be found in Wodrow's *Analecta*, a MS. work (now printed) already more than once referred to in the present publication. His first public appearance, in connection with the faith to which he was so zealously attached, occurred in the year 1663, soon after the restoration of Charles II. An episcopal incumbent having been appointed by the bishop to the church of Dalry, to which Mr. Gordon had a right of patronage, he resisted the appointment, on the twofold ground of its being contrary to the religious tenets of the congregation to admit an Episcopalian minister, and an invalidation of his own private right as patron. For this contumacy he was charged to appear before the council; but, not obeying the summons, he was soon after charged a second time, and accused of keeping conventicles and private meetings in his house, and ordered to forbear the same in time coming. Disobeying this also, as he had done the first, he was immediately after sentenced to banishment, and ordered to quit the kingdom within a month, and bound to live peaceably during that time, under a penalty of £10,000. Still disobeying, Gordon was now subjected to all the hardships and rigours of persecution. He was turned out of his house by a military force, and compelled to wander up and down the country like many others of his persecuted brethren. In the meantime the battle of Bothwell Bridge took place, and Gordon, unaware of the defeat of his friends, was hastening to join the ranks, when he was met, not far from the field of battle, by a party of English dragoons, by whom, on refusing to surrender, he was instantly killed. The troubles of the times preventing his friends from removing his body to the burial-place of his family, he was interred in the churchyard of Glassford, where a pillar was afterwards erected to his memory.

GOW, NATHANIEL, who, as a violinist and composer, well deserves a place in any work intended to perpetuate the names of Scotsmen who have done honour or service to their country, was the youngest son of the celebrated Neil Gow. His mother's name was Margaret Wiseman, and he was born at Inver, near Dunkeld, Perthshire, on the 28th May, 1766. Nathaniel and his three brothers, William, John, and Andrew, having all given early indications of musical talent, adopted music as a profession, and the violin, on which their father had already gained so much reputation, as the instrument to which their chief study was to be directed. All the brothers attained considerable eminence, and some of them acquired a fortune by the practice of this instrument; but viewing all the circumstances applicable to each, it will not be looked on as invidious or partial, when we say that Nathaniel must be considered the most eminent of his family or name, not only as a per-

former and composer, but as having more than any other advanced the cause and popularity of our national music during his time, and provided by his publications a permanent repository of Scottish music, the most complete of its kind hitherto given to the world.

Nathaniel was indebted to his father for his first instructions. He commenced on a small violin commonly called a *kit*, on which his father Neil had also made his first essay, and which is still preserved in the family. At an early age he was sent to Edinburgh, where he continued the study of the violin, first under Robert M'Intosh, or Red Rob, as he was called, until the latter, from his celebrity, was called up to London. He next took lessons from M'Glashan, better known by the appellation of King M'Glashan, which he acquired from his tall stately appearance and the showy style in which he dressed; and who besides was in high estimation as an excellent composer of Scottish airs, and an able and spirited leader of the fashionable bands. He studied the violoncello under Joseph Reneagle, a name of some note in the musical world, who, after a long residence in Edinburgh, was appointed to the professorship of music at Oxford. With Reneagle he ever after maintained the closest intimacy and friendship. The following laconic letter from the professor in 1821 illustrates this:—"Dear Gow, I write this to request the favour of you to give me all the particulars regarding the ensuing coronation, viz.—Does the crown of Scotland go? Do the trumpeters go? Do you go? Does Mrs. Gow go? If so, my wife and self will go; and if you do not go, I will not go, nor my wife go." Gow's first professional appearance, it is believed, was in the band conducted by King M'Glashan, in which he played the violoncello. After the death of M'Glashan he continued under his elder brother William Gow, who succeeded as leader, a situation for which he was well fitted by his bold and spirited style; but, having been cut off about the year 1791, at the early age of forty, Nathaniel took his place, and maintained it for nearly forty years with an éclat and success far beyond anything that ever preceded or followed him.

So early as 1782, when he could not have been more than sixteen years of age, Gow was appointed one of his majesty's trumpeters for Scotland, a situation which required only partial attendance and duty, being called on only to officiate at royal proclamations, and to accompany the judiciary judges on their circuits for a few weeks, thrice in each year. The salary is small, but it is made up by handsome allowances for travelling expenses, so that in all it may yield the holder about £70 per annum. This situation he held to the day of his death, although, during some of his later years he was forced to employ a substitute, who drew a considerable portion of the emoluments.

He had for many years previously, by assuming the lead of the fashionable bands, become known not only as an excellent violin player, but as a successful teacher, and as having arranged and prepared for publication the first three numbers of the collection of reels and strathspeys published by his father. So much, however, and so quickly did he advance in reputation after this, and so generally did he become acquainted with the great and fashionable world, that in 1796, without giving up or abating his lucrative employment as leader, he commenced business as a music-seller on an extensive scale, in company with Mr. Wm. Shepherd; and for fifteen or sixteen years commanded the most extensive business perhaps ever enjoyed by any house in the line in Scotland. In 1813, however, after his

partner's death, the business was wound up, and whatever profits he may have drawn during the subsistence of the partnership, he was obliged to pay up a considerable shortcoming at its close.

It was in 1799 that he continued the work commenced by his father and himself; and from that time till 1824, in addition to the three first collections, and two books of *Slow Airs, Dances, Waltzes, &c.*, he published a fourth, fifth, and sixth *Collection of Strathspeys and Reels*; three volumes of *Beauties*, being a republication of the best airs in the three first collections, with additions—four volumes of a *Repository of Scots Slow Airs, Strathspeys, and Dances*—two volumes of *Scots Vocal Melodies*, and a *Collection of Ancient Curious Scots Melodies*, besides a great many smaller publications, all arranged by himself for the harp, pianoforte, violin, and violoncello. During the life of his father he was assisted by him, and the first numbers were published as the works of Neil Gow and Son. Many collections had been published previously by ingenious individuals, the best of which perhaps was that of Oswald; but Gow's collections, beyond all dispute, are the most extensive and most complete ever submitted to the public; embracing not only almost all that is good in others, but the greater part of the compositions of Neil and Nathaniel Gow, and other members of that musical family.

After an interval of a few years Gow commenced music-seller once more, in company with his only son Neil, a young man of amiable and cultivated mind, who had received a finished education at Edinburgh and Paris for the profession of surgeon, but who, finding no favourable opening in that overstocked calling, and having a talent and love for music, abandoned it and joined his father. This young gentleman, who was the composer of the beautiful melody of *Bonny Prince Charlie*, and a great many others, was not long spared to his father and friends, having been cut off by a lingering disease in 1823. The business was afterwards continued until 1827; but, wanting a proper head—Gow himself being unable to look after it—it dwindled away; and poor Gow, after a long life of toil, during which he had gathered considerable wealth, found himself a bankrupt at a time when age and infirmity prevented him from doing anything to retrieve his fortunes.

It is difficult to describe the influence, success, and reputation of Nathaniel Gow during all the time he conducted the fashionable bands in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland; but certain it is, that in these respects he stands at the head of all that ever trode in the same department. Not only did he preside at the peers' balls, Caledonian Hunt balls, and at the parties of all the noble and fashionable of Edinburgh, but at most of the great meetings and parties that took place throughout Scotland; and in several instances he was summoned to England. No expense deterred individuals or public bodies from availing themselves of his services; and it appears from his memorandum-books, that parties frequently paid him from one hundred to one hundred and fifty guineas, for attending at Perth, Dumfries, Inverness, &c., with his band. One of the first objects in the formation of fashionable parties was to ascertain if Gow was disengaged, and they would be fixed, postponed, or altered, to suit his leisure and convenience. He visited London frequently, although he resisted many invitations to settle there permanently. In the year 1797, when in London, the Duke of Gordon, then Marquis of Huntly, got up a fashionable ball for him, which was so well attended, that after paying all expenses, £130 was handed over to Mr. Gow. He was in the habit, too, during every

visit to the capital, of being honoured by invitations to the private parties of his majesty George IV., when Prince of Wales and prince-regent; on which occasions he joined that prince, who was a respectable violoncello-player, in the performance of concerted pieces of the most esteemed composers. In 1822, when his majesty visited Scotland, Gow was summoned, with a select portion of the musical talent of Edinburgh, to Dalkeith Palace, and the king evinced his enduring recollection of the musician's visits to him in London, by quitting the banquet table to speak to him; ordering at the same time a goblet of generous wine to the musician, and expressing the delight he experienced not only on that, but many former occasions, in listening to his performances. Gow was overcome by his majesty's familiar address, and all he could do was to mutter in a choked manner, "God bless your majesty." At the peers' ball and the Caledonian Hunt ball his majesty took pleasure in expressing the satisfaction he derived from Gow's music; so that when the latter rendered his account for his band, he added, "My own trouble at pleasure, or nothing, as his majesty's approbation more than recompensed me."

Gow had an annual ball at Edinburgh during all the time he was leader of the bands; and, until a few years before his retirement, these were attended by all the fashion and wealth of the country, there being frequently above a thousand in the room, many of whom, who were his patrons, did not stint their contributions to the mere price of their tickets. He received, besides, many compliments beyond the mere charge for professional labour. At his ball in 1811 the Earl of Dalhousie, who was his staunch supporter on all occasions, presented him with a massive silver goblet, accompanied by the following note:—"An old friend of Gow's requests his acceptance of a cup, in which to drink the health of the thousands who would wish, but cannot attend him to-night." He was presented with a fine violoncello by Sir Peter Murray of Ochertyre, and a valuable Italian violin by Sir Alexander Don.

While his evenings were occupied at the parties of the great, his days were not spent in idleness. He had as his pupils the children of the first families in the country for the violin and pianoforte accompaniment; from whom he received the highest rate of fees known at the time; indeed, it appears from his books, that at one time he went once a week to the Duke of Buccleuch's at Dalkeith Palace, a distance of only six miles, and received two guineas each lesson, besides travelling expenses.

Although engaged, as already said, in the most extensively patronized musical establishment in Scotland, it is questionable if he ever at any time realized profit from it, while it is certain that towards the close he was a great loser; indeed, it can seldom be otherwise where the proprietor has other avocations, and leaves the management to his servants. But from his balls, teaching, and playing, the emoluments he derived were very great, and he was at one time worth upwards of £20,000; but this was ultimately swept away, and he was forced, while prostrated by a malady from which he never recovered, to appeal to his old patrons and the public for their support, at a ball for his behoof in March, 1827, which he did by the following circular: "When I formerly addressed my kind patrons and the public, I had no other claim than that which professional men generally have, whose exertions are devoted to the public amusement. By a patronage the most unvarying and flattering, I was placed in a situation of comfortable independence, and I looked forward without apprehension to passing the decline of my days in

the bosom of my family, with competence and with happiness. Unfortunately for me, circumstances have changed. By obligations for friends, and losses in trade, my anxious savings have been gradually wasted, till now, when almost bed-ridden, unable to leave my house or to follow my profession, I am forced to surrender the remnant of my means to pay my just and lawful creditors. In this situation some generous friends have stepped forward and persuaded me, that the recollection of my former efforts to please may not be so entirely effaced as to induce the public to think that my day of distress should pass without notice or without sympathy."

The appeal was not in vain—the ball was crowded, and handsome tokens of remembrance were sent by many of his old friends, so that nearly £300 was produced. The ball was continued annually for three years afterwards, and though not so great as the first, they still yielded sufficient to prove the deep sympathy of the public, and to afford him a consolation and support in his hour of trial and sickness. It should not be omitted that the noblemen and gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt, who had during all his career been his warmest patrons, voted £50 per annum to him during his life; and we will be forgiven for lengthening this detail a little by quoting one letter out of the many hundreds received, which was from his ever-generous friend Mr. Maule of Panmure: "Your letter has given me real uneasiness, but although Scotland forgot itself in the case of *Burns*, I hope the present generation will not allow a *Gow* to suffer for the want of those comforts in his old age, to which his exertions for so many years for their amusement and instruction so well entitle him. My plan is this, that an annuity of £200 should be got by subscription, and if the Duke of Athol, Lords Breadalbane, Kinnoull, and Gray (all Perthshire noblemen), would put their names at the top of the list, it would very soon be filled up; this in addition to an annual ball at Edinburgh, which ought to produce at least £200 more, would still be but a moderate recompense for the constant zeal, attention, and civility which you have shown in the service of the public of Scotland during a long period of years. I, for one, shall do my part, because I never can forget the many happy hours I have passed, enlivened by the addition of your incomparable music." The subscription did not take place, but Mr. Maule did *his part* indeed, for every year brought a kind letter and a substantial accompaniment.

In estimating the professional character of Nathaniel Gow, it will be more just to his memory to consider his merits in that department which he made his peculiar province, than as a general musician; for although he was well acquainted with the compositions of the great masters, and joined in their performance, and taught them to his pupils, yet his early aspirations, and his more mature delight and study, were directed to the national music of Scotland. As a performer he had all the fire and spirit of his celebrated father in the quick music, with more refined taste, delicacy, and clearness of intonation in the slow and plaintive melodies. To an equally fine ear, and deep feeling of the beauties and peculiarities of Scottish melody, he added the advantages of a more general cultivation of musical knowledge, with more varied and frequent opportunities of hearing the most classical compositions executed by the most able performers. These, while they did not tempt him to sacrifice any of the character or simplicity of his native music, enabled him to give a taste and finish to the execution of it, which placed him, by general and ungrudging consent, as

the master spirit of that branch or department which he had selected, and in which, for a long course of years, he walked in unapproachable triumph.

As a composer, his works remain to support his claims. He has published in his collections, and in sheets, upwards of two hundred original melodies and dancing tunes, and left nearly a hundred in manuscript; which, along with his more recent collections, became the property of Messrs. Robertson of Princes Street, Edinburgh. Of these we may only refer to a very few—his *Caller Herring*, which was so much admired that it was printed in London, and imitated by celebrated composers—*Sir George Clerk*, and *Lady Charlotte Durham*, as specimens of his slow compositions—and to *The Miller of Drone*, *Largo's Fairy Dance*, and *Mrs. Wemyss of Castlehill*, to which last air the song of *St. Patrick was a Gentleman* is sung, as specimens of his lively pieces. There are many of our finest melodies of which the composers are *unknown*; but we are persuaded that few will contradict us when we say, that from the number and talent of his compositions, no *known* Scottish composer, not even his celebrated father, can contest the palm with him as the largest and ablest contributor to the already great stock of our national music.

Nathaniel Gow was a man of great shrewdness and good understanding—generally of a lively companionable turn, with a good deal of humour—very courteous in his manners; though, especially latterly, when misfortune and disease had soured him, a little hasty in his temper. He was a dutiful and affectionate son, as his father's letters abundantly prove; a kind brother—having resigned his share of his father's succession to his sister, who wanted it more than he did at the time; and indulgent and faithful in his duties to his own family. In his person he was tall and "bairdly"—and he dressed well, which, added to a degree of courtliness of manner on occasions of ceremony, gave him altogether a respectable and stately appearance. His illness came to a crisis in the beginning of 1831, and finally terminated in his death, on the 17th of January of that year, at the age of sixty-five. He was buried in the Grayfriars' churchyard; but no stone points out to the stranger where the Scottish minstrel sleeps.

He was twice married. By his first wife, Janet Fraser, he had five daughters and one son; by his second wife, Mary Hog, to whom he was married in 1814, he had three sons and two daughters. A spirited likeness of Mr. Gow was painted by Mr. John Syme of Edinburgh.

GOW, NEIL, a celebrated violin player and composer of Scottish airs, was the son of John Gow and Catharine M'Ewan, and was born at Inver, near Dunkeld, Perthshire, on the 22d of March, 1727. He was intended by his parents for the trade of a plaid weaver, but discovering an early propensity for music he began the study of the violin himself, and soon abandoned the shuttle for the bow. Up to the age of thirteen he had no instructor; but about that time he availed himself of some lessons from John Cameron, a follower of the house of Grandtully, and soon placed himself at the head of all the performers in the country, although Perthshire then produced more able reel and strathspey players than any other county in Scotland. Before he reached manhood he had engaged in a public competition there, and carried off the prize, which was decided by an aged and blind but skillful minstrel, who, in awarding it said, that "he could distinguish the *stroke of Neil's bow* among a hundred players." This ascendancy he ever after maintained, not only in his native

place, but throughout Scotland, where it has been universally admitted that, as a reel and strathspey player, he had no superior, and indeed no rival in his own time.

Neil Gow was the first of his family, so far as is known, who rendered the name celebrated in our national music; but his children afterwards proved that, in their case at any rate, genius and talent were hereditary. Although Neil was born, and lived the whole of a long life, in a small village in the Highlands of Perthshire, with no ambition for the honours and advancement which, in general, are only to be obtained by a residence in great cities; and although he was in a manner a self-taught artist, and confined his labours chiefly to what may be considered a subordinate branch of the profession of music; yet he acquired a notoriety and renown beyond what was destined to many able and scientific professors, of whom hundreds have flourished and been forgotten since his time, while his name continues, especially in Scotland, familiar as a household word.

Many causes contributed to this. The chief ones, no doubt, were his unquestioned skill in executing the national music of Scotland, and the genius he displayed in the composition of a great number of beautiful melodies. But these were enhanced in no small degree by other accessory causes. There was a peculiar spirit, and Celtic character and enthusiasm, which he threw into his performances, and which distinguished his bow amid the largest band. His appearance, too, was prepossessing—his countenance open, honest, and pleasing—his figure compact and manly, which was shown to advantage in the tight tartan knee-breeches and hose which he always wore. There was also an openness and eccentricity in his manner, which, while it was homely, easy, and unaffected, was at the same time characterized by great self-possession and downrightness; and being accompanied by acute penetration into the character and peculiarities of others, strong good sense, and considerable quaintness and humour, and above all, by a perfect honesty and integrity of thought and action, placed him on a footing of familiarity and independence in the presence of the proudest of the land, which perhaps no one in his situation ever attained either before or since. Many who never heard him play, and who are even unacquainted with his compositions, fired by the accounts of those who lived in his time, talk to this day of Neil Gow as if they had tripped a thousand times to his spirit-stirring and mirth-inspiring strains.

Living in the immediate neighbourhood of Dunkeld House, he was early noticed and distinguished by the Duke of Athol and his family, which was soon followed by the patronage of the Duchess of Gordon and the principal nobility and gentry throughout Scotland. But while his permanent residence was at Inver, near Dunkeld, he was not only employed at all the balls and fashionable parties in the county, but was in almost constant requisition at the great parties which took place at Perth, Cupar, Dumfries, Edinburgh, and the principal towns in Scotland. So necessary was he on such occasions, and so much was his absence felt, that at one time, when indisposition prevented him attending the Cupar Hunt, the preses called on every lady and gentleman present to "dedicate a bumper to the better health of Neil Gow, a true Scottish character, whose absence from the meeting no one could sufficiently regret." We have already said that he lived on terms of great familiarity with his superiors, in whose presence he spoke his mind and cracked his jokes, unawed by either their rank or wealth—indeed, they generally delighted in drawing out his homely,

forcible, and humorous observations; and while he, in turn, allowed all good-humoured freedoms with himself, he at the same time had sufficient independence to repel any undue exhibition of aristocratic *hauteur*, and has brought the proud man to his cottage with the white flag of peace and repentance, before he would again consent to "wake the minstrel string" in his halls. With the Duke of Athol and his family a constant, kindly, and familiar intercourse was kept up; indeed, so much did the duke keep his rank in abeyance when Neil was concerned, that, when the latter was sitting for his portrait to Sir Henry Raeburn, his grace would accompany him to the sitting, and on leaving the artist, would proceed arm in arm with the musician through Edinburgh, as unreservedly as he would with one of the noble blood of Hamilton or Argyle. The duke and duchess walked one day with Neil to Stanley Hill, in the neighbourhood of Dunkeld, when his grace began pushing and struggling with him in a sportive humour, until the latter at last fairly tumbled down the "brae." The duchess, running to him, expressed her hope that he was not hurt, to which he answered, "Nae-thing to speak o',—I was the mair idiot to wrestle wi' sic a fule!" at which they both laughed heartily. The duke, Lord Lynedoch, and Lord Melville, one day calling at Neil's house, were pressed to take some shrub. Lord Melville tasted it, and was putting down the glass, when his host said, "Ye maun tak' it out, my lord, it's very good, and came frae my son Nathaniel—I ken ye're treasurer o' the navy, but gin ye were treasurer o' the universe, ye maunna leave a drop." The duke at the same time smelling his glass before he drank it, Neil said, "Ye need na put it to your nose; ye have na better in your ain cellar, for Nathaniel sends me naething but the best." Being one day at Dunkeld House, Lady Charlotte Drummond sat down to the piano-forte, when Neil said to the duchess, "That lassie o' yours, my leddy, has a gude ear." A gentleman present said, "I thought, Neil, you had more manners than to call her grace's daughter a lassie." To which our musician replied, "What wud I ca' her? I never heard she was a laddie;" which, while it more astonished the gentleman, highly amused the noble parties themselves. On another occasion in Athol House, after supper was announced, a portion of the fashionable party lingered in the ball-room, unwilling to forsake the dance. Neil, who felt none of the fashionable indifference about supper and its accompaniments, soon lost patience, and addressing himself to the ladies, cried out, "Gang down to your supper, ye daft limmers, and dinna haud me reelin' here, as if hunger and drouth were unken in the land—a body can get naething dune for you." These sayings are not repeated so much to support any claim to humour, as to illustrate the license which his reputation, popularity, and honest bluntness of character procured him among the highest of the land.

When at home, during the intervals of his professional labours, he was frequently visited by the gentlemen of the county, as well as by strangers, whose curiosity was excited by the notoriety of his character. They would remain for hours with him, in unconstrained conversation, and partaking of whisky and honey, commonly called Athol brose, or whatever else was going. Mr. Graham of Orchill used to sit up whole nights with Neil Gow, playing reels with him, and on one occasion Neil exclaimed, "Troth, Orchill, you play weel;—be thankfu'; if the French should overturn our country, you and I can win our bread, which is mair than mony o' the great folk can say." On one occasion, when the Duchess of Gordon called for him, she

complained of a giddiness and swimming in her head, on which he said, "Faith, I ken something o' that mysel', your grace; when I have been fou the night afore, ye wad think that a birk o' bees were bizzing in my bonnet the next morning."

In travelling he was frequently spoken to by strangers, to whom description had made his dress and appearance familiar. At Hamilton, once, he was accosted by two gentlemen, who begged to know his name, which having told them, they immediately said, "Oh! you are the very man we have come from—to see." "Am I?" replied Neil; "by my saul, ye're the mair fules; I wadna gang half sae far to see you." On another occasion, when crossing in one of the passage-boats from Kirkcaldy to Leith, several gentlemen entered into conversation with him, and being strangers, instead of *Neil*, as was usual, they always addressed him as *Master Gow*. When about to land, the Dunkeld carrier, happening to be on the pier said, "Ou, Neil, is this you?" "Whisht, man," answered Neil, with a sly expression, "let me land or ye ca' me Neil; I hae got naething but *Maister a'* the way o'er."

There are few professions where persons are more exposed or tempted to habits of indulgence in liquor, than those whose calling it is to minister music to the midnight and morning revel. The fatigue of playing for hours in crowded and heated rooms—at those times, too, which are usually devoted to sleep—requires stimulants; and not a few have fallen victims to habits acquired in such situations. But, though exposed to these temptations as much as any man ever was, Neil Gow was essentially sober and temperate. He never indulged in unmixed spirits, and when at home, without company, seldom took any drink but water. At the same time he was of a social disposition, and delighted in the interchange of friendly and hospitable intercourse; and it befits not the truth of our chronicle to deny, that prudence, though often a conqueror, did not on every occasion gain the race with good fellowship, or in plain words, that Neil did not find, at the close of some friendly sederunts, "the maut aboon the meal." At least we would infer as much from an anecdote that has been told of him.—Returning pretty early one morning from Ruthven works, where he had been attending a yearly ball, he was met with his fiddle under his arm, near the bridge of Almond, by some of his friends, who lamented the *length of the road* he had to walk to Inver, when Neil exclaimed, "Deil may care for the *length o' the road*, it's only the *breadth o't* that's fashin' me now." It was perhaps with reference to the same occasion that a friend said to him, "I suspect, Neil, ye've been the waur o' drink." "The waur o' drink!" responded the musician; "na! na! I may have been fou, but I ne'er was the waur o't." His son Nathaniel frequently sent him presents of shrub and ale. In acknowledging one of them, he wrote, "I received the box and twenty bottles of ale, which is not good,—more *hop* than faith—too strong o' the water, &c. My compliments to Meg, and give her a guinea, and ask her which of the two she would accept of first."

He was a man most exemplary in all the private relations of life—a faithful husband, an affectionate parent, and a generous friend. In more cases than one he refused lands which were offered to him at a trifling purchase, and which would have been worth thousands to his successors, and chose the more disinterested part, of giving money to the unfortunate owners to enable them to purchase their lands back. He not only had religion in his heart, but was scrupulous in his external observances. He was constant in his attendance at divine worship, and

had family prayers evening and morning in his own house. In regard to his private character altogether, we may quote from a very elegant biographical sketch from the pen of Dr. Macknight, who knew him well, and which appeared in the *Scots Magazine* in 1809:—"His moral and religious principles were originally correct, rational, and heartfelt, and they were never corrupted. His duty in the domestic relations of life he uniformly fulfilled with exemplary fidelity, generosity, and kindness. In short, by the general integrity, prudence, and propriety of his conduct, he deserved, and he lived and died possessing, as large a portion of respect from his equals, and of good-will from his superiors, as has ever fallen to the lot of any man of his rank."

In a professional point of view Neil Gow is to be judged according to circumstances. He never had the advantage of great masters, and indeed was almost entirely self-taught. It would be idle to inquire what he might have been had he devoted himself to the science as a study. He did not, so far as is known, attempt the composition of difficult or concerted pieces; and it is believed did not do much even in the way of arrangement to his own melodies. He was one of nature's musicians, and confined himself to what genius can conceive and execute, without the intervention of much science—the composition of melodies: and, after all, melody is the true test of musical genius;—no composition, however philosophical, learned, and elaborate, can live, if it wants its divine inspiration; and the science of Handel, Haydn, and Mozart would not have rescued their names from oblivion, had the soul of melody not sparkled like a gem through all the cunning framework and arrangement of their noble compositions. He composed a great number of tunes, nearly a hundred of which are to be found in the collections published by his son Nathaniel at Edinburgh. The greater portion of them are of a lively character, and suited for dancing, such as reels, strathspeys, and quick-steps. It would not be interesting in a notice like this to enumerate the titles of so many compositions; but we may safely refer to the beautiful air of *Locherrock Side*, to which Burns wrote his pathetic ballad of *Oh! stay, sweet warbling Woodlark, stay*, and which is equally effective as a quick dancing tune—to the *Lament for Abercainry*, and his *Farewell to Whisky*—as specimens which entitled him to take his place among the best-known composers of Scottish music which our country has produced.

As a performer of Scottish music on the violin, we have already said that he was acknowledged to have been the ablest of his day; and we cannot do better than once more quote from the biographic sketch written by Dr. Macknight, himself a skilful violinist, and who frequently heard Neil play, to illustrate the peculiar character of his style:—"There is perhaps no species whatever of music executed on the violin, in which the characteristic expression depends more on the power of the *bow*, particularly in what is called the *upward* or *returning stroke*, than the Highland reel. Here accordingly was Gow's forte. His bow-hand, as a suitable instrument of his genius, was uncommonly powerful; and when the note produced by the *up-bow* was often feeble and indistinct in other hands, it was struck in his playing with a strength and certainty which never failed to surprise and delight the skilful hearer. As an example may be mentioned his manner of striking the tenor C in *Athol House*. To this extraordinary power of the bow, in the hand of great original genius, must be ascribed the singular felicity of expression which he gave to all his music, and the

native Highland *gout* of certain tunes, such as *Tulloch Gorum*, in which his taste and style of bowing could never be exactly reached by any other performer. We may add the effect of the *sudden shout*, with which he frequently accompanied his playing in the quick tunes, and which seemed instantly to *electrify* the dancers; inspiring them with new life and energy, and rousing the spirits of the most inanimate. Thus it has been well observed, 'the violin in his hands sounded like the harp of Ossian, or the lyre of Orpheus,' and gave reality to the poetic fictions which describe the astonishing effects of their performance."

Such was the estimation in which Neil Gow was held, that Sir Henry Raeburn, the most eminent portrait painter then in Scotland, was employed first to paint his portrait for the county-hall of Perth, and afterwards separate portraits for the Duke of Athol, Lord Gray, and the Honourable Mr. Maule of Panmure, besides his portrait in possession of his granddaughter Mrs. Luke, and many copies scattered through the country. His portrait has also been introduced into the *View of a Highland Wedding*, by Mr. Allan, along with an admirable likeness of his brother Donald, who was his steady and constant violoncello.

Neil Gow was twice married—first to Margaret Wiseman, by whom he had five sons and three daughters. Of these, three sons and two daughters died before himself, but not before two of his sons, William and Andrew, had acquired a reputation as violin-players worthy of the name they bore; the former having succeeded M^cGlashan as leader of the fashionable bands at Edinburgh, and the latter having acquired some wealth in London in prosecuting his profession. He was kind and affectionate to all his children, and during the last illness of his son Andrew he brought him from London. On this subject he wrote, "If the spring were a little advanced and warmer, I would have Andrew come down by sea, and I will come to Edinburgh or Dundee to conduct him home. We will have milk which he can get warm from the cow, or fresh butter, or whey, or chickens. He shall not want for anything." Andrew's eyes were closed by his father under the roof where he was born. Neil Gow took as his second wife Margaret Urquhart, by whom he had no family, and who pre-deceased himself a few years. He retained his faculties to the last, and continued to play till within a year or two of his death. About two years before that event he seemed to feel the decay of his powers, and wrote to his son Nathaniel:—"I received your kind invitation to come over to you, but I think I will stay where I am. It will not be long, for I am very sore failed." He died at Inver, where he was born, on the 1st of March, 1807, in the eightieth year of his age, after acquiring a competence, which was divided among his children. He left behind him two sons and a daughter: John, who settled in London as leader of the fashionable Scottish bands, and died in 1827, after acquiring a large fortune; Nathaniel, who settled in Edinburgh, and of whom we have given a brief memoir; and Margaret, who survived her brothers. Neil Gow was buried in Little Dunkeld Church, where a marble tablet was raised to his memory by his sons John and Nathaniel.

GRAHAM, JAMES, the celebrated Marquis of Montrose, was born in the year 1612, and succeeded to his father, John Earl of Montrose, in 1626, being then only fourteen years of age. As he was the only son of the family, he was persuaded by his friends to marry soon after, which greatly retarded his educa-

tion. Preceptors were, however, brought into his house, and by assiduous study he became a tolerable proficient in the Latin and Greek languages. He afterwards travelled into foreign parts, where he spent some years in the attainment of modern languages, and practising the various exercises then in vogue. He returned to Scotland about the year 1634, with the reputation of being one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age. Being a man of large expectations, and meeting with a reception at court which he considered not equal to his merits, he, on the 15th of November, 1637, joined the Tables at Edinburgh, to the great dismay of the bishops, who, according to Guthrie, "thought it time to prepare for a storm, when he engaged." That the reader may be at no loss to understand our narrative, it may not be improper here to inform him that the Tables were committees for managing the cause of the people in the contest they were at this time engaged in with the court for their religion and liberties: they were in number four—one for the nobility, another for the gentry, a third for the boroughs, a fourth for the ministers; and there was a special one, consisting of delegates from each of the four. The Table of the nobility, we may also remark, consisted of the Lords Rothes, Lindsay, Loudon, and Montrose, the two latter of whom were unquestionably the ablest and probably the most efficient members. In point of zeal, indeed, at this period Montrose seems to have exceeded all his fellows. When Traquair published the king's proclamation approving of the Service Book, Montrose stood not only on the scaffold beside Mr. Archibald Johnston while he read the protestation in name of the Tables, but got up, that he might overlook the crowd, upon the end of a puncheon, which gave occasion to the prophetic jest of Rothes, recorded with solemn gravity by Gordon of Straloch—"James, you will never be at rest till you be lifted up there above your fellows in a rope; which was afterwards," he adds, "accomplished in earnest in that same place, and some even say that the same supporters of the scaffold were made use of at Montrose's execution." The Tables having prepared for renewing the national covenant, it was sworn by all ranks assembled at Edinburgh on the last of February, and 1st of March, 1638, and, in a short time, generally throughout the kingdom. In this celebrated transaction Montrose was a leading actor. In preparing, swearing, and imposing the covenant, especially in the last, no man seems to have been more zealous. In the fullest confidence of his faithfulness and zeal he had been nominated, along with Alexander Henderson and David Dickson, to proceed to Aberdeen, in order to persuade that refractory city, the only opposing one in the kingdom, to harmonize with the other parts of it; but they made very few converts, and were, upon the whole, treated in no friendly manner. The pulpits of Aberdeen they found universally shut against them, nor even in the open street did they meet with anything like a respectful audience. This triumph of the northern Episcopalians was carefully reported to Charles by the Marquis of Huntly; and the monarch was so much gratified by even this partial success of his favourite system, that, at the very moment when he was showing a disposition to give way to the Covenanters, he wrote letters of thanks to the magistrates and doctors, promising them at all times his favour and protection. Montrose soon after returned to Edinburgh, and through the whole of the eventful year 1638, to all appearance, acted most cordially in favour of the covenant.

In the beginning of the year 1639, when the Covenanters had finally set the king at defiance by abolish-

ing Episcopacy, and were preparing to defend their measures by force of arms, Montrose received another commission to visit the Aberdonians, and to provide against the probability of their stirring up an insurrection in the north when his majesty might be drawing the public attention wholly towards the south. While Montrose was preparing for this expedition, having learned that a meeting of the Covenanters in that quarter had been appointed at Turriff, and that Huntly, who had taken possession of Aberdeen, had written to his friends and followers to assemble for the purpose of preventing the meeting, he resolved to protect his friends, and insure their convocation in spite of Huntly. For this purpose he collected only a few of his friends upon whom he could depend, and by one of those rapid movements by which he was afterwards so much distinguished, led them across that wild mountainous range that divides Angus from Aberdeenshire; and, on the morning of February the 14th, took possession of Turriff ere one of the opposite party was aware of his having left Angus. Huntly's van, beginning to arrive in the forenoon, were astonished to find the place occupied in a hostile manner, and retired to the broad ford of Towie, about two miles to the south of Turriff, where Huntly and his train from Aberdeen shortly after joined them. Here it was debated whether they should advance and attack the place, or withdraw for the present; and being enjoined by his commission from the king to act as yet only on the defensive, Huntly himself dissolved the meeting, though it was upwards of 2000 strong. This formidable array only convinced Montrose that there was no time to lose in preparing to meet it; and hastening next day to his own country, he began to raise and to array troops, according to the commission he held from the Tables. Seconded by the energy and patriotism of the people, his activity was such, that in less than a month he was at the head of a well-appointed army of horse and foot, drawn from the immediate neighbourhood, at the head of which he marched directly north, and on the 29th of March approached the town of Aberdeen. The doctors who had given him so much trouble on his former mission did not think fit to wait his coming on this occasion, and the pulpits were at the service of any of his followers who chose to occupy them. It is admitted on all hands that Montrose on this first visit acted with great moderation. Leaving a garrison in Aberdeen under the Earl of Kinghorn, he set out on the 1st of April to meet the Marquis of Huntly, who had now dismissed his followers and retired to one of his castles. On the approach of Montrose, Huntly sent his friend Gordon of Straloch to meet him and to propose an armistice; and for this purpose a meeting took place between the parties at the village of Lowess, about midway between Aberdeen and the castle of Strathbogie. The stipulations under which this meeting took place were strongly characteristic of a semi-barbarous state of society. Each of the parties was to be accompanied by eleven followers, and those armed only with swords. Each party, too, before meeting, sent an advance-guard to search the other, in case any of the parties might have forgotten or overlooked this so far pacific arrangement. After considerable time spent in rather passionate conversation, it was agreed between them that Montrose should march his army from Inverury, where it was now encamped, to Aberdeen, leaving Huntly and his countrymen in the meantime unmolested. Guthrie affirms that Huntly subscribed a writ substantially the same with the covenant. Other writers contradict this, and say that he only signed a bond of maintenance, as it was called, obliging himself to

maintain the king's authority and the laws and religion at that time established, which indeed appears substantially the same with the covenant, though the phrase "established religion" was somewhat equivocal, and probably was the salvo, on this occasion, of the marquis's conscience. Montrose, on his return to Aberdeen, without any of the formalities of moral suasion, imposed the covenant, at the point of the sword, upon the inhabitants of the town and the surrounding country, who very generally accepted it, as there was no other way in which they could escape the outrages of the soldiery. As a contribution might have been troublesome to uplift, a handsome subsidy of 10,000 merks from the magistrates was accepted as an equivalent. This is the only instance with which we are acquainted in which the covenant was really forced upon conscientious recusants at the sword's point; and it is worthy of remark, that the agent in the compulsion was one of the most idolized of the opposite party. Having thus, as he supposed, completely quieted the country, Montrose gave it in charge to the Frasers and the Forbeses, and on the 13th of April marched for Edinburgh with his whole army, leaving the Aberdonians, though they had put on a show of conformity, more exasperated against the Covenanters than ever. Scarcely had the army left the city than, to testify their contempt and hatred of their late guests, the ladies began to dress up their dogs with collars of blue ribbons, calling them, in derision, Covenanters, a joke for which they were, in the sequel, amply repaid.

In the meantime the preparations of the king were rapidly going forward, and by the 1st of May the Marquis of Hamilton, his lieutenant, entered the Firth of Forth, with a fleet of twenty-eight sail, having on board 5000 foot-soldiers and a large quantity of arms. This circumstance had no real effect but to demonstrate the utter hopelessness of the king's cause to all those who witnessed it; yet, operating upon the highly excited feelings of the Gordons, they flew to arms, though they had no proper leader, the Marquis of Huntly being by this time a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. Their first movement was an attack, 18th May, upon a meeting of Covenanters at Turriff, which, being taken by surprise, was easily dispersed, few persons being either killed or wounded on either side. This was the first collision of the kind that took place between the parties, the prologue, as it were, to the sad drama that was to follow; and it has ever since been remembered by the ludicrous appellation of "The Trot of Turriff." Proceeding to Aberdeen, the Gordons, as the fruit of their victory, quartered themselves upon their friends the citizens of that loyal city, where they gave themselves up to the most lawless license. Here they were met by the historian Gordon of Straloch, who endeavoured to reason them into more becoming conduct, but in vain. Finding that they intended to attack the earl-marischal, who was now resident at Dunnottar Castle, Straloch hastened thither to mediate between them and the earl, and, if possible, to prevent the effusion of human blood. The Gordons followed rapidly on his heels; but having lain one night in the open fields, and finding the earl-marischal determined to oppose them, they at last hearkened to the advice of Straloch, and agreed to disband themselves without committing further outrages. Unhappily, however, they had been joined at Durris by 1000 Highlanders, under Lord Lewis Gordon, third son to the Marquis of Huntly, who, though a mere boy, had made his escape from his guardians, assumed the Highland dress, and appeared at the head of these outrageous loyalists for the interests of his father. This band of

1000 heroes it was impossible to send home till they had indulged their patriotic feelings among the goods and chattels of their supposed enemies, which they did to such an extent as to provoke the deepest resentment. The earl-marischal with his little army advanced against them, and on the 23d of May entered Aberdeen, thirty Highland barons making a precipitate retreat before him.

For the suppression of these insurrections Montrose had been again commissioned to the north with an army of 4000 men, with which he entered Aberdeen on the 25th of May, only two days after the earl-marischal. Having discovered by numerous intercepted letters the real feelings of the inhabitants, and that their former compliance with his demands had been mere hypocrisy, practised for the purpose of saving their goods, Montrose imposed upon them another fine of 10,000 merks, his men at the same time making free with whatever they thought fit to take, no protections being granted, save to a very few burghesses who were known to be genuine Covenanters. In revenge for the affront put upon their blue ribbon by the ladies, not one single dog upon which the soldiers could lay their hands was left alive within the wide circuit of Aberdeen. The Gordons, meanwhile, learning that the Frasers and the Forbeses were advancing to join Montrose, crossed the Spey with 1000 foot and upwards of 300 horse, and took post on a field near Elgin, where the Frasers and Forbeses lay with an army superior to theirs in number. A parley ensued, and it was settled that neither party should cross the Spey to injure the other. Both parties of course sought their native quarters; and the Gordons, sensible of their inability to cope with Montrose, determined individually to seek each his own safety. Having nothing else to do, and possessing abundance of artillery, Montrose resolved to reduce the principal strength belonging to the party, and for this end had just sat down before Gicht, the residence of Sir Robert Gordon, when he learned that the Earl of Aboyne, second son of the Marquis of Huntly, had arrived at Aberdeen with three ships, having obtained from the king at York a commission of lieutenancy over the whole north of Scotland. He of course hasted back to Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 5th of June. Aboyne had not yet landed, but for what reason does not appear. Montrose left Aberdeen next day, marching southward with all his forces, as did the earl-marischal at the same time. Aboyne of course landed, and raising his father's vassals and dependants, to the number of 4000 men, took possession of Aberdeen—at the cross of which he published the king's proclamation, bestowing all the lands of the Covenanters upon their opponents. He then proposed to attack Montrose and the earl-marischal, marching for this purpose along the sea-coast, ordering his ships with the cannon and ammunition to attend his progress. A west wind arising, drove the ships with his artillery and ammunition out to sea, so that he came in contact with Montrose and the earl-marischal advantageously posted on the Meagra Hill, a little to the south of Stonehaven, without the means of making any impression upon them. A few shots from the field-pieces of Montrose so completely disheartened the followers of Aboyne, that they fell back upon Aberdeen in a state of utter confusion, with the loss of half their number, leaving to the Covenanters a bloodless victory. Aboyne was rapidly followed by the victors; but with the gentlemen who yet adhered to him he took post at the Bridge of Dee, which he determined to defend, for the preservation of Aberdeen. Montrose attacked this position on the 18th of June, with his usual im-

petuosity, and it was maintained for a whole day with great bravery. Next morning Montrose made a movement as if he intended to cross the river farther up; and the attention of the defenders being thus distracted, Middleton made a desperate charge, and carried the bridge in defiance of all opposition. The routed and dispirited loyalists fled with the utmost trepidation towards the town, and were closely pursued by the victorious Covenanters. Aberdeen was now again in the hands of the men of whom it had more reason than ever to be afraid: it had already endured repeated spoiliations at the hands of both parties, and was at last threatened with indiscriminate pillage. At their first entry into the town, June 19th, the troops behaved with great rudeness; every person suspected of being engaged in the last insurrection was thrown into prison, and the general cry of the army was to set the town on fire. There was some disagreement, however, among the chiefs respecting the execution of such a severe measure, and next day the question was set at rest by the news of the pacification of Berwick, which had been concluded on the 18th, the day that the parties had been so hotly engaged at the Bridge of Dee. Montrose was probably not a little sorry to be confined in the north quelling parties of Highland royalists, when there was a probability of actions of much greater importance taking place in another quarter, upon which the eyes of all men were fixed with a much more intense interest than they could possibly be upon the rock of Dunnottar, the bog of Gicht, or even the "brave town of Aberdeen." Now that a settlement had taken place, he hastened to the head-quarters, that he might have his proportion of what was to be dealt out on the occasion, whether it were public honours, public places, or private emoluments.

It now struck the mind of the king that if he could but gain over the nobility to his side, the opposition of the lower classes would be rendered of little efficacy; and that he might have an opportunity of employing his royal eloquence for that purpose, he invited fourteen of the most influential of the grandees that had taken part against him to wait upon his court at Berwick, under the pretence of consulting them on the measures he meant to adopt for promoting the peace and the prosperity of the country. Aware of his design, the states sent only three of their number, Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, to make an apology for the non-appearance of the remainder. The apology, however, was not accepted; and by the king's special command they wrote for the noblemen who had been named to follow them. This the noblemen probably were not backward to do; but a rumour being raised that he intended to seize upon them, and send the whole prisoners to London, the populace interfered, and, to prevent a tumult, the journey was delayed. Charles was highly offended with this conduct; and being strongly cautioned by his courtiers against trusting himself among the unruly Scots, he departed for England, brooding over his depressed cause and the means of regaining that influence of which he had been deprived by his subjects. Of those who did wait upon him he succeeded in seducing only one, the Earl of Montrose, who was disappointed in being placed, under General Leslie, and who had of late become particularly jealous of Argyle. How much reason Charles had to be proud of such an acquisition we shall see in the sequel, though there can be no doubt that the circumstance emboldened him to proceed in his policy of only granting a set of mock reforms to the Scottish people, with the secret purpose of afterwards replacing the affairs of the

kingdom on the same footing as before. In the spirit of this design the Earl of Traquair, who was nominated his majesty's commissioner for holding the stipulated parliament and General Assembly, was directed to allow the abolition of Episcopacy, not as unlawful, but for settling the present disorders, and on no account to allow the smallest appearance of the bishops concurring (though several of them had already done so and did concur) in the deed. He was to consent to the covenant being subscribed as it originally was in 1580, "provided it be so conceived that our subjects do not thereby be required to abjure Episcopacy as a part of Popery, or against God's law." If the assembly required it to be abjured, as contrary to the constitution of the Church of Scotland, he was to yield rather than make a breach; and the proceedings of the assembly at Glasgow he was to ratify, not as deeds of that meeting, all mention of which he was to avoid, but as acts of this present assembly; and to make everything sure his own way when the assembly business was closed, immediately before prayers, he was enjoined to make protestation, in the fairest way possible, that in respect of his majesty "not coming to the assembly in person, and his instructions being hastily written, many things may have occurred upon which he had not his majesty's pleasure; therefore, in case anything had escaped him, or been condescended upon prejudicial to his majesty's service, his majesty may be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place." By these and other devices of a similar character Charles imagined that he could lawfully render the whole proceedings of the assembly null and void at any time he might think it proper to declare himself. Traquair seconded the views of his master with great dexterity, and the assembly suspecting no bad faith, everything was amicably adjusted.

In the parliament that sat down on the last day of August, 1639, the day after the rising of the General Assembly, matters did not go quite so smoothly. Episcopacy being abolished, and with it the civil power of churchmen, the fourteen bishops, who had formed the third estate of the kingdom in parliament, were wanting. To fill up this deficiency, the other two estates proposed, instead of the bishops, to elect fourteen persons from the lower barons; but this was protested against by the commissioner, and by and by their proceedings were interrupted by an order for their prorogation till the 2d day of June, 1640. Against this prorogation the house protested as an invasion of their rights; but they nevertheless gave instant obedience, after they had appointed commissioners to remonstrate with his majesty, and to supplicate him for a revival of his commands. Before these commissioners found their way into the presence of Charles, however, he had fully resolved upon renewing the war, and all the arguments they could urge were of course unavailing. Charles, on this occasion, certainly displayed a want of consideration which was very extraordinary; he had emptied his treasury by his last fruitless campaign, yet continued his preparations against Scotland, though he could not raise one penny but by illegal and desperate expedients, which alienated the hearts of his English subjects more and more from him every day. The Scots were, at the same time, perfectly aware of what was intended, and they made such preparations as were in their power to avert the danger. As the subject of this memoir, however, seems not to have taken any particular or prominent part in these preparations, we must pass them over, referring the reader to the lives of those individuals who at this time took the most active part in conducting public affairs. Suffice it to say that, to oppose the army of

Charles, which he had with great difficulty increased to 19,000 foot and 2000 horse, the Scots had an army of 23,000 foot, 3000 horse, and a considerable train of artillery. Of this army Alexander Leslie was again appointed commander-in-chief; Lord Almond, brother to the Earl of Livingston, lieutenant-general; W. Baillie, of the Lamington family, major-general; Colonel A. Hamilton, general of artillery; Colonel John Leslie, quartermaster-general; and A. Gibson, younger, of Durie, commissary-general. The nobles in general had the rank of colonel, with the assistance of veteran officers as lieutenant-colonels. Montrose, though his disaffection to the cause was now no secret, had still as formerly two regiments, one of horse and another of foot. All these appointments were made in the month of April, 1640, but excepting some smaller bodies for suppressing local risings in the north, the army did not begin to assemble till the middle of July, and it was not till the end of that month that it was marched to Chouseley Wood, about four miles to the west of Dunse, and within six of the border.

The Scots had from the beginning of these troubles determined to carry the war, should war become inevitable, into England. This was sound policy; but as they did not wish to make war upon the English people, who were suffering equally with themselves, and were making the most praiseworthy exertions to limit the royal prerogative, it required no ordinary degree of prudence to carry it into execution. The leaders of the covenant, however, possessed powers fully adequate for the occasion. Notwithstanding of their warlike preparations, which were upon a scale equal to the magnitude of the enterprise, they continued to preserve the most perfect decorum, both of language and manner; and they sent before the army two printed papers, the one entitled "Six Considerations, manifesting the Lawfulness of their Expedition into England," the other "The Intentions of the Army of the Kingdom of Scotland declared to their Brethren of England." In these papers, which for cogency of argument and elegance of composition may safely be compared with any similar productions of any age, they set forth in strong but temperate language the nature, the number, and the aggravations of their grievances. Their representations coming in the proper time, had the most powerful effect. If there was yet, at the time the parliament was convened, in a majority of the people some tenderness towards the power of the monarch and the dignity of the prelates, everything of the kind was now gone. The dissolution of a parliament, which for twelve years had been so impatiently expected, and so firmly depended on for at least a partial redress of grievances, and the innumerable oppressions that had been crowded into the short space between that dissolution and this appearance on the part of the Scots, together with the exorbitances of the convocation—that, contrary to all former precedent, had been allowed to sit, though the parliament was dissolved—had so wrought upon the minds of men, that the threatenings these remonstrances breathed against prelates were grateful to the English nation, and the sharp expressions against the form and discipline of the Established church gave no offence save to the few who composed the court faction. So completely did these declarations meet the general feeling, that the Scots were expected with impatience, and every accident that retarded their march was regarded as hurtful to the interests of the public. The northern counties, which lay immediately exposed to the invasion, absolutely refused to lend money to pay troops, or to furnish horses to mount the mus-

queteers; and the train-bands would not stir a foot without pay.

Anxious to make good their professions, the Scots were some time before they could advance, for want of money. The small supplies with which they had commenced operations being already nearly exhausted, two of the most popular of the nobility, along with Mr. Alexander Henderson and Secretary Johnston, were sent back to Edinburgh to see what could be done in the way of procuring gratuitous supplies. As it would have been displeasing to the English had the army been under the necessity of cutting down trees for erecting huts, as had been the practice in former times, when inroads were made upon their border, the commissioners were instructed to use their influence with their countrymen to provide as much cloth as would serve for tents during their encampments in that country. It was late on a Saturday night when the commissioners arrived in Edinburgh, but the exhortations of the ministers next day were so effectual, that on Monday the women of Edinburgh alone produced webs of coarse linen, vulgarly called *harn*, nearly sufficient for tents to the whole army; and the married men, with equal promptitude, advanced the sum of £120,000, with a promise of remitting as much more in a few days, which they did accordingly. Having obtained these supplies and a considerable train of black cattle and sheep to be used as provisions, the Scottish army moved from Chouseley Wood towards Coldstream, where they intended to enter England by a well-known ford over the Tweed. The river being swollen, they were obliged to camp on a spacious plain called Hirsell Haugh, till the flood should subside; and here they first proved the cloth furnished them for tents by the good women of Edinburgh. On the 20th, the river having sunk to its ordinary level, it was resolved that the army should march forward. This, however, was considered so momentous an affair, that not one of the leading men would volunteer to be the first to set hostile feet upon the English border; and it was left to the lot to decide who should have the honour or the demerit of doing so. The lot fell upon Montrose, who, aware of his own defection, and afraid of those suspicions with which he already saw himself regarded, eagerly laid hold of this opportunity to lay them asleep. Plunging at once into the stream he waded through to the other side without a single attendant, but immediately returned to encourage his men; and a line of horse being planted on the upper side of the ford to break the force of the stream, the foot passed easily and safely, only one man being drowned of the whole army. The commanders, like Montrose, with the exception of those who commanded the horse employed to break the force of the water, waded at the head of their respective regiments, and though it was four o'clock, P.M. before they began to pass, the whole were on the English side before midnight. They encamped for that night on a hill that had been occupied by a troop of English horse set to guard the ford, but which had fled before the superior force of the Scottish army; large fires were kindled in advance, which, says one of the actors in the scene, "rose like so many heralds proclaiming our crossing of the river, or rather like so many prodigious comets foretelling the fall of this ensuing storm upon our enemies in England;" contrary to the intentions of the Scots, "these fires so terrified the country people, that they all fled with bag and baggage towards the south parts of the country," according to the above author, "leaving their desolate houses to the mercy of the army." Charles left London to take command of his army, which

had already rendezvoused at York, on the same day the Scottish army crossed the Tweed. This army, as we have stated above, was said to be 21,000 strong; but from the aversion of the people in general to the service, there is reason to suppose that in reality it fell far short of that number. The Earl of Northumberland was nominated to the command, but he felt, says an English historian, disgusted at being called forth to act the most conspicuous part in a business which no good man in the kingdom relished; and taking advantage of a slight indisposition, he declared himself unfit to perform the duties of his function. Strafford, of course, exercised the supreme command, though only with the title of lieutenant-general, not caring to assume that of general, because of the envy and odium that attended him. Lord Conway, who commanded under Strafford, had been stationed at Newcastle with a strong garrison to protect the town, which it was supposed he might easily do, as it was fortified, and well stored with provisions.

On the 21st the Scottish army marched in the direction of Newcastle, and encamped for the night on Millfield Race. On the 22d they proceeded to the river Glen, where they were joined by about 7000 of their brethren, who had entered England by Kelso. The whole marched the same night to Middleton Haugh. On Thursday the 27th they came in sight of Newcastle. During this whole march the Scots acted up to their previous professions; every Englishman that came into the camp they caressed and loaded with kindness, and now they despatched a drummer to Newcastle with two letters, one to the mayor, and another to the military governor of the city, demanding in the most civil manner liberty to pass peaceably through, that they might lay their petition at the feet of their sovereign. The messenger was, however, sent back with his letters unopened, because they were sealed; and before he reached the army in his return, the general had determined to pass the Tyne at Newburn, about five or six miles above Newcastle. The principal ford below the village of Newburn, as well as two others, Conway had commanded by trenches, but as the river was passable in many other places not far distant, he had resolved on a retreat. Strafford, however, who undervalued the Scots, was anxious for a battle, if it were only to see what was the mettle of the parties, and commanded him to abide at his post. In approaching Newburn, General Leslie and a few of the chief noblemen, riding a little in advance, narrowly escaped being cut off by a party of English horse that had crossed the Tyne for the purpose of reconnoitring. At sight of each other, both parties called a halt, and some more of the Scottish horse appearing, the English judged it prudent to retreat. The Scots during the night encamped on Hadden Law, a rising ground behind Newburn, having a plain descent all the way down to the water's edge. The English were encamped on the opposite side of the Tyne, on a perfect level, that extended behind them to the distance of more than half a mile. The Scottish position was deficient in water, but in return they had abundance of coal from the pits in the neighbourhood, with which they made great fires all around their camp, which tended not a little to magnify their appearance to the enemy. In the morning it was found that their camp overlooked completely that of the English, and they were able from the nature of the ground to plant their cannon so as to command completely the trenches cast up by the English at the fords. The morning was spent coolly in making preparations, both parties watering their horses at the river (the tide being up)

without molestation. As the river became fordable, however, they became more jealous, and about mid-day a Scottish officer watering his horse, and looking steadily on the entrenchments on the opposite side, was shot dead by an English sentinel. This was the signal for battle: the Scottish batteries immediately opened, and the trenches thrown up by the English at the fords were soon rendered untenable. A few horsemen volunteers under a Major Ballantyne, sent over the water to reconnoitre, with orders only to fire at a distance, and to retreat if necessary, found the whole of the breastworks abandoned. The general's guard, consisting of the College of Justice's troop, commanded by Sir Thomas Hope, with two regiments of foot, Crawford's and Loudon's, were then sent across; and a battery being opened at the same time from a hill to the eastward, directly upon the great body of the English horse on the plain below, a retreat was sounded, the cannon were withdrawn from the trenches, and the Scots passed in full force without farther opposition. The English foot sought refuge in a wood, and the horse, in covering their retreat, were attacked by a fresh body of Scots, defeated with some loss, and their commanders made prisoners. The scattered parties escaped under cover of night, to carry dismay and confusion into the main body. The loss was considerable, but the rout was complete. The English horse, who but the day before had left Newcastle with their swords drawn, threatening to kill each a dozen of Covenanters, made their way into the town in a state of the utmost disorder and dismay, crying, as they rode full speed through the streets, for a guide to Durham, and having strewed the roads behind them with their arms, which they had thrown away in their haste to escape. The Scottish army rested that night upon the ground which the English had occupied, one regiment being still on the north side of the Tyne with the baggage, which the return of the tide had prevented being brought across. Despatches for the governor and mayor of Newcastle, of the same respectful character as had been formerly sent, were prepared on the morning of Saturday; but the committee learning that the garrison had abandoned it during the night, and retired with Lord Conway to join the main army at York, it was thought proper to advance without ceremony. The army accordingly moved to Whiggam, within two miles of Newcastle, where they encamped for the night, and next morning, Sunday the 30th of August, the mayor sent an invitation to enter the town. The troops were accordingly marched into a field near the suburbs, after which the gates were thrown open, and the committee, with the principal leaders, entered the town in state, Sir Thomas Hope's troop marshalling the way, and the laird of Westquarter's company of foot keeping the post at the end of the bridge. The whole company were feasted at the house of the mayor, who was astonished to observe that they all drank his majesty's health. After dinner the company repaired to the great church of St. Nicholas, where a thanksgiving sermon was preached by Mr. Henderson. In the town they found next day between 4000 and 5000 stand of arms, 5000 pounds weight of cheese, some hundreds of bolls of pease and rye, a quantity of hard fish, with abundance of beer; which had been provided for the king's troops, but now was taken possession of by his enemies.

Nothing could be more encouraging than the prospects of the Covenanters at this time. The same day in which they gained the victory at Newburn, the castle of Dumbarton, then reckoned an impregnable fortress, surrendered to their friends in Scot-

land, as did shortly after that of Edinburgh; and the capture of Newcastle was speedily followed by the acquisition of Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields. The number and the splendour of these successes, with the delightful anticipations which they naturally called forth, could not fail to strike every pious mind among the Scots; and a day was most appropriately set apart by the army as a day of fasting and prayer, in acknowledgment of their sense of the divine goodness. Strafford, who, from bad health, had not yet come into action, was hastening to the combat when he met his discomfited army at Durham; and, from the ill-timed haughtiness which he displayed, was soon the only enemy his army was desirous to overcome. His soldiers even went the length of vindicating their conduct at Newburn; affirming that no man could wish success to the war against the Scots, without at the same time wishing the enslavement of England. The prudent magnanimity of the Scots, who, far from being elated with the victory, deplored the necessity of being obliged to shed the blood of their English brethren, not only supported, but heightened, the favourable opinion that had been from the beginning entertained of them. Their prisoners, too, they treated not only with civility, but with such soothing and affectionate kindness as insured their gratitude, and called forth the plaudits of the whole nation. Eager to profit by this state of things, in restoring order and concord between the king and his people, the Scottish committee, on the 2d of September, sent a letter to the Earl of Lanark, his majesty's secretary of state for Scotland, inclosing a petition which they requested him to lay before the king. To this petition, which was couched in the most delicate terms, the king returned an answer without loss of time, requiring them to state in more plain terms the claims they intended to make upon him; informing them, at the same time, that he had called a meeting of the peers of England, to meet at York on the 24th instant. This was an antiquated and scarcely legal assembly, which Charles had called by his own authority to supersede the necessity of again calling a parliament—the only means by which the disorders of the government could now be arrested, and which the Scottish committee in their petition had requested him to call immediately. To this communication the committee replied: "that the sum of their desires was, that his majesty would ratify the acts of the last Scottish parliament, garrison the castle of Edinburgh and the other fortresses only for the defence and security of his subjects, free their countrymen in England and Ireland from further persecution for subscribing the covenant, and press them no further with oaths and subscriptions not warranted by law—bring to just censure the incendiaries who had been the authors of these combustions—restore the ships and goods that had been seized and condemned by his majesty's orders—repair the wrongs and repay the losses that had been sustained—recall the declaration that had been issued against them as traitors—and, finally, remove, with the consent of the parliament of England, the garrisons from the borders, and all impediments to free trade, and to the peace, the religion, and liberties of the two kingdoms.

These demands were no doubt as unpalatable as ever to Charles, but the consequences of his rashness were now pressing him on all sides. His exchequer was empty, his revenue anticipated, his army undisciplined and disaffected, and himself surrounded by people who scarcely deigned to disguise their displeasure at all his measures. In such extreme embarrassment the king clung, like a drowning man,

to any expedient which presented itself, rather than again meet with the only friends who could effectually relieve him—his parliament. There was unfortunately, too, a secret party among the Covenanters, who, with all the pretensions to religion and to patriotism they had put forth, were only seeking their own aggrandisement, and were determined never to admit any pacification that did not leave them at the head of public affairs. Of these, among the Scots, Montrose was the most conspicuous. We have seen with what zeal he imposed the covenant upon the recusant Aberdonians. But since then he had had a taste of royal favour at Berwick, and, as it was likely to advance him above every other Scotsman, his whole study ever since that memorable circumstance had been how he might best advance the royal interest. For this purpose he had formed an association for restoring the king to an unlimited exercise of all his prerogatives, which was subscribed at Cumbernauld, on the sixth day of the preceding July, by himself, the Earl of Wigton, the Lords Fleming, Boyd, and Almond, who held the place of lieutenant-general in the Covenanters' army; and afterwards by the Earls Marischal, Marr, Athol, Kinghorn, Perth, Kelly, Home, and Seaforth; and by the Lords Stewart, Erskine, Drummond, Ker, and Napier. Though this association was unknown at the time, the predilections of Montrose were no secrets, and of course his credit among his friends was rather on the decline; but a circumstance now occurred which displayed his character in the full light of day, and nearly extinguished any little degree of respect that yet remained to him among the members of the liberal party. It had been laid down at the commencement of the campaign, that no person in the army should communicate with either the English court or army, but by letters submitted to the inspection and approval of by the committee, under the pain of treason. In obedience to this rule, when Sir James Mercer was despatched with the petition to the king, a number of letters from Scotsmen in the camp to their friends in the royal army were submitted to the committee, and delivered to him, to be carried to their proper destination. Among these letters was one from Montrose to Sir Richard Graham, which had been read and allowed by the committee; but when Sir James Mercer delivered Sir Richard the letter, who instantly opened it, an inclosed letter dropped out and fell to the ground, which Sir James, politely stooping to lift, found, to his astonishment, was addressed in the handwriting of Montrose to the king. Certain that no such letter had been shown to the committee, Sir James was at once convinced of what had been for some time suspected, that Montrose was betraying the cause in which he had been such a fiery zealot; and, on his arrival at Newcastle, instantly communicated the circumstance to General Leslie, who, at a meeting of the committee, of which it was Montrose's turn to sit as president, that same afternoon, moved that Sir James Mercer should be called in and examined concerning the letters he had carried to court. Sir James told an unvarnished tale that would not admit of being denied; and Montrose, with that constitutional hardihood which was natural to him, finding no other resource, stood boldly up and challenged any man to say that corresponding with the king was anything else than paying duty to their common master. Leslie told him that he had known princes lose their heads for less. He had however too many associates to his treason, to render it safe or rather prudent at the present moment to treat him as convicted, and he was only enjoined to keep his chamber. While

Montrose was thus traitorously spiriting up the king to stand up to all his usurpations, on the one side, Strafford was no less busy on the other, knowing that nothing could save him from the hands of public justice but the king; nor could the king do so, but by strengthening rather than abridging his prerogative. The voice of the nation, however, was distinctly raised, and there was nothing left for Charles but compliance, real or apparent.

From this period forward we know of no portion of history that has a more painful interest than that of Charles I. Our limits, however, do not allow us to enter into it farther than what may be necessary to make the thread of our narrative intelligible. The Scottish committee being sincerely desirous of an accommodation, the preliminaries of a treaty were, on their part, soon settled; and commissioners from both sides being appointed, a meeting took place, October 1st, at Ripon, half way between the quarters of the two armies; where it was agreed that all hostilities should cease on the 26th of the same month. Charles was now necessitated to call a parliament, and on his consenting to this, the peers agreed to give their personal security to the city of London for a sum of money sufficient to pay both armies—for Charles had now the Scottish army to subsist as well as his own—till such time as it was expected the national grievances would be fully settled by a parliament. The Scottish army was to be stationary at Newcastle, and was to be paid at the rate of £850 a day; but the commission for settling the terms of peace was transferred to London, in order to attend the parliament, which was summoned to meet on the 3d of November.

Unfortunately for the king, and latterly for the cause of liberty, the Scots, who had attracted so much notice, and conducted themselves with so much prudence, were now no longer principals but auxiliaries in the quarrel. The English parliament, occupied with the grievances which had been so long complained of, and profiting by the impression which the successful resistance of the Scots had made, were in no haste to forward the treaty; so that it was not finished till the month of August, 1641. The Scottish army all this time received their stipulated daily pay, and the parliament further gratified them with what they called a brotherly assistance, the sum of £300,000 as a compensation for the losses they had sustained in the war, of which £80,000 was paid down as a first instalment. The king, so long as he had the smallest hope of managing the English parliament, was in as little haste as anybody to wind up the negotiations, and, in the meantime, was exerting all his king-craft to corrupt the commissioners. Montrose, we have seen, he had already gained. Rothes, whose attachment to the covenant lay also in disgust and hatred of the opposite party, was likewise gained, by the promise of a rich marriage, and a lucrative situation near the king's person. A fever, however, cut him off, and saved him from disgracing himself in the manner he had intended. Aware that he was not able to subdue the English parliament, Charles, amidst all his intriguing, gave up everything to the Scots, and announced his intention of meeting with his parliament in Edinburgh by the month of August. This parliament had sat down on the 19th of November, 1640, and having re-appointed the committee, adjourned till the 14th of January, 1641; when it again met, re-appointed the committee, and adjourned till the 13th of April. The committee had no sooner sat down, than the Cumbernauld bond was brought before them. It had been all this while kept a secret, though the general conversation of those who

were engaged in it had excited strong suspicions of some such thing being in existence. The first notice of this bond seems to have dropped from Lord Boyd on his death-bed; but the full discovery was made by the Lord Abbot to the Earl of Argyle, who reported it to the committee of parliament. The committee then cited before them Montrose, and as many of the bondsmen as happened to be at home at the time—who acknowledged the bond, and attempted to justify it, though by no means to the satisfaction of the committee, many of the members of which were eager to proceed capitally against the offenders. Motives the most mercenary and mean, however, distracted their deliberations, and impeded the course of even-handed justice; the bond was delivered up and burned; the parties declared in writing that no evil was intended; and the matter was hushed.

At a meeting of the committee, May 26th, probably as a set-off against the Cumbernauld bond, Mr. John Graham, minister at Auchterarder, was challenged for a speech uttered by him to the prejudice of the Earl of Argyle. He acknowledged the speech, and gave for his authority Mr. Robert Murray, minister of Methven, who, being present, gave for his author the Earl of Montrose. Montrose condescended on the speech, the time, and the place. The place was in Argyle's own tent, at the ford of Lyon; the time, when the Earl of Athol and eight other gentlemen were there made prisoners; the speech was to this effect—that they [the parliament] had consulted both lawyers and divines anent deposing the king, and were resolved that it might be done in three cases:—1st, Desertion—2d, Invasion—3d, Vendition; adding, that they thought to have done it at the last sitting of parliament, and would do it at the next. For this speech Montrose gave for witness John Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, one of the gentlemen who were present in the tent; and undertook to produce him, which he did four days afterwards. Stuart, before the committee, subscribed a paper bearing all that Montrose had said in his name, and was sent by the committee to the castle. In the castle he signed another paper, wherein he cleared Argyle, owned that he himself had forged the speech out of malice against his lordship; and that, by the advice of Montrose, Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Andrew Stuart of Blackhall, he had sent a copy of the speech, under his hand, to the king by Captain Walter Stuart. Argyle, thus implicated in a charge of the most dangerous nature, was under the necessity of presenting Stuart before the judiciary, where, upon the clearest evidence, he was found guilty, condemned, and executed.

On the 11th of June, Montrose, Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling, and Sir Andrew Stuart of Blackhall were cited before the committee, and after examination committed close prisoners to the castle, where they remained till towards the close of the year. Parliament, according to adjournment, having met on the 15th of July, letters were read excusing his majesty's attendance till the 15th of August, when it was resolved to sit till the coming of his majesty, and to have everything in readiness against the day of his arrival. Montrose was in the meantime summoned to appear before parliament, on the 13th day of August. He requested that he might be allowed advocates for consultation, which was granted. So much, however, was he hated at the time, that no advocate of any note would come forward in his behalf, and from sheer necessity he was obliged to send for Mr. John (afterwards Sir John) Gilmour, then a man of no consideration, but in consequence of being Mon-

trose's counsel, afterwards held in high estimation, and employed in the succeeding reign for promoting the despotic measures of the court. On the 13th of August Montrose appeared before the parliament, and having replied to his charge, was continued to the 24th, and remanded to prison. At the same time summonses were issued against the Lord Napier and the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, to appear before the parliament on the 28th. On the 14th his majesty arrived in Edinburgh, having visited in his way the Scottish army at Newcastle, and dined with General Leslie. On the 17th he came to the parliament, and sat there every day afterwards till he had accomplished, as he supposed, the purposes of his journey. The king, perfectly aware, or rather perfectly determined to break with the parliament of England, had no object in view by this visit except to gain over the leaders of the Scots, that they might either join him against the parliament, or at least stand neuter till he had reduced England, when he knew he could mould Scotland as he thought fit. He, of course, granted everything they requested. The Earl of Montrose appeared again before the parliament on the 24th of August, and was continued *de novo*, as were also the Lord Napier and the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, on the 28th. In this state they all remained till, in return for the king's concessions, they were set at liberty in the beginning of the year 1642.

Though in prison, Montrose had done all that he possibly could to stir up an insurrection in favour of the king while he was in Scotland; and he had also exerted himself, though unsuccessfully, to procure the disgrace of the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Lanark, both of whom he seems bitterly to have envied, and to have hated almost as heartily as he did Argyle. It was probably owing to this that upon his liberation he retired to his own house, in the country, living privately till the spring of 1643; when the queen returning from Holland, he hastened to wait upon her at Burlington, and accompanied her to York. He embraced this opportunity again to press on the queen, as he had formerly done on the king, what he was pleased to denominate the dangerous policy of the Covenanters, and solicited a commission to raise an army and to suppress them by force of arms, as he was certain his majesty would never be able to bring them to his measures by any other means. The Marquis of Hamilton thwarted him, however, for the present, and he again returned home.

Having been unsuccessful in so many attempts to serve the king, and his services being now absolutely rejected, it might have been supposed that Montrose would either have returned to his old friends, or that he would have withdrawn himself as far as it was possible from public life. But he was animated by a spirit of deadly hatred against the party with whom he had acted, and he had within him a restless spirit of ambition, which nothing could satisfy but the supreme direction in all public managements: an ambition, the unprincipled exercise of which rendered him, from the very outset of his career, the "evil genius," first of the Covenanters, and latterly of the miserably misled monarch whom he laboured apparently to serve, and whom he affected to adore. By suggesting the plot against Argyle and Hamilton, known in history by the name of the "Incident," during the sitting of the parliament with Charles at its head in Edinburgh, he checked at once the tide of confidence between him and his parliament, which was rapidly returning to even more than a reasonable height, and created numberless suspicions and surmises through all the three kingdoms, that could never

again be laid while he was in life; and by betraying the secrets of the Covenanters he led the unwary monarch into such an extravagant notion of the proofs of treason which might be established against some members of the lower house, that, forgetting the dignity of his place, he came to the parliament house in person to demand five of its members, who, he said, had been guilty of treason; an unhappy failure, which laid the broad foundation of his total ruin. With ceaseless activity Montrose, at the same time, tampered with the leaders of the covenant, who, anxious to bring him back to their cause, held out the prospect of not only a pardon, but of their giving him the post of lieutenant-general. Under the pretence of soothing some difficulties of conscience, he sought a conference with the celebrated preacher Mr. Henderson, that he might pry into the secrets of his former friends, which he had no sooner obtained, than he hastened to lay the whole before his majesty in a new accusation, and as offering additional motives for his majesty issuing out against them commissions of fire and sword.

The king, having now disengaged himself from the controlling influence of the Marquis of Hamilton, entered into an arrangement, in terms of which the Earl of Antrim, who was at the time waiting upon his majesty, undertook to transport into Scotland a few thousands of his Irish retainers, at whose head, and with the assistance of a band of Highland royalists, Montrose was to attempt the subversion of the existing Scottish government. The time appointed for the execution of this scheme was the beginning of April, 1644. Arms and ammunition were in the meantime to be imported from the Continent, and a small auxiliary force procured from the King of Denmark.

As the time approached, Montrose, raised to the rank of marquis, left Oxford with the royal commission to be lieutenant-general for Scotland, under Prince Rupert, and accompanied by about 100 cavaliers, mostly his personal friends. To these he added a small body of militia in passing through the northern counties of England, and on the 13th of April entered Scotland on the western border; and pushing into Dumfries, he there erected his standard, and proposed to wait till he should hear of the arrival of his Irish auxiliaries. In two days, however, he was under the necessity of making a precipitate retreat to Carlisle. This so speedy catastrophe did not tend to exalt the character of Montrose among the English cavaliers, who had pretty generally been of opinion that a diversion in Scotland in the then state of the country was utterly impracticable. Montrose, however, had lost nothing of his self-confidence, and he applied to Prince Rupert for 1000 horse, with which he promised to cut his way through all that Scotland could oppose to him. This the prince promised he should have, though he probably never intended any such thing, for he regarded him in no other light than that of a very wrong-headed enthusiast. Even his more particular friends, appalled by the reports of the state of matters in the north, began to melt from his side, and he was universally advised to give up his commission, and reserve himself for a more favourable opportunity. The spirit of Scotland was at this time decidedly warlike. Leslie was in England with a large army of Scotsmen, who shortly after performed a prominent part at the decisive battle of Marston Moor. There was an army in the north, which had suppressed the insurrection of the Gordons, and sent Haddo and Logie to the block; and the Earl of Callendar, formerly Lord Almond, was ordered instantly to raise 5000 men for the suppression of Montrose.

The commission of the General Assembly of the church in the meantime proceeded against the latter nobleman with a sentence of excommunication, which was pronounced in the High Church of Edinburgh, on the 26th day of April, scarcely more than ten days after he had set hostile foot on Scottish ground. Not knowing well what to do, Montrose made an attack upon a small party of Covenanters in Morpeth, whom he drove out of the town, and secured the castle. He also captured a small fort at the mouth of the Tyne, and stored Newcastle plentifully with corn from Alnwick and other places around. He was requested by Prince Rupert to come up to the battle of Marston Moor, but on his way thither met the prince fleeing from that disastrous field.

He now determined to throw himself into the Highlands, where he still had high hopes of assistance and success. Making choice of two persons only for his companions, Sir William Rollock and Colonel Sibbald, he disguised himself and rode as Sibbald's groom, and in this manner, taking the most wild and unfrequented ways, they arrived, after riding four days, at Tulliballton, near the foot of the Grampians, the house of his friend Patrick Graham of Inchbrackie, where he halted for some days, passing his time through the night in an obscure cottage, and in the day among the neighbouring mountains. His two companions in the meantime were despatched to collect intelligence respecting the state of the country, and privately to warn his friends. The accounts procured by his emissaries were of the most distressing kind, the Covenanters being everywhere in great strength, and the cavaliers in a state of the most complete dejection. In a few days, however, a letter was brought by a Highlander to Inchbrackie, with a request that it might be conveyed to the Marquis of Montrose, wherever he might be. This was a letter from Alexander M'Coll, alias M'Donald, a distinguished warrior, who had been intrusted with the charge of his retainers by the Marquis of Antrim, with a request that he, Montrose, would come and take the command of the small but veteran band. This small division had about a month before landed in the Sound of Mull, had besieged, taken, and garrisoned three castles on the island of that name, and afterwards sailing for the mainland had disembarked in Knoydart, where they attempted to raise some of the clans. Argyle, in the meantime, coming round to that quarter with some ships of war, had taken and destroyed their vessels, so that they had no means of escape; and, with a strong party of the enemy hanging on their rear, were proceeding into the interior in the hope of being assisted by some of the loyal clans. Montrose wrote an immediate answer as if from Carlisle, and appointed a day not very distant when he would meet them at Blair of Athol, which he selected as the most proper place of meeting, from the enmity which he knew the men of Athol had to Argyle. On the appointed day, attended by Inchbrackie, both dressed in the costume of ordinary Highlanders and on foot, he travelled from Tulliballton to the place of meeting, and to his great joy found 1200 Irishmen quartered on the spot. They had already been joined by small bodies of Highlanders, and the men of Athol seemed ready to rise almost to a man. When Montrose presented himself to them, though he exhibited his majesty's commission to act as lieutenant-general, the Irish, from the meanness of his appearance, could scarcely believe that he was the man he gave himself out to be. But the Highlanders, who received him with the warmest demonstrations of respect and affection, put the matter beyond doubt, and he was

loaded with the highest enthusiasm. He was joined the same day by the whole of the Athol Highlanders, including the Stuarts, the Robertsons, and other smaller clans, to the number of 800, so that his army was above 2000 men. Aware that Argyle was in pursuit of the Irish, he led his army the next day across the hills towards Strathearn, where he expected reinforcements. Passing the castle of Wiem, the seat of the clan Menzies, he commenced his career by burning and ravaging all the neighbouring lands, in revenge for the harsh treatment of one of his messengers by the family, to strike a salutary terror into all who might be disposed to offer him violence, and to gratify his followers, whose principal object he well knew was plunder. Passing through Glen Almond next day, an advanced party of his troops were surprised with the appearance of a large body of men drawn up on the hill of Buckenty. These were men of Menteith raised by order of the committee of estates at Edinburgh, marching to the general rendezvous at Perth, under the command of Lord Kilpont, eldest son of the Earl of Menteith. Being mostly Highlanders and officered by gentlemen of the family of Montrose, or of the kindred clan Drummond, they were easily persuaded to place themselves under the royal standard, which increased his force to 3000 men.

Resolving to attack Perth, where some raw levies were assembled under the command of Lord Elcho, Montrose continued his march all night, intending to take the place by surprise. Lord Elcho, however, had been warned of his approach, and had drawn his men to the outside of the town, intending to hazard a battle for its defence. In crossing the Tippermuir, a wild field about five miles from Perth, Montrose came in sight of the enemy, upwards of 6000 in number, drawn up in one long line, with horse at either end. Lord Elcho himself led the right wing, Sir James Scott of Rossie, the only man in the army who had ever seen service, the left; and the Earl of Tullibardine the main body. Montrose drew out his little army also in one long line, three men deep. The Irish, who were veteran troops, he placed in the centre; the Highlanders he placed on the wings to oppose the horse, being armed with swords, Lochaber axes, and long clubs. He himself led the right wing, that he might be opposed to Sir James Scott, who was an officer of good reputation, having served in the wars abroad—from the Lords Elcho and Tullibardine he apprehended little danger. The Covenanters' horse fled at the first onset, being overpowered, according to Wishart, by a shower of stones, but more probably induced by the treachery of Lord Drummond and his friend Gask. The flight of the horse threw the ill-disciplined foot into irremediable confusion, and they followed in such breathless haste, that many expired through fatigue and fear, without even the mark of a wound. Few were slain in the engagement, but there were upwards of 300 killed in the pursuit. Montrose had not a single man killed, and only two wounded. The whole of the artillery and baggage of the vanquished fell into the hands of the victors; and Lord Drummond, whose treachery had chiefly occasioned the rout, joined Montrose as soon as the affair was over. Montrose entered Perth the same night, where he levied a subsidy of 9000 merks, and stipulated for free quarters to his army for four days. They remained only three, but in these three they supplied themselves with whatever they wanted, whether it were clothes, arms, food, money, or ammunition. The stoutest young men were also impressed into the ranks, and all the horses seized without exception.

On the 4th of September Montrose crossed the Tay, and proceeded through Angus for Aberdeenshire. The first night of his march he halted at Collace, where Lord Kilpont was murdered by Stuart of Ardvorlich, who struck down a sentinel with the same weapon with which he had stabbed his lordship, and made his escape. Proceeding to Dundee Montrose summoned the town; but it was occupied by a number of the Fife troops, and refused to surrender. The approach of the Earl of Argyle with a body of troops prevented Montrose from venturing upon a siege. Proceeding towards Aberdeen, the Aberdonians, alarmed at his approach, sent off the public money and their most valuable effects to Dunnottar, and having a force of upwards of 2000 men, they threw up some fortifications at the Bridge of Dee, for the defence of the city. Montrose however remembered the Bridge of Dee, and, avoiding it, crossed the water by a ford at the mills of Drum, which rendered all their preparations vain. A summons was sent into the town to surrender, and the Covenanters' army being on the march, the messengers who brought the summons were hospitably entertained and dismissed. By some accident the drummer on his return was killed; on which Montrose ordered preparations for an immediate attack, and issued the inhuman orders to give no quarter. Lord Burleigh and Lewis Gordon, a son of Huntly's, led the right and left wings of the Covenanters, which consisted of horse and the levies of Aberdeenshire, a majority of whom were indifferent in the cause. The centre was composed of the Fife soldiers, and those who had joined them from principle. Montrose, still deficient in cavalry, had mixed his musketeers with his horse, and waited for the Covenanters. Lord Lewis Gordon, who had forced a number of the Gordons to engage in opposition to the inclination and orders of his father, rushed precipitately forward with the left wing, which, by a steady fire of musketry, was suddenly checked, and before it could be rallied totally routed. The right wing experienced a similar fate, but the centre stood firm and maintained its post against the whole force of the enemy for two hours. It too at length gave way, and, fleeing into the town, was hotly pursued by the victors, who killed without exception every man they met; and for four days the town was given up to indiscriminate plunder. Montrose, lodging with his old acquaintance Skipper Anderson, allowed his Irishmen to take their full freedom of riot and debauchery. "Seeing a man well cled," says Spalding, "they would tirl him to save his clothes unspoiled, and syne kill him. Some women they pressed to deflower, and some they took perforce to serve them in the camp. The wife durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter before her eyes, nor the daughter for the father, which if they did, and were heard, they were presently slain also." The approach of Argyle put an end to these horrors. Expecting to be joined by the Marquis of Huntly's retainers, Montrose hastened to Inverury, but the breach of faith in carrying the marquis forcibly to Edinburgh after a safe-conduct being granted was not forgotten; and Argyle too being at hand, his ranks were but little augmented in this quarter. When he approached the Spey he found the boats removed to the northern side, and the whole force of Moray assembled to dispute his passage. Without a moment's hesitation he dashed into the wilds of Badenoch, where, with diminished numbers, for the Highlanders had gone home to store their plunder, he could defy the approach of any enemy. Here he was confined for some days by sickness from over-fatigue, but a few days restored him to

wanted vigour, when he descended again into Athol to recruit, M'Donald having gone on the same errand into the Highlands. From Athol Montrose passed into Angus, where he wasted the estates of Lord Cowper, and plundered the place of Drum, in which were deposited all the valuables belonging to the town of Montrose and the surrounding country; there also he obtained a supply of arms, and some pieces of artillery. Argyle with a greatly superior force was following his footsteps; but, destitute of military talents, he could neither bring him to an engagement, nor interrupt his progress. Having supplied his wants in Angus, and recruited his army, Montrose suddenly repassed the Grampians, and, spreading ruin around him, made another attempt to raise the Gordons. Disappointed still, he turned to the castle of Fyvie, where he was surprised by Argyle and Lothian, and, but for the most miserable mismanagement, must have been taken. After sustaining two assaults from very superior numbers, he eluded them by stratagem, and ere they were aware was again lost in the wilds of Badenoch. Argyle, sensible perhaps of his inferiority, returned to Edinburgh and threw up his commission.

Montrose, now left to act as he thought proper, having raised, in his retreat through Badenoch, portions of the clans M'Donald and Cameron, and been joined by the Stuarts of Appin, whom his friend Alister M'Coll had raised for him, he, with the consent and by the advice of his associates, prepared to lay waste the territory of his hated rival Argyle. For this purpose he separated his army into two divisions: the one consisting of the levies from Lochaber and Knoydart, under John Muidartach, the captain of the Clanronalds, entered by the head of Argyle; the other under his own direction, by the banks of Loch Tay and Glen Dochart. The country on both tracts belonging either to Argyle or his relatives was destroyed without mercy. In this work of destruction Montrose was assisted by the clans M'Gregor and M'Nab; who, whatever might be said of their loyalty, were, the former of them especially, as dexterous at foraying and fire-raising as the most accomplished troop in his service. For upwards of six weeks was this devastation prolonged. Every person capable of bearing a weapon was murdered, every house was razed, castles excepted, which they were not able for the want of artillery to master. Trusting to the poverty and difficulty of the passes into his country, Argyle seems never to have anticipated such a visit till the marauders were within a few miles of his castle of Inverary, when he instantly took boat and sailed for the Lowlands, leaving all behind to the uncontrolled sway of these insatiate spoilers, who "left not a four-footed beast in his hale lands," nor, as they imagined, a man able to bear arms. Having rendered the country a desert, they bent their way towards Inverness, by Lochaber, to meet the Earl of Seaforth, who, with the strength of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, occupied that important station.

Argyle in the meantime having met with General Baillie at Dumbarton, and concerted a plan with him, hastened back to the Highlands, and collecting his fugitive vassals and dependants, followed at a distance the steps of his enemy, intending to be ready to attack him in the rear when Baillie, as had been agreed between them, should advance to take him in front. Montrose was marching through Abertarf, in the great glen of Albin, when he was surprised with intelligence that Argyle was at Inverlochy with an army of at least double the number of that which he himself commanded; and aware that Baillie and Hurry were both before him, was

at no loss to conjecture his intentions. Without a moment's hesitation, however, he determined to turn back, and taking his antagonist by surprise, cut him off at one blow, after which he should be able to deal with the enemy that was in his front as circumstances should direct. For this purpose he placed a guard upon the level road down the great glen of Albin, which he had just traversed, that no tidings of his movements might be carried back, and, moving up the narrow glen formed by the Tarf, crossed the hills of Lairee Thurard. Descending thence into the lonely vale at the head of the Spey, and traversing Glen Roy, he crossed another range of mountains, came in upon the water of Spean, and, skirting the lofty Ben Nevis, was at Inverlochy, within half a mile of Argyle, before the least hint of his purpose had transpired; having killed every person they met with, of whom they had the smallest suspicion of carrying tidings of their approach, and the route they had chosen being so unusual a one. Though they rested through the night in the clear moonlight in sight of their camp, the Campbells supposed them to be only an assemblage of the country people come forth to protect their property; and they do not seem to have thought upon Montrose, till, with the rising sun and his usual flourish of trumpets, he debouched from the glen of the Nevis, with the rapidity of a mountain torrent. Argyle, who was lame of an arm at the time, had gone on board one of his vessels on the lake during the night, but a considerable portion of his troops that lay on the farther side of that lake he had not thought it necessary to bring over to their fellows. His cousin, however, Campbell of Auchinbreck, a man of considerable military experience, who had been sent for from Ireland for the purpose of leading this array of the Campbells, marshalled them in the best order circumstances would permit; but they fled at once before the wild yell of their antagonists; and, without even attempting to defend themselves, were driven into the lake, or cut down along its shores. On the part of Montrose, only three privates were killed and about 200 wounded, among whom was Sir Thomas Ogilvy, who died a few days after. On the part of Argyle, upwards of 1500 were slain, among whom were a great number of the chief men of the Campbells. This victory, which was certainly most complete, was gained upon Sunday the 2d of February, 1645; and if, as there are abundant grounds for believing, the letter of Montrose concerning it to the king was the means of causing him to break off the treaty of Uxbridge, when he had determined to accept of the conditions offered him, it was more unfortunate than any defeat could possibly have been.

Instead of following his rival Argyle to Edinburgh, and demonstrating, as he somewhat quaintly boasted in his letter to the king, that the country was really conquered, and in danger of being called by his name, Montrose resumed his march to the north-east, and, after approaching Inverness, which he durst not attempt, made another foray through Morayland; where, under pretence of calling forth all manner of men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to serve the king, he burned and plundered the country, firing the cobbles of the fishermen, and cutting their nets in pieces. Elgin was saved from burning by the payment of 4000 merks, and its fair of Fasten's Eve, one of the greatest in the north of Scotland, was that year not held. The greater part of the inhabitants fled, with their wives, their children, and their best goods, to the castle of Spynie, which only afforded an excuse for plundering the town of what was left. The laird of Grant's people, who

had newly joined Montrose, no doubt for the express purpose, were particularly active in the plundering of Elgin, "breaking down beds, boards, insight, and plenishing, and leaving nothing that was tursable [portable] uncarried away." Leaving the Grants thus honourably employed for the king in Elgin, Montrose with the main body of his army proceeded on the 4th of March to the bog of Gight, sending before him across the Spey the Farquharsons of Braemar to plunder the town of Cullen, which they did without mercy. Grant having deserted his standard and thus become an assistant in robbery, as might naturally have been expected in this sort of warfare, the garrison of Inverness sent out a party to his house at Elchies, which they completely despoiled, carrying off plate, jewels, wearing apparel, and other articles; after which they plundered the lands of Coxtoun, because the laird had followed Montrose along with the Lord Gordon. This compelled all the gentlemen of that quarter to go back for the protection of their own estates, Montrose taking their parole to continue faithful to the king, or at least never to join the Covenanters. This the most part of them kept as religiously as he had done the oath of the covenant. At the bog of Gight he lost his eldest son, a youth of sixteen, who had accompanied him through all this desultory campaign; and dying here, was buried in the church of Bellie.

Having received a reinforcement of 500 foot and 160 horse, which was all that Lord Gordon was able to raise among his father's vassals, Montrose moved from the bog of Gight, intending to swoop down upon the Lowlands through Banffshire and Angus. In passing the house of Cullen he plundered it of every article of plate and furniture, and would have set it on fire, but that the countess (the Earl of Findlater being in Edinburgh) redeemed it for fifteen days by paying 5000 merks in hand and promising 15,000 more. From Cullen he proceeded to Boyne, which he plundered of every article, spoiling even the minister's books, and setting every "biggin" on fire. The laird himself kept safe in the craig of Boyne; but his whole lands were destroyed. In Banff he left neither goods nor arms, and every man whom his followers met in the streets they stripped to the skin. In the neighbourhood of Turriff he destroyed sixty ploughs belonging to the Viscount Frendraught, with all the movable property of the three parishes of Inverkeithny, Forgue, and Drumlade. He was met by a deputation from Aberdeen, who "declared the hail people, man and woman, through plain fear of the Irishes, was fleeing away if his honour did not give them assurance of safety and protection. He forbade them to be feared, for this foot army, wherein the Irishes were, should not come near Aberdeen by eight miles." And "this," Spalding exultingly exclaims, "along with some other friendly promises, truly and nobly he kept!" Though he had promised to keep the Irishes at due distance, he sent one of his most trusty chieftains, Nathaniel Gordon, along with Donald Farquharson and about eighty well-horsed gentlemen, into Aberdeen, to seize some stores belonging to the estates, and to look out for Baillie, whom he expected by that route. These having partly executed their commission, sat down to enjoy themselves, and were surprised by General Hurry, who, with 160 horse and foot, secured the gates and avenues of the town, and, falling upon the unsuspecting cavaliers, killed many of them as they sat at their wine, and seized all their horses. Among those that were slain was Donald Farquharson, "one of the noblest captains," according to Spalding, "amongst all the Highlanders of Scotland." Hurry retired at his leisure, unmo-

lest, carrying with him a number of prisoners, who, as traitors to the covenant, were sent to Edinburgh. Among these prisoners was the second son of Montrose, now Lord Graham, a young boy attending the schools, who along with his pedagogue was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. The corpse of Donald Farquharson "was found next day in the streets stripped naked, for they tired from off his body a rich suit which he had put on only the samen day. Major-general M'Donald was sent in on the Saturday afternoon with 1000 Irishes, horse and foot, to bury Donald, which they did on Sabbath in the laird of Drum's Isle." During these two days, though the Aberdonians were in great terror, M'Donald seems to have kept his "Irishes" in tolerably good order, "not doing wrong, or suffering much wrong to be done, except to one or two Covenanters that were plundered;" but on Monday, when he had left Aberdeen to meet Montrose at Duriss, "a number of the Irish rogues lay lurking behind him, abusing and fearing the town's people, taking their cloaks, plaids, and purses from them on the streets. No merchant's booth durst be opened; the stable doors were broken up in the night, and the horses taken out; but the major, hearing this, returns that samen Monday back, and drove all thir rascals with sore skins out of the town before him; and so both Aberdeens were clear both of him and them, by God's providence, who looked both for fire and plundering—yet he took up his cloth and other commodities, amounting to the sum of £10,000 and above, to be clothing to him and his soldiers, and caused the town to become obliged to pay the merchants, by raising of a taxation for that affect, whilk they were glad to do to be quit of their company." On the same Sunday, the 17th of March, Montrose burned the parish of Duriss, "the hail laigh biggins and corns, and spoiled the hail ground of nolt, sheep, and other guid's." The lands of Craigievar, lying in the parish of Fintry, and the minister's house of Fintry, were served in the same manner the same day. He proceeded on the 20th to Dunnottar, where he summoned the earl-marischal to "come out of the castle and join him in the king's service." On receipt of the earl's answer "that he would not fight against his country," he sent a party who plundered and burned the whole lands of Dunnottar. They set fire at the same time to the town of Stonehaven and to all the fishing-boats that lay in the harbour. The lands of Fetteresso, including an extensive and finely ornamented deer-park, the village of Cowie, and the minister's manse of Dunnottar, shared the same fate.

After so many burnings and such reckless plundering, it must by this time have become necessary for Montrose to shift his quarters. Rapine, indeed, was almost the sole object of his followers; and when they had either too much or too little of it, they were sure to leave him. The north having been repeatedly gone over, he seems at last to have meditated a descent upon the south. A pitched battle with Baillie and Hurry, who were stationed at Brechin with a considerable army, he seems also to have thought a necessary preliminary to his further progress. For this purpose he came to Fettercairn, only eight miles from their camp, where he purposed to rest till they should by some movement indicate their strength and their intentions. Baillie and Hurry were both good officers, and they had a force more than sufficient to cope with Montrose; but they were hampered in all their movements by a parliamentary committee sent along with them, without whose advice or suffrage they were not allowed to act. In consequence of this their conduct was not at all times of a very soldier-

like character, nor their motions so prompt as they ought to have been; Montrose, however, was but a short time in his new quarters when Hurry, who was general of the horse, came out with 600 of his troopers to inspect his situation, and, if possible, ascertain his real strength. Montrose, apprised of his approach, drew out all the horse he had, about 200, whom he placed on an eminence in front of his camp, with a strong body of musketeers concealed in a hollow behind them. Hurry made a dash at the horse, but met with such a warm reception from the concealed musketeers as made him quickly retreat. Hurry, however, who was a brave soldier, placed himself in the rear of his retreating squadron, and brought them safely back to the camp with very little damage. This encounter kept both parties quiet for some days, and induced Montrose to attempt getting into the Lowlands without fighting Baillie, as he had originally proposed. For this end he sent back the Gordons, that they might be ready to defend their own country, in case Baillie should attempt to wreak his vengeance upon them, after he had thus gotten the slip. He then skirted along the Grampians with the remainder of his army towards Dunkeld. Baillie made no attempt directly to stop him, but preserved such a position as prevented him making his intended descent. After being for two days thus opposed to each other on the opposite banks of the Isla, Montrose sent a trumpeter, challenging Baillie to fight, either coming over the water to the north, or allowing him to come over to the south; it being understood that no molestation was to be given to either till fairly clear of the water, or till he declared himself ready to fight. Baillie made a reply, which it had been well for his own reputation and for his country, that he had at all times continued to act upon. He would look, he said, to his own business, and did not require other men to teach him to fight. Both armies then resumed their march, and respectively arrived at Dunkeld and Perth nearly at the same time.

Finding that he could not pass Baillie without a battle, and being informed by his scouts that he had left Perth and gone to the pass of Stirling, Montrose, as an interim employment, that would help to pass the time, and encourage his followers by the abundance of spoil it would afford, determined on a visit to Dundee—a place that was strenuous for the covenant, and which had haughtily refused to admit him after the battle of Tippermuir. Sending off his baggage and the less efficient of his men to Brechin, on the 3d day of April he led 150 horse with 600 picked musketeers against that city; and continuing his march all night, arrived before it by ten o'clock on the forenoon of the 4th. Montrose immediately gave the place up to military execution; and, perhaps, for a kind of salvo to his credit, retired to the top of Dundee Law, leaving the command to Lord Gordon and Alister M'Coll. The attack was made at three different places simultaneously, and all of them in a few minutes were successful. The town was set on fire in various places. The most revolting scenes of outrage and rapine followed. The abundance of spoil, however, of the most alluring description, happily diverted the robbers from indulging in butchery; and, ere they were aware, Baillie and Hurry were both at their heels. Had Montrose been in the town, the whole would have been surprised and cut off in the midst of their revel; but from his post on the hill he was apprised of the approach of the enemy just in time to recall his men; the greater part of them being so drunk that it was with difficulty they could be brought forth at the one extremity of the town as Baillie and Hurry entered at the other. Placing the weakest and most inebri-

ated in the front, while he himself with the horse and the best of the musketeers brought up the rear, Montrose marched directly to Arbroath; and from want of unity of plan and of spirit in the two commanders opposed to him, brought off the whole with but a trifling loss. He reached Arbroath, seventeen miles east of Dundee, long before day. Here, however, he could not rest without exposing himself and his army to certain destruction; and anxious to regain the mountains, where alone he judged himself safe from his pursuers, he wheeled about in a north-westerly direction, right athwart the county of Forfar, and, before morning, crossed the South Esk at Cariston Castle, where he was only three miles from the Grampians. The march which in the two nights and a day this army had performed, could not be much short of seventy miles, and they must now have been in great want of rest. Baillie, who had taken post for the night at Forfar, intending in the morning to fall down upon Montrose at Arbroath, where he calculated upon his halting, no sooner learned the manner in which he had eluded him, than, determined to overtake him, he marched from Forfar with such haste that his horse were in sight of Montrose ere that general was apprised that he was pursued. His men were in such a profound sleep, that it was not without difficulty they were awakened; but they were no sooner roused than they fled into the recesses of Glenesk, and Baillie abandoned the pursuit. The part of Montrose's troops that had been with the baggage sent to Brechin had also by this time taken refuge among the Grampians, and in the course of next day joined their companions.

The parliamentary committee seem now to have regarded Montrose as a sort of predatory outlaw, whom it was vain to pursue among the mountains, and if they could confine him to these mountains, which he had already laid in many places waste, they seem for a time to have been willing to be satisfied. Baillie was accordingly stationed at Perth to defend the passes into the southern shires, and Hurry was to defend, if possible, the northern counties from that spoliation to which they had been often more than once subjected. Montrose's followers, in the meantime, going home to deposit their plunder as usual, his numerical force was for a time considerably reduced. He, however, came as far south as Crieff, for the purpose of meeting with his nephew, the master of Napier, Viscount Aboyne, Stirling of Keir, and Hay of Dalgetty, who, with a few horse, had left their friends in England for the purpose of joining with him. Here Baillie attacked him, and chased him into the fastnesses at the head of Strathearn; whence, next day, April the 19th, he proceeded through Balquhider to Menteith, where he had the good fortune to meet with his friends at the ford of Cardross. Here he had certainly been cut off from the Highlands, but that M'Coll had broken down upon the lordship of Cupar-Angus, killed the minister of Cupar, and was laying waste the whole lands of Lord Balmerinoch, which attracted the attention of Baillie. Montrose, in the meantime, learning that Hurry was too many for his friends in the north, marched through Strath Tay and Athol, raising the Highlanders everywhere as he went along; and, before Hurry was aware that he had crossed the Grampians, suddenly appeared behind his position at Strathbogie. Though thus taken by surprise, Hurry made his retreat good to Inverness; and being reinforced by the troops lying there, marched back the next day to Nairn, with the design of attacking Montrose, who, he learned, was posted at the village of Auldearn. Montrose would now have avoided a battle; but that he knew Baillie would soon be up,

...and he would have lost. Hurry and Baillie contended with. It was on the 9th of May, 1645, that the two armies came in sight of each other. Montrose, who was deficient in numbers, made an admirable disposition of his troops. One division, consisting of the Gordons and the horse, he placed on the left, to the south of the village; the other, comprehending the Irish and the Highlanders, he arranged on the right, amidst the gardens and inclosures, to the north. The former he commanded in person with Lord Gordon under him; the latter was given to M'Coll. Hurry, unacquainted with the ground, led on his best troops to the attack of the right—the main body, which was inclosed in impenetrable lines, and where he was exposed to the fire of cannon which he had no means of silencing. M'Coll, however, who was no general, provoked by the taunts of his assailants, came out of his fastnesses, and overcame by superiority of numbers and discipline, was speedily put to the rout. Montrose, who was watching an opportunity, no sooner perceived Hurry's men disordered by their success, than with his unbroken strength he attacked them in flank. This unexpected attack, however, was received with great steadiness by Lothian's, Loudon's, and Buchanan's regiments, who fell where they fought; and the day might perhaps have been retained, or at least left doubtful, had not Colonel Drummond, one of Hurry's own officers, by a treacherous manœuvre, wheeled his horse into the midst of the foot, and trampled them down while they were at the hottest of the engagement with the enemy. In this battle, as in all of Montrose's, the carnage was horrid; between 2000 and 3000 were killed, few or none being made prisoners. Sixteen colours, with all the baggage and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors. Hurry, though an unprincipled mercenary, had abstained from wasting by fire and sword the possessions of the anti-covenanters, and consequently had provoked no retaliations; but Montrose, more ferocious than ever, ravaged the whole district anew, committing to the flames the gleanings he had in his former rapacious and merciless visitations been compelled to leave, through incapacity to destroy. Nairn and Elgin were plundered, and the chief houses set on fire; Cullen was totally laid in ashes, and "sic lands as were left unburned up before were now burned up." Hurry, in the meantime, was allowed the quiet possession of Inverness.

On the very day that Hurry was defeated at Auldearn, Baillie had come to Cairn-a-mount on his way to join him. He had just ravaged Athol, and the Highlanders were on their way for its rescue, when he was ordered to the north; and by the Cairn-a-mount came to Cromar, where he learned the fate of his colleague at Auldearn. On the 19th of May he broke up his camp at Cromar, having peremptory orders to hazard a battle. He himself had experience sufficient to instruct him in the danger of leading a few raw and dispirited troops against an army of so much experience and so much confidence as that of Montrose; but having no alternative, he marched to Cochlarchie, whence he could discern Montrose's army, in number, as he supposed, nearly equal to his own, encamped among some inclosures in the neighbourhood of that town. The same night he was joined by Hurry, with 100 horse, the remnants of the army that had fought at Auldearn, with whom he had fought his way through Montrose's very lines. Next morning he expected to have had an encounter, but to his surprise Montrose was fled. He was followed at some distance by Baillie, but he took up an impregnable position in Badenoch, where he awaited the return of M'Coll and his reinforcements, having

it in his power to draw from the interior of that wild district abundant supplies. Baillie, on the contrary, could not find subsistence, and withdrew to Inverness to recruit his commissariat; which, having accomplished, he came south and encamped at Newton in the Garioch.

Montrose, in the meantime, penetrated as far as Newtyle in Angus, anticipating an easy victory over the Earl of Crawford, who lay at the distance of only a few miles, with a new army, composed of draughts from the old, for the protection of the Lowlands. When on the point of surprising this force, he was called to march to the assistance of the Gordons, whose lands Baillie was cruelly ravaging. On the last day of June he came up with Baillie, advantageously posted near the kirk of Keith, and, declining to attack him, sent a message that he would fight him on plain ground. Baillie still wished to choose his own time and his own way of fighting; and Montrose recrossed the Don, as if he designed to fall back upon the Lowlands. This had the desired effect, and Baillie was compelled by his overseeing committee to pursue. On the 2d of July the two armies again met. Montrose had taken post on a small hill behind the village of Alford, with a marsh in his rear. He had with him the greater part of the Gordons, the whole of the Irish, the M'Donalds of Glenlarry and Clanronald, the M'Phersons from Badenoch, and some small septs from Athol, the whole amounting to 3000 men. Baillie, on the other hand, had only 1300 foot, many of them raw men, with a few troops of Lord Balcarras' and Halket's horse regiment. Montrose, having double the number of infantry to Baillie, drew up his army in lines six file deep, with two bodies of reserve. Baillie formed also in line, but only three file deep, and he had no reserve. Balcarras, who commanded the horse, which were divided into three squadrons, charged gallantly with two; but the third, when ordered to attack in flank, drew up behind their comrades, where they stood till the others were broken by the Gordons. The foot, commanded by Baillie in person, fought desperately, refusing to yield even after the horse had fled; nor was it till Montrose had brought up his reserve that the little band was overpowered and finally discomfited. The victory was complete; but Montrose had to lament the death of Lord Gordon, whose funeral he celebrated shortly after the engagement with great military pomp at Aberdeen. No sooner had he accomplished this than he sent a party into Buchan, which had hitherto, from its insular situation, escaped the calamitous visitations that had fallen upon most places in the north, to bring away all the horses, for the purpose of furnishing out a body of cavalry. It was also proposed to send 2000 men into Strathnaver, to bring the Marquis of Huntly safely home through the hostile clans that lay in his way. Hearing of the army that was assembling against him at Perth, however, he laid aside that project, and hastened south to the little town of Fordun in Kincardineshire, where he waited for M'Coll, who very soon arrived with 700 M'Leans, and the whole of the Clanronalds, amounting to 500 men, at the head of whom was John Muidartach, who is celebrated in the Highlands to this day for his singular exploits. Graham of Inchbrackie brought the Athol Highlanders in full force, with the M'Gregors, the M'Nabs, the Stuarts of Appin, the Farquharsons of Braemar, with many other clans of smaller number and inferior note. With this force, which mustered between 5000 and 6000 men, about the end of July, Montrose came down upon Perth, where he understood the parliament was then assembled, hoping to be able to dis-

perse their army before it came to any head, or even to cut off the whole members of the government. After he had made frequent flourishes as if he meant to attack them, the army at Perth, being considerably strengthened, moved forward to offer him battle, when he once more betook himself to the hills to wait for reinforcements. Having received all the reinforcements he was likely to get, and much more than he could expect to keep for any length of time without action and plunder, he marched back again, offering the army of Perth battle, which they did not accept. Not daring to attack their position, he passed to Kinross, hoping to draw them into a situation where they could be attacked with advantage, or to escape them altogether and make his way into England. Baillie followed him by Lindores, Rossie, and Burleigh, and was joined upon his march by the three Fife regiments.

From Kinross Montrose suddenly took his route for Stirling bridge; and in passing down the vale of the Devon burned Castle Campbell, the beautiful seat of the Earl of Argyre, he burned also all the houses in the parishes of Dollar and Muckhart; and while he and his chief officers were feasted sumptuously by the Earl of Marr, his Irish auxiliaries plundered the town of Alloa. Stirling being at this time visited by the plague, Montrose did not approach it, but, going further up the river, crossed the Forth at the ford of Frew. Baillie's army marched close upon his track down the Devon, passed the Forth by the bridge of Stirling, and on the 14th of August was led forward to Denny, where it crossed the Carron, and from thence to a place called Hollan-bush, about four miles to the east of Kilsyth, where it encamped for the night. In the whole warfare that had been waged with Montrose, the game had been played into his hand, and on this occasion it was more so than ever. He had taken up his ground with mature deliberation, and he had prepared his men by refreshments and by every possible means for the encounter. The Covenanters, on the other hand, after a toilsome march across the country, took up a position which the general was not allowed to retain. Contrary to his own judgment he was ordered to occupy a hill which the enemy, if they had chosen so to do, could have occupied before him. The orders of the committee, however, were obeyed, the change of ground was made; and while it was making a company of cuirassiers drew from Montrose a remark, "that the cowardly rascals durst not face them till they were cased in iron. To show our contempt of them, let us fight them in our shirts." With that he threw off his coat and waistcoat, tucked up the sleeves of his shirt like a butcher going to kill cattle, at the same time drawing his sword with ferocious resolution. The proposal was received with applause, the cavalry threw off their upper garments, and tucked up their sleeves; the foot stripped themselves naked, even to the feet, and in this state were ready to rush upon their opponents before they could take up the places assigned them. The consequence was, the battle was a mere massacre—a race of fourteen miles, in which space 6000 men were cut down and slain.

The victory of Kilsyth gave to Montrose almost the entire power of Scotland; there was not the shadow of an army to oppose him; nor was there in the kingdom any authority that could direct one if there had. What he had formerly boasted in his letter to Charles would now most certainly have been realized had he possessed either moral or political influence. He possessed neither. His power lay entirely in the sword, and it was a consequence of the savage warfare which he had waged, that he was most odious to his countrymen in general, few of

whom loved him, and still fewer dared to trust him. Notwithstanding the submissions he received from all quarters, there was nothing that with propriety he could have done but to have taken refuge for another quarter of a year in the wilds of Badenoch. He was gratified, however, with submissions from many quarters during the days he remained at Glasgow and Bothwell, at both of which places he fancied himself in the exercise of regal authority. He had now his commission as lieutenant-governor of Scotland and general of all his majesty's forces there. He was empowered to raise and command forces in Scotland, to march, if expedient, into England, and act against such Scottish subjects as were in rebellion there; also to exercise unlimited power over the kingdom of Scotland, to pardon or condemn state-prisoners as he pleased, and to confer the honour of knighthood on whom he would. By another commission he was empowered to call a parliament at Glasgow on the 28th of October next, where he, as royal commissioner, might consult with the king's friends regarding the further prosecution of the war, and the settlement of the kingdom. He proceeded to knight his associate M'Donald, and he summoned the parliament which was never to meet. His mountaineers requested liberty, which, if he had refused, they would have taken, to depart with their plunder. The Gordons retired with their chief in disgust, and Alister, now Sir Alister M'Coll, as there was no longer an army in Scotland, seized the opportunity to renew his spoiliations and revenge his private feuds in Argyleshire.

To save his army from total annihilation, Montrose turned his views to the south. Hume, Roxburgh, and Traquair had spoken favourably of the royal cause, and he expected to have been joined by them with their followers, and a body of horse which the king had despatched to his assistance under Lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale. This party, however, was totally routed in coming through Yorkshire. A party which these two leaders attempted to raise in Lancashire was finally dispersed on Carlisle sands a short time before Montrose set out to effect a junction with them; and while he waited near the borders for the promised aid of the three neighbouring earls, David Leslie surprised him at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, giving him as complete an overthrow as he had ever given to the feeblest of his opponents, on the 13th of September, 1645. One thousand royalists were left dead on the field; and one hundred of the Irish, taken prisoners, according to an ordinance of the parliaments of both kingdoms, were afterwards shot. Montrose made his escape from the field with a few followers, and reached Athol in safety, where he was able still to raise about 400 men. Huntly had now left his concealment; but he could not be prevailed on to join Montrose. Disappointed in his attempts to gain Huntly, Montrose returned by Braemar into Athol, and thence to Lennox, where he quartered for some time on the lands of the Buchanans, and hovered about Glasgow, till the execution of his three friends, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvy, younger of Inverquhar, gave him warning to withdraw to a safer neighbourhood. He accordingly once more withdrew to Athol. In the month of December he laid siege to Inverness, before which he lay for several weeks, till Middleton came upon him with a small force, when he fled into Ross-shire. The spring of 1646 he spent in marching and counter-marching, constantly endeavouring to excite a simultaneous rising among the Highland septs, but constantly unsuccessful. On the last day of May he was informed of the king's surrender to the Scottish

now, and at the same time received his majesty's order to disband his forces and withdraw from the kingdom. Through the influence of the Duke of Hamilton, whose personal enemy he had been, he procured an indemnity for his followers, with liberty for himself to remain one month at his own house for settling his affairs, and afterwards to retire to the Continent. He embarked in a small vessel for Norway on the 3d of September, 1646, taking his chaplain Dr. Wishart along with him, for whose servant he passed during the voyage, being afraid of his enemies capturing him on the passage.

From Norway he proceeded to Paris, where he endeavoured to cultivate the acquaintance of Henrietta Maria, the queen, and to instigate various expeditions to Britain in favour of his now captive sovereign. It was not, however, thought expedient by either Charles or his consort to employ him again in behalf of the royal cause, on account of the invincible hatred with which he was regarded by all classes of his countrymen. In consequence of this he went into Germany, and offered his services to the emperor, who honoured him with the rank of marischal, and gave him a commission to raise a regiment. He was busied in levying this corps when he received the news of the king's death, which deeply affected him. He was cheered, however, by a message soon after to repair to the son of the late king, afterwards Charles II., at the Hague, for the purpose of receiving a commission for a new invasion of his native country. With a view to this expedition he undertook a tour through several of the northern states of Europe under the character of ambassador for the King of Great Britain, and so ardently did he advocate the cause of depressed loyalty, that he received a considerable sum of money from the King of Denmark, 1500 stand of arms from the Queen of Sweden, five large vessels from the Duke of Holstein, and from the state of Holstein and Hamburg between 600 and 700 men. Having selected the remote islands of Orkney as the safest point of rendezvous, he despatched a part of his troops thither so early as September, 1649; but of 1200 whom he embarked, only 200 landed in Orkney, the rest perishing by shipwreck.

It was about this time that, in an overflowing fit of loyalty, he is alleged to have superintended the disgraceful assassination of Dorislaus, the envoy of the English parliament at the Hague; on which account young Charles was under the necessity of leaving Holland. When Montrose arrived in the Orkneys in the month of March, 1650, with the small remainder of his forces, he found that, from a difference between the Earls of Morton and Kinnoul, to the latter of whom he had himself granted a commission to be commander, but the former of whom claimed the right to command in virtue of his being lord of the islands, there had been no progress made in the business. He brought along with him only 500 foreigners, officered by Scotsmen, which, with the 200 formerly sent, gave him only 700 men. To these, by the aid of several loyal gentlemen, he was able to add about 800 Orcadians, who, from their unwarlike habits, and their disinclination to the service, added little to his effective strength. After a residence in Orkney of three weeks he embarked the whole of his forces, 1500 in number, at the Holm Sound, the most part of them in fishing-boats, and landed in safety near John O'Groat's House. Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross had been exempted in the late disturbances from those ravages that had overtaken every place south of Inverness, and Montrose calculated on a regiment from each of them. For this purpose he had brought a great banner

along with him, on which was painted the corpse of Charles I., the head being separated from the trunk, with the motto that was used for the murdered Darnley, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." It had no effect, however, upon the simple natives of these regions, except to excite their aversion, and they everywhere fled before him.

In order to secure a retreat to the Orkneys, the castle of Dunbeath was taken possession of, and strongly garrisoned by Montrose. Five hundred men were also sent forward to occupy the hill of Ord, which they accomplished just as the Earl of Sutherland was advancing to take possession of it. Sutherland retired rapidly before him, leaving his houses of Dunnechin, Shelbo, Skibo, and Dornoch under strong garrisons for the protection of his lands. Montrose, mortified to find in Sutherland the same aversion to him as in Caithness, and confident of his strength and of the distance of his enemies, sent a message to the Earl of Sutherland, threatening to subject his estates to military execution if he continued to neglect his duty and the royal cause. Colonel Strachan had, however, by this time reached Tain, where he met with his lordship and his friends the Rosses and Munroes, to the amount of 500 or 600 men. Here it was determined that Sutherland should get behind Montrose, so as to prevent his retreat to the north, while Strachan with four troops of horse, assisted by the Rosses and Munroes, should march up in his front. When within two miles of him they concealed themselves in a field of broom, and sent out scouts to observe the motions and calculate the strength he had brought along with him. Finding that Montrose had just sent out a party of forty horse, it was resolved that the whole should keep hid in the broom, one troop of horse excepted, which might lead him to think he had no more to contend with. This had the desired effect. Montrose took no pains to strengthen his position, but placing his horse a little in advance, waited their approach on a piece of low ground close by the mouth of the river Kyle. Strachan then marshalled his little party for the attack, dividing the whole into four parts, the first of which he commanded in person; and it was his intention that, while he himself rode up with his party, so as to confirm the enemy in the notion that there were no more to oppose, the remaining parties should come up in quick succession, and at once overwhelm him with the announcement that he was surprised by a large army. The plan was completely successful. Montrose no sooner saw the strength of the Presbyterians, than, alarmed for the safety of his foot, he ordered them to retire to a craggy hill behind his position. Strachan, however, made such haste that, though it was very bad riding ground, he overtook the retiring invaders before they could reach their place of refuge. The mercenaries alone showed any disposition to resist—the rest threw down their arms without so much as firing a shot. Montrose fought with desperate valour, but to no avail. He could only save himself by flight. The carnage, considering the number of the combatants, was dreadful. Several hundreds were slain, and upwards of 400 taken prisoners. On the part of the victors only two men were wounded and one drowned. The principal standard of the enemy, and all Montrose's papers, fell into the hands of the victors.

Montrose, who fled from the field upon his friend the young Viscount Frendraught's horse, his own being killed in the battle, rode for some space with a friend or two who made their escape along with him; but the ground becoming bad, he abandoned in succession his horse, his friends, and his cloak, star, and sword, and exchanging clothes with a





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Highland rustic, toiled along the valley on foot. Ignorant of the locality of the country, he knew not so much as where he was going, except that he believed he was leaving his enemies behind him, in which he was fatally mistaken. His pursuers had found in succession his horse, his cloak, and his sword, by which they conjectured that he had fled into Assynt; and accordingly the proprietor, Neil Macleod, was enjoined to apprehend any stranger he might find upon his ground. Parties were immediately sent out, and by one of them he was apprehended, along with an officer of the name of Sinclair. The laird of Assynt had served under Montrose, but was now alike regardless of the promises and the threatenings of his old commander. The fugitive was unrelentingly delivered up to General Leslie, and by Strachan and Halket conducted, in the same mean habit in which he was taken, towards Edinburgh. At the house of the laird of Grange, near Dundee, he had a change of raiment, and by the assistance of an old lady had very nearly effected his escape. He had been excommunicated by the church and forfeited by the parliament so far back as 1644, and now sentence was pronounced against him before he was brought to Edinburgh. His reception in the capital was that of a condemned traitor, and many barbarous indignities were heaped upon him; in braving which he became, what he could never otherwise have been, in some degree an object of popular sympathy. He was executed on Tuesday, the 21st of May, 1650, in a dress the most splendid that he could command, and with the history of his achievements tied round his neck; defending with his latest breath his exertions in behalf of distressed royalty, and declaring that his conscience was completely at rest. His limbs were afterwards exposed with useless barbarity at the gates of the principal towns in Scotland.

Montrose appeared to Cardinal Du Retz as a hero fit for the pages of Plutarch, being inspired by all the ideas and sentiments which animated the classic personages whom that writer has commemorated. He certainly is entitled to the praise of great military genius, of uncompromising ardour of purpose, and of a boldness both in the conception and execution of great designs, such as are rarely found in any class of men. It is not to be denied, however, that ambition was nearly his highest principle of action, and that the attainment of his objects was too often sought at the expense of humanity. As might be expected, his memory was too much cherished by his own party, and unreasonably detested by the other; but historical truth now dictates that he had both his glorious and his dark features, all of which were alike the characteristics of a great and pregnant mind, soaring beyond the sphere assigned to it, but hardly knowing how to pursue greatness in consistency with virtue.

GRAHAME, REV. JAMES, the author of *The Sabbath* and other poems, was born in Glasgow on the 22d of April, 1765. He was the son of Mr. Thomas Grahame, writer in that city, a gentleman at the head of the legal profession there, and who held a high place in the esteem of his fellow-citizens for strict integrity and many amiable qualities. His mother was a woman of very uncommon understanding; and it may be well supposed that the young bard owed much of that amiable disposition which distinguished him in after-life to the mild and benevolent tuition of his parents. From them also he imbibed those ultra-liberal opinions on politics, which, on the first breaking out of the French revolution of 1789, found so many supporters in this

country, and which Mr. Grahame no doubt adopted under a sincere impression that the diffusion of such opinions was likely to benefit the human race. He was educated at the grammar-school and university of Glasgow. At this time his father possessed a beautiful villa on the romantic banks of the Cart, near Glasgow, to which the family removed during the summer months; and it is pleasing to remark the delight with which James Grahame, in after-years, looked back upon the youthful days spent there. In the *Birds of Scotland* we have the following pleasing remembrances, which show that these days were still green in his memory:

"I love thee, pretty bird! for 'twas thy nest
Which first, unhelped by older eyes, I found;
The very spot I think I now behold!
Forth from my low-roofed home I wandered blythe
Down to thy side, sweet Cart, where cross the stream
A range of stones, below a shallow ford,
Stood in the place of the now-spanning arch;
Up from that ford a little bank there was,
With alder copse and willow overgrown,
Now worn away by mining winter floods;
There at a bramble root, sunk in the grass,
The hidden prize, of withered field-straws formed,
Well lined with many a coil of hair and moss,
And in it laid five red-veined spheres, I found."

James Grahame eminently distinguished himself both at school and college; and we have an early notice of his poetical genius having displayed itself in some Latin verses, which, considering his age, were thought remarkable for their elegance. At this period he was noted among his companions for the activity of his habits, and the frolicsome gaiety of his disposition; his character, however, seems to have undergone a change, and his constitution to have received a shock, in consequence of a blow inflicted in wantonness on the back of his head, which ever afterwards entailed upon him occasional attacks of headache and stupor; and there seems to be little doubt that this blow was ultimately the cause of his death. After passing through a regular academical course of education at the university of Glasgow, during which he attended a series of lectures delivered by the celebrated Professor Millar, whose opinions on politics were by no means calculated to alter those which his pupil had derived from his father, he was removed to Edinburgh in the year 1784, where he commenced the study of law under the tuition of his cousin, Mr. Laurence Hill, writer to the signet. This was a destination wholly foreign to his character and inclination; his own wishes would have led him to the clerical profession, which was more congenial to his tastes than the busy turmoil of legal avocations; but young Grahame passively acquiesced in the arrangement which his father had made, more from considerations connected with his own means of advancing him in the legal profession, than from regard to the peculiarities of his son's disposition and character.

After having finished his apprenticeship he was admitted a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet in the year 1791. His prospects of success in business were very considerable, in consequence of the influence possessed by his father and his other relations; but the death of his father towards the close of the year 1791 seems to have freed him from the restraint which bound him to his profession, and he resumed his original desire of entering the church. For a time, however, the persuasion of his friends induced him to relinquish his intention of taking holy orders; and at length, in the year 1795, in the hope that the avocations of the bar would prove more congenial to his taste, and allow him, during the vacations, greater leisure to indulge his literary propensities, than the more irksome details of the

other branch of the profession, he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates.

James Grahame, while yet at the university, printed and circulated among his friends a collection of poetical pieces. Of this work no trace is now left except in the memory of the members of his own family, and it is only curious as it seems to have contained a rough draught of those sketches which he afterwards published under the title of the *Rural Calendar*. It was in the year 1797 that these pieces appeared in their amended form. Being on a visit to a friend in Kelso when the *Kelso Mail* was commenced, he contributed them anonymously to that newspaper; he afterwards published them, greatly enlarged and improved, in the 12mo edition of his works, in 1807. In the year 1801 he published a dramatic poem, entitled *Mary Queen of Scotland*; but his talents were by no means dramatic; and although this production was a great favourite of his own, it is only deserving of attention as containing some beautiful descriptive passages.

In the year 1802 Mr. Grahame was married to Miss Grahame, eldest daughter of Richard Grahame, Esq., Annan, a woman of masculine understanding and very elegant accomplishments. She at first endeavoured to discourage her husband's poetical propensities, from the idea that they interfered with his professional duties; but on the discovery that he was the author of *The Sabbath*, she no longer attempted, or wished, to oppose the original bias of his mind. *The Sabbath* was published not only anonymously, but the poet even concealed its existence from his dearest relations. The mode which he took to communicate it to his wife presents a very pleasing picture of his diffident and amiable disposition. In relating this anecdote we shall use the words of one who was very intimate with the poet and his family. "On its publication he brought the book home with him, and left it on the parlour table. Returning soon after he found Mrs. Grahame engaged in its perusal; but without venturing to ask her opinion, he continued to walk up and down the room in breathless anxiety, till she burst out in the warmest eulogium on the performance; adding, 'Ah James, if you could but produce a poem like this.' The acknowledgment of the authorship, and the pleasure of making the disclosure under such circumstances, may be easily imagined." *The Sabbath* was subjected to a severe ordeal of criticism in the *Edinburgh Review*; but the critic afterwards made ample atonement to the wounded feelings of the poet and his friends, in reviewing his subsequent work, the *British Georgics*—an example which one cannot but wish that Lord Byron had imitated, by expressing some contrition for the wanton and cruel attack made in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* on the gentle and amiable poet of *The Sabbath*.

About the year 1806 Mr. Grahame published a well-written pamphlet on the subject of the introduction of jury trial in civil causes in Scotland, entitled *Thoughts on Trial by Jury*. This was a favourite project of his party in politics about the beginning of the present century; and during the Whig administration of 1806–7 a bill was brought into parliament by the ministry for the purpose of extending that mode of trial to Scotland. That bill fell on the change of administration; but some years afterwards a bill having the same object was carried through parliament by the succeeding administration; and in 1816 jury trial in civil causes was introduced under certain modifications, and has since been made a permanent part of the civil judicial procedure in this country.

But for the bad health to which he was occasion-

ally subject, Mr. Grahame might have enjoyed much happiness, surrounded as he was by his family, to whom he was devotedly attached, and mixing during the winter months on familiar terms with the intellectual and polished society which Edinburgh at all times affords, and which, at the time alluded to, was peculiarly brilliant; while, to vary the scene, he usually spent the summer either at Kirkhill, on the banks of the Esk, or at some other rural retirement. It was at Kirkhill, surrounded with some of the loveliest scenery in Scotland, that he composed *The Birds of Scotland*. But in spite of the happiness which such a state of literary ease was calculated to afford, Mr. Grahame still looked with longing to the condition of a country clergyman—a vocation which his imagination had invested with many charms. The authority already referred to mentions a circumstance strongly indicative of the constant current of his thoughts:—"The writer will never forget the eager longing with which he surveyed the humble church of Borthwick on a fine summer evening, when the sun's last rays had gilded the landscape, and rendered every object in nature more sweet and impressive. He cast a look of delighted complacency around the peaceful scene, and said, with an accent of regret, 'I wish such a place as that had fallen to my lot.' And when it was remarked that continued retirement might become wearisome, 'Oh! no,' he replied, 'it would be delightful to live a life of usefulness among a simple people, unmolested with petty cares and ceremonies.' At length, yielding to his long cherished wish, he entered holy orders as a clergyman of the Church of England. After having spent the summer months of 1808 at a pleasant villa in the neighbourhood of Annan, where he composed the *British Georgics*, he proceeded to England in the spring following; and after encountering some difficulty, was ordained by Dr. Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich, on Trinity Sunday, being the 28th of May, 1809. That good prelate was so much delighted with Mr. Grahame, that he was anxious to persuade him to remain in his diocese; but Mr. Grahame was prevented from acceding to this request by the prevalence of fever and ague in the district. He resided for some weeks after his ordination at the city of Chester; and there he obtained the curacy of Shefton in Gloucestershire, which he held from July until the month of March in the following year, when he was called to Scotland by family affairs. The accomplishment of his long cherished and ardent desire to enter the clerical profession does not seem to have afforded him that full measure of happiness which he anticipated. This was partly to be attributed to broken health; and perhaps, also, to a natural restlessness of disposition, but more particularly to the change having been too long deferred. Indications of this fact may be traced in the following beautiful lines in the *British Georgics*, which show how deeply he loved and how fondly he regretted leaving his native land:—

"How pleasant came thy rushing, silver Tweed,
Upon mine ear, when, after roaming long
In southern plains, I've reached thy lovely banks!
How bright, renowned Sark, thy little stream,
Like ray of column'd light chasing a shower,
Would cross my homeward path! how sweet the sounds
When I, to hear the Doric tongue's reply,
Would ask thy well-known name.

And must I leave,
Dear land, thy bonny braes, thy dales,
Each haunted by its wizard-stream, o'erhung
With all the varied charms of bush and tree;
Thy towering hills, the lineament sublime,
Unchanged, of Nature's face, which wont to fill
The eye of Wallace, as he musing plann'd
The grand empire of setting Scotland free?
And must I leave the friends of youthful years,

And would my heart now strike the string
Of some friendship in a foreign land?
Yes, I long have the image of struggling seen,
And would my heart now strike the string
Of some friendship in a foreign land?
But my purified conscience and sincere true tongue,
My lamp bids me the praise seek
And this oft-pausing heart forget to throb,
If, Scotland, thee and thine I e'er forget."

On his return to Scotland he was an unsuccessful candidate for St. George's Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh. This disappointment was severely felt by his friends, who, fondly attached to him, and admiring him much as a preacher, were exceedingly anxious to have him settled amongst them; but he bore the frustration of his hopes without a murmur. In August, 1810, he was appointed interim curate to the chapelry of St. Margaret, Durham, where his eloquence as a preacher quickly collected a crowded congregation; and after having officiated there for a few months, he obtained the curacy of Sedgfield, in the same diocese. Having been affected with oppressive asthma and violent headaches, he was induced to try the effect of a change to his native air; and after spending a few days in Edinburgh with his only surviving sister, Mrs. Archibald Grahame, he, along with his wife, who had joined him in Edinburgh, proceeded to Glasgow, where he expired two days after his arrival. He died at Whitehill, the residence of his eldest brother, Mr. Robert Grahame of Whitehill, on the 14th of September, 1811, in the forty-seventh year of his age, leaving two sons and a daughter.

The most characteristic feature in the mind of James Grahame was a keen and refined sensibility, which, while it in some measure incapacitated him for encountering the hardships and enduring the asperities of life, and gave the appearance of vacillation to his conduct, at the same time rendered him sensitively alive to the intellectual pleasures of the world, and shed an amiable purity over his character and manners. It is deeply to be regretted that the wishes of his father should have thrown an impediment in the way of his embracing at the outset of life that profession which was so congenial to the benign gentleness of his disposition. Possessed of a pleasing and intellectual fund of conversation, there was about him an infantine simplicity of character, which rendered him alternately the companion of Francis Horner, and of Jeffrey, Cockburn, Brougham, and his other distinguished contemporaries, and the delight of his own children, in whose most playful gambols he would often join. His personal appearance was particularly striking; his dark complexion harmonizing well with his finely-formed and expressive features, over which there hung a deep shade of languor and pensiveness; his figure was tall, and while discharging the duties of his sacred office his air and manner were truly apostolic.

GRAHAM, JOHN, Viscount of Dundee, was the elder son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse, an estate with an old castle attached near Dundee. The family of Claverhouse was a branch of that of Montrose, and the mother of the subject of this memoir was Lady Jean Carnegie, third daughter of John, first Earl of Northesk. Young Graham was educated between 1660 and 1670, at St. Andrew's university, where he distinguished himself by a proficiency in mathematics, by an enthusiastic passion for Highland poetry, and the zeal inherited from his family in behalf of the then established order of things in church and state. His abilities recommended him to the attention of Archbishop Sharp, whose death he afterwards revenged by so many severities. He

commenced his military career as a volunteer in the French service, and when the British war with Holland was concluded, became a cornet in the guards of the Prince of Orange, whose life he saved at the battle of Senef, in the year 1674; a service for which he was rewarded by receiving a captain's commission in the same corps. One of the Scottish regiments in the service of the States shortly after becoming vacant, Graham, from the favour of the prince, and his interest with the court of England, was induced to offer himself as a candidate for it. It was, however, carried against him, in consequence of which he determined to abandon the Dutch service, and in 1677 he returned to Scotland, bringing with him particular recommendations from the Prince of Orange to King Charles, who appointed him captain to the first of three troops of horse which he was raising at that time for enforcing compliance with the established religion. Of all who were employed in this odious service Captain Graham was the most indefatigable and unrelenting. His dragoons were styled by the less serious part of the people, *the ruling elders of the church*; and recusancy was the great crime they had it in charge to repress. Conventicles, as they were called, the peaceable assemblies of the people in the open fields, to hear from their own ministers the word of God, were the objects against which Clavers, as his name was usually contracted, had it in charge to wage an exterminating warfare; and to discover and bring to punishment such as frequented them, he spared not to practise the most detestable cruelties. But though the subject of this memoir was the most forward and violent, he was not the sole persecutor of the field-preachers and their adherents. In every quarter of the country, particularly in the shire of Fife, and in the southern and western counties—there was a Sharp, an Earls-hall, a Johnston, a Bannatyne, a Grierson, an Oglethorpe, or a Main, with each a host of inferior tyrants, who acted under him as spies and informers—in consequence of whose procedure no man was for a moment safe in his life or his property, either in house or in field, at home or abroad. Arms, of course, were necessarily resorted to by the sufferers, and a party of them falling in by accident with the primate Sharp, in the beginning of May, 1679, put him to death, which excited the fears, and of course the rage, of the whole of the dominant party to the highest pitch of extravagance; and in pursuit of the actors in that affair, and to put down all conventicles by the way, Claverhouse and his dragoons, with a party of foot, were immediately sent to the west.

Meanwhile a party in arms had assembled in Evandale, to the number of eighty persons, with Robert Hamilton of Preston at their head, and came to Rutherglen on the 29th of May, the anniversary of the restoration. There they extinguished the bonfires that were blazing in honour of the day—and having burned the act of supremacy, the declaration, &c., and published at the market-cross of that burgh a short testimony against all these acts, since known by the name of the Rutherglen Declaration, they returned to Evandale. Sermon having been announced by some of their preachers on the approaching Sunday, June the 1st, in the neighbourhood of Loudon Hill, Claverhouse, who it appears was either in Glasgow or its neighbourhood at the time, and had information both of what they had done and of what they intended to do, followed almost upon their heels, and on Saturday the 31st of May surprised and made prisoners, in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, Mr. John King and seventeen persons on their way to join the meeting at Loudon Hill. Tying his prisoners together, two and two, and driving them before

him like cattle, to be witnesses to the murder of their brethren, he hasted on Sunday morning early, by the way of Strathaven, to surprise them before they should have time to be fully assembled. The service, however, was begun by Mr. Thomas Douglas, who had been an actor in the publication of the Rutherglen Declaration on the preceding Thursday, before he could come up; and having notice of his approach, about 50 horsemen and from 150 to 200 foot left the meeting, and met their persecutors at Drumlog, where, being united in heart and mind, and properly conducted, they in a few minutes routed the royal troops. Claverhouse himself narrowly escaped, with the loss of his colours, between thirty and forty of his men, and all his prisoners. Of the country people there were not above three killed and but few wounded. Claverhouse fled hurriedly to Glasgow, where he had left Lord Ross with a number of troops; and, had the Covenanters pursued him, they might have been masters of the city the same day. They waited, however, till next day before they attacked Glasgow; and the streets having been barricaded, they were repulsed with considerable loss by the troops, who were thus enabled to fight under cover. As the countrymen took up ground at no great distance, and as their numbers were rapidly augmenting, Claverhouse and Lord Ross did not think it prudent to attempt keeping possession of Glasgow, but on the 3d of June retreated towards Stirling, carrying along with them in carts a number of the wounded countrymen that had fallen into their hands, and on Larbert Muir, in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, were joined by a body of the king's forces under the Earl of Linlithgow. Still they did not think themselves a match for the Covenanters, and wrote to the council that it was the general sense of the officers that his majesty should be written to for assistance from England without loss of time.

The Duke of Monmouth was in consequence appointed to the command of the army; the whole of the militia were called out, and two regiments of dragoons, under Oglethorpe and Main, then in summer quarters in the north of England, ordered to join them. On the 17th Monmouth arrived at Edinburgh. He joined the army, which had been increased to upwards of 10,000 men, on the 19th, and on Sunday the 22d confronted the poor insurgents in their original encampment upon Hamilton Muir, who, instead of making preparations to receive an enemy, were quarrelling about the manner in which their grievances should be stated, or whether they were to supplicate or to fight; yet a part of the countrymen, with some pieces of cannon stationed to defend the passage of Bothwell Bridge, behaved with the coolness of veteran troops. After having maintained the unequal conflict for upwards of an hour, this little band of heroes were obliged to retreat for the want of ammunition. Monmouth's whole force crossed by the bridge, and it was no longer a battle but a disorderly rout, every individual shifting for himself in the way he thought best. Claverhouse requested that he might be allowed to sack and burn Glasgow, Hamilton, Strathaven, and the adjacent country, for the countenance they had given to the rebels, as he termed them, but in reality for the sake of spoil, and to gratify a spirit of revenge for the affront he sustained at Drumlog. This, however, the duke had too much humanity to permit. But he had abundant room for satiating his revenge afterwards, being sent into the west with the most absolute powers; which he exercised in such a manner as has made his very name an execration to this day.

In 1682 Claverhouse was appointed sheriff of

Wigton, in which office his brother, David Graham, was joined with him the year following. To particularize the murders and the robberies committed by the brothers in the exercise of their civil and military callings would require a volume. Ensnaring oaths and heaths Claverhouse himself had ever at his finger ends; and if any refused these, they were instantly dragged to prison, provided there was a prospect of making anything out of them in the way of money; otherwise they had the advantage of being killed on the spot, though sometimes not without being victims of the most refined cruelty. This was particularly the case with regard to John Brown, styled the Christian Carrier, whom Claverhouse laid hold of in a summer morning in 1685, going to his work in the fields. Intending to kill this innocent and worthy person, the persecutor brought him back to his own house, and subjected him to a long examination before his wife and family. Being solidly and seriously answered, he tauntingly inquired at his prisoner if he was a preacher; and in the same spirit, when answered in the negative, remarked, "If he had never preached meikle, he had prayed in his time;" informing him at the same time that he was instantly to die. The poor unoffending victim addressed himself to the duty of prayer, along with his family, with all the fervour of a devout mind in the immediate prospect of eternity, and thrice by Claverhouse was interrupted by the remark, that he had got time to pray, but was beginning to preach. With one simple reply, that he knew neither the nature of praying nor preaching, the good man went on and concluded his address without the smallest confusion. He was then commanded to take farewell of his wife and children, which he did with the most resigned composure, kissing them individually, and wishing all purchased and promised blessings, along with his own, to be multiplied upon them. A volley from six of the troopers then scattered his head in fragments upon the ground; when Claverhouse, mounting his horse, as if to insult the sorrows of the woman whom he had thus wickedly made a widow, asked her what she thought of her husband now. "I thought ever much of him," was the reply, "and now as much as ever." "It were justice," said he, "to lay these beside him." "If ye were permitted," said the much injured woman, "I doubt not but your cruelty would carry you that length; but how will you make answer for this morning's work?" "To man I can be answerable," said the audacious tyrant, "and for God, I will take him in mine own hand;" and putting spurs to his horse, galloped off, leaving the widow with her bereaved babes and the corpse of her murdered husband without a friend or neighbour that was not at some miles distance. The poor woman, borrowing strength from her despair, meantime set down her infant on the ground, gathered and tied up the scattered brains of her husband, straightened his body, wrapping it up in her plaid, and, with her infants around her, sat down and wept over him. Claverhouse had in the year previous to this been constituted captain of the royal regiment of horse, was sworn a privy-councillor, and had a gift from the king of the estate of Dudhope, and along with it the office of constable of Dundee, then in the hands of Lauderdale, upon paying a sum of money to the chancellor.

On the accession of James VII. he was left out of the privy-council, on pretence that, having married into the family of Dundonald, it was not fit that he should be intrusted with the king's secrets. He was very soon, however, restored to his place in the council, had the rank of brigadier-general bestowed on him in 1686, and sometime afterwards

that of major-general. On the 12th of November, 1688, being then with the king in London, he was created a peer, by the title of Viscount of Dundee and Lord Graham of Claverhouse. This was a week after William Prince of Orange had landed to reverse the order of things under which his lordship had reaped so much honour and preferment. When his majesty withdrew to Rochester, Lord Dundee strongly dissuaded him from leaving the kingdom, promising to collect 10,000 of his disbanded soldiers to march through England, driving the Prince of Orange before him. Happily for the country, and perhaps for Dundee himself, his advice was not taken, and still meditating mischief, he came to Edinburgh, bringing a troop of sixty horse along with him, which had deserted from his regiment in England. The westland men, however, who had come into the city of Edinburgh to protect the convention till regularly authorized troops should be raised, had their eye upon him, as one who ought to be called to account for the many slaughters he had committed; and suspecting that he intended, by the help of his dragoons, to add that of the Lords Crawford and Cardross to the number, they mounted guard upon the lodgings of these two noblemen. This seemed to give great uneasiness to the Lord Dundee, who in the convention which he attended only for a few days, was always putting the question, what was meant by bringing in the rabble; which not being answered to his lordship's mind, he thought it prudent to retire from the city. General Mackay with fifteen troops of horse, by orders from the convention, pursued him through the shires of Perth, Angus, Aberdeen, Buchan, Banff, Moray, and Nairn. On the 1st of May, 1689, Dundee, with 150 horse, joined Macdonald of Keppoch, who with 900 men had invested Inverness, partly because they had proclaimed the Prince of Orange king, and partly for assisting the M'Intoshes, with whom he was at odds. The town, however, compromised the matter by a gift to Keppoch of 2000 dollars, Dundee acting the part of a mediator between them. He offered himself in the same character to M'Intosh; but the chieftain refused to submit to his dictation, for which they drove away his cattle, and divided them,—part to the use of the army, and part to Keppoch's tenants. After having subsisted upon this booty along with Keppoch for upwards of six weeks, he, with his 150 horse, came unexpectedly upon the town of Perth, where he made some prisoners, seized upon a number of horses, and appropriated 9000 marks of the king's cess and excise. From Perth he marched upon Dundee, but the citizens shut their gates against him; and, unable to force an entrance, he turned aside to his own house at Dudhope. After occupying this mansion two nights he returned to Keppoch, whence, after a residence of six weeks, he marched into Badenoch to meet General Mackay and the laird of Grant, who had an army of nearly 2000 foot and upwards of 200 horse. Mackay and Grant, though superior in numbers, retreated before him till they had passed Strathbogie. Dundee pursued with great ardour till he came to Edinglassy, where he learned that Mackay had received considerable reinforcements: after resting a few days he returned to Keppoch. Here, besides recruits from Ireland, he was joined by Macdonald of the Isles with 500 men, by Macdonald of Glengary, the captain of Clanronald, Sir John Maclean, Cameron of Lochiel, and others, each with a body of retainers eager to be led against the Sassenach, for the sake of their expatriated sovereign. Thus reinforced with an army of 2500 men, he advanced upon Blair in Athol. General Mackay, being at Perth, hastened to meet him

with an army of 3000 foot and two troops of horse. Marching through the pass of Killiecrankie, he found Dundee with his army posted on an eminence, ready to attack him as he emerged from that dangerous defile. Having little choice of position Mackay drew up his men in line, three deep, as they could clear the defile, having a narrow plain before them, and behind them the craggy eminences they had just passed, and the deep and rapid water of Garry. Dundee's army was formed in dense masses, according to their clans, on an opposite eminence; whence about an hour before sunset they descended, in their shirts and doublets, with the violence of their own mountain torrents; and, though they received three fires, which killed a great number of them, before they reached Mackay's lines, their attack was such as in the course of a few minutes threw nearly his whole force into irretrievable confusion. One or two of his regiments happily stood unbroken; and while he hastened with these to secure an orderly retreat, Dundee rode up at full speed to lead on the Macdonalds, to complete the victory: but as he was pointing them on to the attack, a random shot struck him below the armpit, and he fell from his horse mortally wounded. He was carried into a neighbouring cottage, where he died the same night, July 27, 1689. In his grave were buried the fruits of his victory, and for a time the best hopes of his party, who, while they eulogized his character in the language of unmeasured panegyric, could not help seeing that the cause of legitimacy in Scotland perished with him. It is hardly necessary to remark, that this anticipation was fully justified by the event.

Lord Dundee was married to the Honourable Jean Cochran, third and youngest daughter of Lord William Cochran, brother to the Earl of Dundonald, by whom he had issue one son, who died in infancy. Of his character, after the brief detail which we have given of his actions, it is scarcely necessary to speak more particularly. That he was free from many of the debasing vices which disgraced the greater part of his associates we have seen no reason to doubt; but if he was less sensual he was more haughty, more perseveringly active and more uniformly and unrelentingly cruel in the exercise of those illegal powers which he was called upon by a most unprincipled court to exercise, than all his coadjutors put together.

GRAHAM, ROBERT. This excellent botanist, who did so much in reviving the study of botany and making it a popular science, was the third son of Dr. Robert Graham, afterwards Moir of Leckie, and was born at Stirling on the 3d of December, 1786. Being educated for his father's profession, he commenced his public life as a physician, and practised for some time in Glasgow. Before the year 1818 there was no separate chair of botany in the university of that city, the want being partially supplied by the professor of anatomy, who read a course of lectures on the subject during the summer season. In the year above-mentioned the government established a separate professorship for botany, and Dr. Graham was promoted to the office. In this, however, he did not long remain, for the chair of botany in the university of Edinburgh having become vacant, Dr. Graham entered the competition for the charge, and was the successful candidate. He was also appointed physician to the infirmary, and conservator to the botanical garden of Edinburgh. Upon this latter office he bestowed such care and attention, that to his exertions the garden is chiefly indebted for its present distinguished excellence.

Although on his appointment to the professorship

in Glasgow in 1818, Dr. Graham's knowledge of botany was little above the average of his brethren, while the general aptitude to the science gave him little encouragement to mature his knowledge of it, the case was different when he was translated to the capital of Scotland. There a scientific and intellectual spirit was in the full flush of vigorous manhood, and while he felt that more ordinary excellence was of no account, the life-stir around him inspired him with its enthusiasm. He devoted himself to the science in earnest, and—what was more—communicated his ardour to his pupils; and under the electric touch the study of botany acquired fresh popularity not only among the lovers of scientific research, but the fair and fashionable world, the members of which thronged to his lectures in the garden, and dissected the beautiful floral specimens by which his lessons were illustrated. A favourite mode of teaching his students also promoted their progress; it consisted of excursions with them during the summer months to distant parts of the country, where nature opened before them the botanical volume illuminated with its richest illustrations. In this manner he perambulated with his class some of the most important districts of Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland; and while he examined and explained their various floral productions, he was induced from the knowledge he thus acquired to prepare materials for a *Flora of Great Britain*, which, however, he did not live to publish. His published works consist chiefly of accounts of new and rare plants which flowered in the botanic gardens of Edinburgh, and notices of his excursions and other papers: these he published in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Magazine*, Curtis's *Botanical Magazine*, and Hooker's *Companion to the Botanical Magazine*.

The muscular frame and vigorous constitution of Professor Graham seemed to insure a healthy old age and prolonged life of usefulness, which, however, were not realized. His health broke down several years before his death, and he died on the 7th of August, 1845, of an encephaloid tumour, which occupied the back part of the thorax, and pressed upon the great vessels of the heart. An enthusiast in his department of science, an able and suggestive teacher, frank in his manners and kind-hearted in disposition, his death was lamented not only by his pupils, but a large circle of friends, to whom his many amiable qualities had endeared him.

GRAHAM, THOMAS, LORD LYNEDOC. This venerable warrior was descended from a common ancestor with the Dukes of Montrose. He was the third son of Thomas Graham of Balgowan in Perthshire, by Lady Christian Hope, fourth daughter of Charles, first Earl of Hopetoun, and was born A.D. 1750. He had thus reached his ninety-fourth year when he died, a period of life which few who have undergone the hardships and privations of trying campaigns are privileged to attain.

Nothing in the early course of Thomas Graham indicated that he would become not only a soldier, but a skilful and successful one. By the death of his two elder brothers he became the heir and representative of the family; and by his marriage with Mary Cathcart, daughter of the ninth Lord Cathcart, his affections were so completely occupied and his home endeared, that he had reached his forty-second year, with the character of an amiable country gentleman, whose highest object was the welfare of his tenants and the happiness of all around him. But all at once this tranquil life was brought to a close by the death of Mrs. Graham in 1792, after she had been married eighteen years; and her husband, who

loved her with a surpassing affection, was inconsolable at her death. The bereavement was also still farther embittered by the circumstance of their marriage having been without offspring, so that no child was left behind to cheer the solitude of his dwelling and restore to him the look and accents of the departed. He felt as if he had sustained a loss for which nothing could compensate; but instead of having recourse to the miserable remedy of the suicide, he resolved at the age of forty-three to devote himself to a military life, where he might find, not a soldier's glory, for which at this time he cared not, but a soldier's early grave, the refuge best fitted for a weary and broken heart. Who would have thought that a feeling so tender and domestic was to produce the victor of Barossa? It is to this commencement of his military life that Sir Walter Scott so touchingly alludes, while describing the chief heroes of the Peninsular war, in his *Vision of Don Roderick*:—

"Nor be his praise o'erpast who strove to hide
Beneath the warrior's vest affection's wound,
Whose wish, Heaven for his country's weal denied;
Danger and fate he sought, but glory found.
From clime to clime, where'er war's trumpets sound,
The wanderer went; yet, Caledonia! still
Thine was his thought in march and tented ground;
He dreamed 'mid alpine cliffs of Athole's hill,
And heard in Ebro's roar his Lynedoch's lovely rill."

This choice of a military life was made after the consolations of travel had been tried and found ineffectual. The bereaved man had wandered through France; but neither its beautiful scenery, nor gay society, nor even the wild events of its revolution, could abstract his mind from its own sorrows. He then became a pilgrim from the shores of the Mediterranean, and passed over to Gibraltar; and it was in the society of the officers there that his choice appears to have been first adopted. He offered himself as a volunteer to Lord Hood, then about to sail to the south of France, and by the latter he was received with welcome. At the commencement of the revolutionary war in 1793 Graham landed with the British troops at Toulon, and officiated there as extra aide-de-camp to Lord Mulgrave, the general in command. In the numerous encounters with the enemy that distinguished this memorable siege, the new volunteer threw himself among the foremost; and on one occasion, when a British soldier fell at the head of the attacking column, Mr. Graham snatched up the musket of the dead man, and took his place. When Toulon was evacuated by the British and Spanish troops, Graham, now a pledged soldier, returned to Scotland, and raised the first battalion of the 90th regiment, in which he was appointed lieutenant-colonel. With this corps he passed the summer of 1795, and was afterward transferred to Gibraltar, where he received the rank of full colonel in the army. The dulness of garrison duty, however, within a sphere so limited as the rock of Gibraltar, was only fitted to aggravate the disease for which Graham was seeking relief, and therefore he sought and easily obtained permission to join the Austrian army, at that time employed against the French on the Rhine. Here he bore a part in the disastrous campaign of the summer of 1796, and was afterwards shut up with the troops of the brave old Wurmser in Mantua, which was invested by the Man of Destiny, at that time known by the simple title of General Bonaparte. The siege was so tedious, that here Colonel Graham fell into the same malady that had compelled him to abandon Gibraltar; and he resolved to leave the garrison in which he served as a volunteer, for more stirring occupation. For this purpose he silently stole out of Mantua on the night of the 24th of December, 1796,

amidst a torrent of rain, and accompanied by only one attendant. It was a truly perilous exit; for all the water communications with the lake formed by the Mincio, on which Mantua is situated, were in possession of the French, so that the lake itself was to be crossed in a boat, which stranded repeatedly upon the little islands, and was every moment in danger of swamping. After groping through the midnight darkness and storm, the landing-place was at last reached; and here a new series of dangers commenced. The country round was trodden into mire and studded with swamps, among which the travellers floundered at hap-hazard; and when morning dawned Colonel Graham, who wore his British uniform, was in danger of being arrested or shot by the enemy's pickets. He concealed himself during the day, and travelled only at night, until he reached a river, for the crossing of which he hired a boat, intending to risk a landing, where he would probably have been shot by the French sentinels, had they not been previously driven from their posts by a heavy rain. He thus crossed the river in safety, and finally reached the army of the Archduke Charles, where he continued till the pacification of 1797 by the treaty of Campo Formio, in which France dictated to Austria the terms of a conqueror and master. This termination of the war in Germany released Graham from his temporary volunteer service, and accordingly he returned to his old quarters in Gibraltar.

The rapid current of events quickly called Colonel Graham once more into the field. His first employment was in the reduction of Minorca, under the command of Sir Charles Stuart, who bore honourable testimony to the valuable services of his brave assistant. After this island had been won, Graham repaired to Sicily, and was of such use in retarding the falling fortunes of the King and Queen of Naples, that they testified their sense of his merits by repeated acknowledgments. He was afterwards employed in an event of the highest importance to the naval supremacy of our country: this was the reduction of Malta, which had been basely surrendered to Napoleon by the Maltese knights on the 10th of June, 1793, while he was on his way to the conquest of Egypt, and which he had garrisoned as a key to the future conquest of India. The strength of fort and rampart was such, that had the gates been merely kept shut, even Napoleon himself, at the head of his victorious legions, could never have entered, so that he only became master of the place because there were traitors within to open them. An assault upon this mighty ocean fortress was hopeless, garrisoned as it was by such troops; and nothing could be done except by a blockade from the land, while our ships of war intercepted every aid that could arrive to it by sea. In consequence of this decision, Graham, now holding the local rank of brigadier-general, invested the approaches to Malta with a small army, sufficient for skirmish and observation. This slow process was successful, for, after a blockade of two years, Malta surrendered to the British in September, 1800. It is true, indeed, that this cession was made to Major-general Pigot, who had previously arrived with reinforcements, and by whom the account of the surrender was sent home; but the despatch bore full testimony to the able and successful arrangements of Graham during the protracted siege. No sooner had the latter arrived in England at the termination than he found the whole land ringing with the Egyptian campaign, and the successful struggles by which the military glory of Britain, so long held in abeyance, had been recalled to its standards. But what chiefly concerned Graham personally was the gallant deeds

of his own regiment, the 90th, which, in conjunction with the 92d, had formed the advanced guard of the British army on their landing at Aboukir. Eager to join his brave fellows, and partake of their glory and danger, he bade a hurried adieu to England; but on arriving in Egypt he found his presence unnecessary, as the whole French army had capitulated. He therefore left the country for a tour through Turkey, during which he stayed for some time at Constantinople, and afterwards, in consequence of the peace of 1801, he visited France and its capital. The next movement of Graham was to Ireland with his regiment, where he continued from 1803 to 1805, at the end of which his place of military service was transferred to the West Indies. Here he remained three years, but without that active employment which still continued to be the breath of his nostrils. At last a prospect of occupation occurred in 1808, in consequence of Sir John Moore being appointed to the command of the armament sent to the coast of Sweden; and having obtained permission to accompany Sir John as aide-de-camp, Graham joined the expedition. It ended, as is well known, in nothing, owing to the Quixotic freak of the Swedish king, who, instead of acting on the defensive, and fighting for life itself in his own territories, thought of nothing less than rushing full tilt against the whole power of Napoleon; and on the refusal of Moore to co-operate with him, by taking the Russian empire as his share of the universal *mêlée*, he attempted to throw the British general into prison, so that the latter was obliged to hasten home with his reinforcements without the opportunity of striking a single stroke. In this way Graham, after all his hopes, had only obtained a short trip to the Baltic, which was anything but a pleasant one. On the return of Sir John to England he was forthwith commissioned upon his eventful expedition to Spain, and to that land of stirring adventure and change Colonel Graham accompanied him, still acting as his aide-de-camp. He therefore participated in all the disastrous incidents of that most unfortunate campaign without the opportunity of obtaining a commander's full share in the glory with which its termination was crowned. But all that could be won by an aide-de-camp he merited and secured. He was affectionately remembered by Moore in his dying moments at Corunna, and one of the last questions of the expiring hero was, "Are Colonel Graham and all my aides-de-camp well?" The services indeed which the colonel rendered to the army during its retreat were such that Sheridan thus described them in his place in parliament: "In the hour of peril Graham was their best adviser; in the hour of disaster Graham was their surest consolation." After a long and laborious run before the French columns in hot pursuit, Graham embarked with the army at Corunna, after it had dealt such a parting blow at the pursuers as sent them reeling backwards. But he was soon to return to Spain under better auspices, and there achieve a victory that should be wholly his own.

This change, so gratifying to the heart of Colonel Graham, did not occur until nearly three years afterwards. During the interval, however, he was again to be connected with those unlucky expeditions of which, it might be thought, he had already obtained somewhat more than his proper quota. This was the Walcheren expedition, in which he held the command of a division, having been previously raised to the rank of major-general. It was a useless and hopeless campaign against malaria and pestilence; so that, during the siege of Flushing he was attacked by the prevalent fever that so fearfully thinned the British ranks, and obliged to return home. On his

... was sent, with the lowest rank of lieutenant-colonel, to Spain, to take the command of the British and Portuguese troops in Cadiz. The situation at this important city was extremely precarious. Being one of the few remaining bulwarks of Spanish independence, its possession was keenly contested by the French; and a large army under Soult had so closely invested it that its capture was daily anticipated. One of those rapid transitions, however, with which that war so largely abounded, averted the downfall of the city. This was the invasion of Estremadura, conducted by Soult in person at the head of 20,000 of the besieging force, leaving Victor, with the rest of the French army, to continue the siege. Soult's brief campaign was one of the most brilliant episodes of the Spanish war; he captured Olivenza, routed Mendizabal at Badajoz, and obtained that powerful fortress by surrender, after which successes he prepared to return in all haste, and resume the siege of Cadiz. But during his brief absence Graham had been as alert and ready for action as himself; and, judging the opportunity best fitted for the purpose, he resolved to raise the siege by an attack upon Victor. With the British and Portuguese under his command, he embarked on the 21st of February, 1811, and landed at Tarifa on the day following. They then pushed forward on their route for Algeiras; but as they had no better road than a mule-path, the artillery had to be transported by sea; and, owing to contrary winds, which delayed its arrival, the attack, which was intended to be made on the 28th, was delayed for a week longer. And even this was the least of Graham's difficulties in advancing to action. On the 29th he was joined by La Pena with 10,000 Spaniards, who forthwith took the command, as if for the sole purpose of showing his incapacity to hold it. Graham too soon discovered the impracticability of such a colleague, who sometimes unreasonably hung back, and at other times drove on as if the French were already defeated and in full flight. So inexplicable, indeed, were his movements, that the British officers suspected that treachery had been ingrafted upon his natural stupidity and obstinacy. At length the combined but ill-assorted army reached the memorable heights of Barossa, and Victor sallied from his lines to give them battle. Even at that critical moment La Pena must needs blunder by requiring Graham to alter his excellent position from the heights to the wood of Berneya, towards the sea-coast; and when the latter, in compliance, commenced the movement, La Pena immediately followed, thus leaving the ridge of Barossa, the key of the army's position, undefended. Victor, who saw this change with astonishment, instantly moved his force of 9000 French veterans and fourteen guns to take possession of the heights. They advanced to the onset, and, meeting with some of the Spanish troops who had not yet left the hill, they attacked and routed them in an instant. The fugitives directed their headlong flight to the British division, already in motion among the difficulties of the wood, and when the heights were won, and the enemy on their heels. Justly might Graham at this moment find his worse than useless allies to their fate, and might only of a retreat. But this neither dardening spirit nor warm-hearted generosity, nor forces, upon which he could fully rely, to give battle to the enemy, notwithstanding the advantages of their new position, and the necessities of the emergency. His artillery, on guns, was instantly wheeled round on the enemy, already descending while his infantry, hastily formed into

two columns, was led to the charge. Under these untoward circumstances was commenced the battle of Barossa.

It is not our purpose to enter into the minute particulars of this conflict, forming, as it did, only an episode of the war. The double onset of the British lines was made with the utmost bravery, and met by the French with equal courage, so that for some time the hot and heady charges that were given and received on either side kept the battle in suspense over the whole field. At length a gallant charge of one of these lines, composed of the 87th and 28th regiments, broke the division of General Laval, that was opposed to it, and drove it back so successfully that they were unable to rally, while the capture of two guns and an eagle attested the success of the victors. The other British column, under General Dilke, was equally brave and equally fortunate. This division, composed of the guards and two regiments, mounted the brow of the hill, and was met half-way by the columns of General Rufin. A desperate struggle ensued, that ended in the French being driven up to the height, and afterwards down the slope on the opposite side, with great slaughter. It was in vain that they rallied with their wonted promptitude, and united their two discomfited divisions into a single compact body for the purpose of abiding a new conflict: as fast as they formed, the well-served British artillery tore their ranks, the 200 German horse in the British service followed the cannonade with a decisive charge, and at last the enemy yielded, with the loss of six guns and more than 2000 killed and wounded. And now Cadiz might have been saved had La Pena been true to his country. But this miserable imbecile, or traitor, or both, with his army of fully 13,000 Spaniards, looked on and did nothing, while Graham, with his small force of 4000 infantry and 200 cavalry, bore the whole brunt of the battle, and achieved a glorious victory. Even when the French were put to flight, had La Pena let loose upon them his 800 dragoons and powerful horse-artillery, he might have completed the defeat of the enemy without their chance of rallying. But as it was, Victor fell back upon his old position undisturbed, and the return of Soult, which occurred soon afterwards, made the battle of Barossa useless, except as a stirring incentive to the British during the rest of the campaign. Thus had the Spaniards served Moore, and Wellington himself, as well as Graham: let their generous allies fight as bravely as they pleased, they still in every case refused to co-operate, or even did their best to make the services of their defenders useless. Was it Spanish pride, that could endure no glory but its own; or Spanish bigotry, that would not suffer a heretic general to be victorious? In the meantime, General Graham, unable to follow up his success, or even to maintain his ground single-handed, was obliged to return to the Isle of St. Leon. But this retrograde movement, which he made after victory, as well as his advance before it, were equally commended by Wellington, who was too well able, from his own experience in Spain, to judge of the necessity of such seemingly inconsistent changes. The affair of Barossa was also justly appreciated by parliament, so that the thanks of both houses were voted to the general and his gallant companions in arms. In the reply of the veteran on this occasion, after stating his high estimation of the honour conferred on him, he added, "I have formerly often heard you, sir, eloquently and impressively deliver the thanks of the house to officers present, and never without an anxious wish that I might one day receive this most enviable mark of my country's regard. This honest ambition

is now fully gratified, and I am more than ever bound to try to merit the good opinion of the house."

Having been relieved from his military duties at Cadiz in the summer of 1811, General Graham joined the army under the Duke of Wellington, where he was appointed second in command. But a complaint in his eyes by the use of a telescope in the glaring atmosphere of Spain, and frequent writing by candle-light, obliged him to quit the army while it was employed in the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. He returned to England, where he obtained a cure, after which he rejoined the British forces in the Peninsula, and commanded the left wing at the battle of Vittoria. His able services during this conflict were honourably mentioned in the despatch of Wellington on the occasion. After this he continued to share in the subsequent movements of the campaign, and commanded at the siege of St. Sebastian, where he obtained possession both of the town and castle—the former by capitulation, and the latter by storm. He also commanded the left wing of the British army when it crossed the Bidassoa into the territory of France, upon which he succeeded in obtaining a footing after a desperate resistance. In the following year (1814) he was appointed commander of the British forces in Holland, where he made an unsuccessful siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. It was no wonder that he should have failed against a fortress so strong, and so bravely and skilfully defended. Sir Thomas Graham had already shown that he was a brave, prompt, and effective soldier, fitted for all the emergencies of an open field, and able to win a decisive victory, even under untoward circumstances. But he had not learned war as a science; and to conduct such a siege would have required a thorough acquaintanceship with the whole mathematics of military service. It was only by such men as Bonaparte or Wellington that Mantua could have been reduced to a surrender, or Badajoz taken by storm. His failure at Bergen-op-Zoom, however, neither detracted from the estimation in which he was held, nor the public honours that awaited him; and in May, 1814, after having received the thanks of parliament, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Lynedoch of Balgowan in Perthshire, with a pension of £2000. He had previously, during his course of service, been created a Knight Grand Cross of the order of the Bath, and afterwards a Knight Grand Cross of the order of St. Michael and St. George. He was also a Knight of the Tower and Sword in Portugal. But the return of peace also brought with it an honour of an exclusively peaceful character; this was the lord-rectorship of the university of Glasgow, which was conferred in full senate by the votes of the enthusiastic students upon the chivalrous victor of Barossa.

The course of Lord Lynedoch's life was now one of unobtrusive tranquillity. He had sought nothing more than forgetfulness amidst the din of war, and found in it rank and fame. In 1821 he received the full rank of general; in 1826 he was removed to the colonelcy of the 14th foot; and in 1829 he was appointed governor of Dumbarton Castle—an office with a salary of only £170 attached to it; but still it has always been accounted of high honour in our country. "Sir William Wallace," said the valet of the Duke of Argyle, "was governor of it in the old wars of the English, and his grace is governor just now. It is always intrusted to the best man in Scotland."

The latter part of the life of Lord Lynedoch, as the infirmities of old age grew upon him, was spent chiefly in Italy; but the visit of her majesty Queen Victoria to his native country so roused the ardent

of the loyal old hero, that he hastened from Switzerland to pay his respects to her in person, in the ancient capital of her Scottish ancestors. This was the last public event of his life. He died at his residence in Stratton Street, London, on the 18th of December, 1843, in the ninety-fourth year of his age. As he was childless, his titles became extinct with his death, and his estates were inherited by his nephew.

GRAINGER, JAMES, a physician and poet of some eminence, was born in Dunse, about the year 1723. After receiving such education as his native town afforded, he came to Edinburgh, and was bound apprentice to a Mr. Lauder, a surgeon. While in the employment of this gentleman he studied the various branches of medicine; and having qualified himself for practice, joined the army, and served as surgeon to Lieutenant Pulleney's regiment of foot, during the rebellion in Scotland of 1745. On the conclusion of the war Grainger went in the same capacity to Germany, but again returned to England at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. He now sold his commission, and entered upon practice in London, but without much success. In 1753 he published a treatise in Latin on some diseases peculiar to the army, entitled *Historia Febris Intermittentis Armatorum*, 1746, 1747, 1748. In the medical knowledge, however, which this work contained, and which evinced much learning and skill, together with acuteness of observation, he was, unfortunately for his interest, anticipated by Sir John Pringle in his celebrated work on the diseases of the army.

During Dr. Grainger's residence in London he became intimately acquainted with many of the men of genius then resident there; amongst these were Shenstone, Dr. Percy, Glover, Dr. Johnson, and Sir Joshua Reynolds; by all of whom he was much esteemed for his amiable manners, and respected for his talents.

The poetical genius of Dr. Grainger was first made known by his publishing an *Ode on Solitude*, which met with a favourable reception, and was, although now perhaps but little known, much praised by the reviewers of the day. His want of professional success now compelled him to look to his literary talents for that support which his medical practice denied him, and he endeavoured to eke out a scanty livelihood by writing for booksellers; and in this way he was employed by Mr. Miller in compiling the second volume of *Maitland's History of Scotland* from the materials left by the latter at his death.

In 1758 he published a translation of the *Elegies of Tibullus*. This work was severely handled in the critical reviews, where it was allowed none of the merit which in reality it possesses.

Dr. Grainger now got involved in a controversy with Smollett, with whom he had formerly been on terms of friendship. The cause of their difference is not now known, but if it bore any proportion to the severity with which Smollett on all occasions treated his quondam friend it must have been a serious one. He abused Dr. Grainger in every possible shape, availed himself of every opportunity of reviling and humiliating him, and pursued his system of hostility with the most unrelenting bitterness.

Soon after the publication of the *Elegies*, Dr. Grainger went out as a physician to the island of St. Christopher's, where an advantageous settlement had been offered him. On the voyage out he formed an acquaintance, in his professional capacity, with the wife and daughter of Matthew Burt, Esq., the governor of St. Christopher's; the latter of whom

he married soon after his arrival on the island. Having thus formed a connection with some of the principal families, he then commenced his career with some prospect of success. In his medical avocations he was aided through a plume, and by their united profits soon realized an independency.

On the conclusion of the war Dr. Grainger returned for a short time to England. While there, he published (1764) the result of his West India experience in a poem entitled *The Sugar-plant*. This work was also much praised at the time, and generally considered a specimen of great beauty; but without arraigning the author's talents, since his subject precluded anything like sentiment or dignity, it cannot be considered in any other light than as an ill-judged attempt to elevate things in themselves mean and wholly unadapted for poetry.

In the same year (1764) he also published "*An Essay on the several Diseases Which India Dissem, and the Remedies which that Country itself Produces; to which are added, some Hints on the Management of Negroes.*" Besides these works, Dr. Grainger was the author of an exceedingly pleasing ballad, entitled *Bryan and Pereene*. After a short residence in England he returned to St. Christopher's, where he died on the 24th December, 1767, of one of those epidemic fevers so common in the West Indies.

GRANT, BRIGADIER-GENERAL COLQUHOUN. Of the many remarkable officers whom the Peninsular war called into notice, not the least distinguished was the subject of this memoir. Although eminent also for dauntless courage and high military talents, it was not by deeds in the battle-field that his best distinctions were won: it was rather by services upon which the arrangements of a campaign generally depend, and by which its success is insured. As such important services are seldom noticed or properly appreciated among the stirring records of war, this will apologize for our dwelling exclusively, in the following life of General Grant, upon his capacity as chief of the intelligence department of the army that was commanded by Wellington in Spain and Portugal.

The stirring spirit of this young hero was so impatient in boyhood for military enterprise and adventure, that his mother could no longer retain him at school; and Grant, before he had completed his fifteenth year, entered the army. Through the kindness of his friend General James Grant he obtained an ensigncy in the 11th regiment of foot, and through the same kind friend he obtained leave of absence to complete his education at an academy near London, until he joined his regiment as lieutenant. He served as an officer in the West Indies, and in active service against the enemy; he was also on the staff of Sir George Prevost, by whom he was very highly esteemed. Having thus fairly commenced his military career, and given proof of his courage and talents, a field for their development was amply afforded in the Peninsular war, with a commander who could appreciate his worth; and under Wellington he successively attained the grades of captain, major, and colonel, with the office of chief of the intelligence department of the army. The qualifications of Colonel Grant for such a critical and important charge were so great that nature seemed expressly to have formed him for holding it. In him, the historian of the Peninsular war declares, "the utmost daring was so mixed with subtlety of genius, and both so tempered by discretion, that it was hard to say which quality predominated." He had also admirably qualified himself for the peculiar service in which he was engaged, and the country in which he was to act. He had not only a singular talent for

the acquisition of languages, but the several dialects of a language, and was thus able to adapt his conversation to the natives of every province in Spain. He was also intimately acquainted with their customs, songs, and music, and with all their habits and prejudices; he was an enthusiastic admirer of the Spanish character; he was conversant with the writings of the best authors of the nation; and he even danced the national dances of the people to perfection. When to all this it is added that he was of amiable disposition and strict morality, we need not wonder that he became such a favourite everywhere with the peasantry and priesthood of Spain. So great was their enthusiasm for "*Granto Bueno*," as they called him, that every one was eager to protect him, and to bring him intelligence of the enemy without fee or reward. Such was Colonel Grant, who was known and esteemed along the whole of the Spanish frontier. But strangely enough it happened that there was another British officer of the same name and rank as himself, and employed in the same service, which might have led to confusion but for a distinction of the Spaniards, with whom he was highly unpopular, so that while Colquhoun Grant obtained among them the endearing name of *Granto Bueno*, the other was characterized as *Granto Malo*.

The services which Colquhoun Grant had performed in the Peninsular war previous to the capture of Badajoz, and the effects they had produced upon the progress of the British army in Spain, it would not be easy to exaggerate. He shunned no danger in procuring intelligence of the enemy's movements, and when surrounded by their posts he was always secure, through the devoted love of the Spaniards, and his own matchless courage, dexterity, and coolness. "In collecting accurate information of the French army," his brother-in-law Sir James M'Grigor informs us, "he was occasionally in the rear of the French army, where he obtained exact intelligence, not only of their number and equipment, but of the description of their troops, the manner in which their cavalry was mounted, the number and equipment of their guns, the state of their supplies, &c. He was acquainted not only with the character of each superior officer, but of that of each commandant of battalion. The hairbreadth escapes which he had were numerous; sleeping frequently in the fields under any shelter, or, as it frequently happened, without any, and in all kinds of weather, which he had done for two or three years. But, as he said, he always felt secure when in Spain, where one padre or peasant passed him on to another, all emulous to serve, and in admiration of the character of, the '*Granto Bueno*.'" Although thus placed in a situation where disguise and dissimulation are so often needed, and where the moral feelings are so apt to become blunted, the strangest circumstance of all is, that Colonel Grant still continued to preserve his integrity uncorrupted and his honour unsullied. He scorned the sneaking subterfuges of the spy, and discharged the duties of his office as an open enemy against enemies. We are told by General Sir William Napier, the historian, that "Colquhoun Grant, though he repeatedly penetrated the enemy's line, and even passed days in their cantonments, *was always in uniform*, trusting entirely to his personal resources, and with reason, for his sagacity, courage, and quickness were truly remarkable, scarcely to be matched."

After the storming of Badajoz by the British in 1812, and the advance of Marmont on Beiro, the situation of Wellington was full of difficulty. Ciudad Rodrigo, from the improvidence of the Spanish army, was in danger of being taken by a *coup de main*, and Almeida also, on account of its weakness, was ex-

posed to the same fate. Resolving in this case to attack the enemy and drive them out of Beiro, Wellington had sent Grant from Badajoz to obtain exact information of the condition and purposes of Marmont. It was a task of danger, and on that account all the more tempting to the astute scout-master, who set off to the encampment of Marmont attended only by Leon, a faithful Spanish peasant who had served him in many similar enterprises. Even in his uniform Grant abode three days in the French camps, during which time he obtained exact information of Marmont's object, and his preparations for action, all of which he transmitted from day to day by Spanish agents to Wellington. On the third night his diligence was disagreeably interrupted by the following French order, which was brought to him by some Spanish peasants:—"The notorious Grant is within the circle of cantonments; the soldiers are to strive for his capture, and guards will be placed in a circle round the army." This notice was enough; he glided from the French encampment, and before daylight entered the village of Huerta, close to a ford on the Tormes where there was a French battalion, while on the other bank of the river cavalry videttes were patrolling backward and forward for the space of three hundred yards, but meeting always at the ford. The peasants brought him with his horse behind the gable of a house which concealed him from the infantry, and was near the ford; and standing on a heap of loose stones, they spread their large cloaks to hide him from the videttes, until the latter were separated by the full extent of their beat. Now was the time! and dashing through the ford between them, he received their cross-fire without injury, and safely reached a wood, where he was joined by his attendant Leon. But still safety was not his main object. The French officers had talked of storming Rodrigo, and scaling-ladders had been prepared for the purpose—and he must learn whether Marmont would make this attempt, or march for the Tagus. He also wished to discover the real amount of the French forces. Concealing himself on a wooded hill near Tamames, where the road branched off to the passes and to Rodrigo, he watched the march of the French army, noted every battalion and gun as it passed by, and finding that the march was towards Rodrigo, he entered Tamames, and found that they had left most of their scaling-ladders there. It was evident that there was no real design to attempt the storming of Rodrigo, and this intelligence transmitted to Wellington relieved the painful uncertainty of the latter, and left him free for the operations he had contemplated.

Still, something more was to be ascertained, and to learn this Grant exposed himself to fresh danger. It was necessary to discover whether the further march of Marmont was to be by Guarda upon Coimbra, or by Sabugal upon Castello Branco; and to be satisfied in this matter the colonel preceded the marshal in crossing the Coa, and took his station upon the lower ridge of a pass through which the French must march if their route was for Castello Branco. But the utmost of human wisdom will sometimes be at fault. In selecting his station as the fittest for inspection, Grant had calculated on being concealed by the dwarf oaks; but from the higher ridge the enemy discovered him with their glasses, and Leon raised the alarm, "The French! the French!" A hot pursuit commenced. In vain the fugitive repeatedly doubled above, below, and round about; he was met by horse and foot at every turning, and at last was caught, while the faithful Leon, who had sunk exhausted, was killed before his eyes, in spite of his master's entreaties that he should be

spared. Grant was brought to Marmont, whose head-quarters were at Salamanca, and who was delighted with the capture of so important an enemy; but at first he treated the colonel harshly, and said, pointing to his uniform of a British officer, "It is fortunate for you, sir, that you wear that bit of red over your shoulders; if you had not, I would have hung you on a gallows twenty feet high." From the identity of name he confounded his prisoner with *Malo Grant*, or thought they were only one and the same person. Grant replied, "Marshal, you know I am your prisoner; and recollect, I have given you my parole, but hitherto I have not been treated as an officer on parole." Still mistaking the colonel's identity, Marmont gruffly ordered the French officer to lead the captive to a quarter appointed for him, which was strictly guarded. Not only was a French sentinel stationed at his door, but a French officer placed in his room. But though thus ignominiously treated as a spy, the French officers, who admired his wonderful adventures and escapes, made his captivity a light one; and the principal inhabitants of Salamanca, who hated the French, and admired Grant for the trouble he occasioned them, were his frequent visitors. One of these was Dr. Curtis, head of the Irish college of Salamanca; and Marmont, thinking, from this close intimacy, that he must be the depository of many of Grant's secrets, sent for him, and threatened him if he refused to reveal them. The following dialogue ensued between the soldier and the priest. "You often visit the English colonel?" "I do." "How is that possible without having some purpose, some business therein?" "The holy Catholic religion, which you, marshal, and I profess, enjoins us to succour the distressed, to visit the sick and the prisoner, and to administer comfort and consolation to them." This was too comprehensive a charity in the eyes of the marshal, who rejoined, "He is not of your religion; he is a heretic, a Protestant." The priest answered, "We are both Christians, we follow the precepts of our Saviour; and he is my countryman." "That is false," cried Marmont, "he is a Scot and you an Irishman, and you shall immediately go to prison unless you reveal to me secrets which I am informed the English colonel has confided to you, and which it is material to the interests of the emperor that I should be put in possession of." Although he did not throw Dr. Curtis into prison as he threatened, he expelled him from his college, and took possession of his furniture and a valuable library.

While Grant was thus a prisoner at Salamanca, he was still indefatigable in his particular duties; and being allowed, when the weather was favourable, to walk out, he conveyed in little twisted pieces of paper, by the alert Spanish peasants who were known to him, such important information concerning the state and designs of the French army as greatly to facilitate the movements of Wellington. These zealous emissaries were often in his way; they were organized for this dangerous occupation by the Spanish priests, and their services were bountifully rewarded by the British commander. At last Marmont resolved to send his prisoner to Bayonne, and pretending extraordinary kindness to Grant, obtained from him a special parole that he would not avail himself of a rescue by the Partidas while on his way through Spain to France. Such a demand, and an escort of 300 men and six guns by which he was accompanied, showed the dread which the prisoner had inspired, and the apprehensions that were entertained of attempts for his recapture. But with the escort Marmont also sent a letter to the governor of Bayonne, in which, still confounding the two Grants, he char-

the police as a man who was a spy, whom he would have executed on the spot but for something like a uniform which he wore; and desiring the governor to put him in irons at Bayonne, and thus forward him to Paris. In the meantime the captivity of Colonel Grant had been a subject of vexation to Wellington, who frequently alluded to it in his conversations with Sir James M'Grigor. He regretted that Grant had given his parole, as he had offered 2000 dollars to any guerilla chief who should liberate him; and he lamented the cessation of that valuable intelligence with which the colonel had been wont to furnish him as a heavy calamity. "Sir, the loss of a brigade," he said, "could scarcely have been more felt by me; I am quite in the dark about the movements of the enemy, and as to the reinforcements which they expected." Only the day after, when M'Grigor visited him again, Wellington exclaimed, "Grant is a very extraordinary fellow! a very remarkable character! What think you of him at this moment, when a prisoner, sending me information?" He showed the doctor two twisted bits of paper which a Spanish peasant had brought him that morning, and added, "The information coming from Grant I know it is correct, and is most valuable." His lordship had written to Marshal Marmont requesting the exchange of Colonel Grant, for whom he had offered any of his prisoners of the rank of colonel, and read the marshal's courteous answer, assuring him the request would be complied with. But on the doctor expressing great joy at this, Wellington, with a sarcastic smile, assured him there was not one word of truth in the answer, and for proof showed him an intercepted despatch from Marmont to the minister of war at Paris, describing Colonel Grant as the most dangerous of spies, and suggesting that he should be put under the strictest surveillance of the police as soon as he was conveyed to the French capital.

Accompanied by an escort strong enough to prevent a rescue, Grant was conveyed to Bayonne, conversing on the way with the French officers, of whom he soon became an especial favourite, and amusing them with accounts of his various exploits and escapes, of which they could never hear enough. It is suspected, indeed, that they would not have been sorry though he should make one escape more, and were remiss enough in their watch to give him an opportunity of attempting it. But Grant's experience taught him that the proper place would be Bayonne itself. He also had discovered the treacherous orders which Marmont had sent to the governor of that city, so that he considered his parole cancelled, and at the utmost it was only in force until he reached the French territory. At Bayonne, therefore, and while all were busy in procuring billets, Colonel Grant walked off to the place whence the diligence started, took his seat to Paris as an American, and even joined the party of General Souham, at that time on his way from Spain to the French capital; and while he was thus beyond suspicion as the travelling companion of a distinguished French commander, and journeying comfortably to Paris, his presence was missed at Bayonne, and parties of horse and foot were exploring the town and scouring the country in a fruitless search for the fugitive. But of all places, who could have thought that he would have deliberately gone to Paris to escape the risks of pursuit or detection? It was like the case of Ferguson, surnamed the Plotter, who, when the officers of government were in chase of him, walked into Newgate prison under pretext of searching for a friend among the inmates, and there remained safe and unsuspected until the heat of the hue and cry had abated.

On arriving in Paris Colonel Grant repaired to the house of Mr. M'Pherson, an eminent jeweller and worthy Highlander, of whose great kindness to his countrymen he had often heard, and who had made a narrow escape during the French revolution from the tender mercies of Robespierre. Here he remained untroubled, went about to all public places, especially to military reviews, and associated freely with all classes of society; and being thus in the very centre of military and political intelligence, he transmitted to the head-quarters of our army in Spain such important tidings as could not have been elsewhere or otherwise obtained. The importance which Wellington attached to these communications was thus expressed to Sir James M'Grigor, on a day when his lordship was making up the mail for England: "Your brother-in-law is certainly one of the most extraordinary men I ever met with; even now, when he is in Paris, he contrives to send me information of the greatest moment to our government. I am now sending information of his to ministers of the utmost value about the French armies in every quarter, information which will surprise them, and which they cannot by possibility get in any other way, and, what is more, which I am quite sure is perfectly correct."

Having thus collected such knowledge at the fountain-head, and made it so available for use, Colonel Grant discovered that Paris would soon become too hot for him. Aware of this, he changed his appearance, remained quiet, discontinued going to reviews and public places, and obtained a fresh passport in the name of an American gentleman who had died a few hours before in Paris. But finding that the police were awake and in quest of him, he left Paris, and made for the coast, where he learned that a British man-of-war was stationed. By a promise of ten napoleons he induced a French boatman to convey him to the place where the ship was stationed; but the boatman, either from fear or malice, stopped short when he had nearly reached the spot, rowed back to the port he had left, and coolly demanded the whole fare. To have yielded would have exhausted all the money he had, and perhaps have consigned him to a French prison on suspicion; but Grant was too bold and wary either to be entrapped or bullied. He paid the fellow only one napoleon, rebuking him at the same time for his misconduct; and when the other threatened a reference to the police, the colonel threatened to denounce him as aiding the escape of a prisoner of war, of which the high boat-fare demanded would be a sufficient proof. Confounded by this logic, the boatman slunk away. After fresh dangers of detection Colonel Grant hired the services of another fisherman; but while their boat was passing the mouth of the harbour, suspicion was roused, and a shot from the battery compelled them to bring-to until a party of soldiers had come out and boarded them. In this emergency the old fisherman, when he lowered his sail, enveloped Grant within it, and coiled it to the mast, so that the colonel escaped the exploration of the searchers, although they probed every suspected corner and object in the boat with the points of their swords. Believing that all was right, they graciously accepted a present of some fish; and to protect the fisherman from the English, they described precisely the exact spot where the vessel lay—the very information which the fisherman most needed. He and the colonel rowed by night according to the direction, and early in the morning Grant stood in safety upon the deck of a British seventy-four. As soon as he arrived in England, in order to vindicate beyond contradiction the propriety of his escape, he obtained permission to select a

French officer for exchange; but in going to prison for that purpose he was surprised to find the fisherman and his son, whom the British had captured, notwithstanding a written protection which he had given to them. Grant, whose generosity and benevolence were equal to his remarkable talents, instantly procured their liberation, and sent them to France with a sum of money. He then returned to his duties in the Peninsula; so that after a short interval of four months from his capture he was again watching the proceedings of the army of Marmont.

From these instances an estimate may be formed of the value of Grant's services in the Peninsular war, the risk at which they were performed, and his wonderful dexterity and presence of mind in extricating himself from every difficulty. That campaign was an Iliad, in which, let whosoever might be the Ajax and the Diomed, he was the Ulysses. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, the Duke of Wellington immediately called Grant from the military college at Farnham to Belgium, to take charge of the intelligence department; and with that sagacity which ever distinguished Grant in the choice of his agents, he selected a man and his wife admirably fitted for the office to go to Paris as spies. There they obtained access by some means or other to the bureau de la guerre, whence they obtained sure and valuable intelligence, which Grant transmitted to the duke. One of these communications, dated 15th June, among other inferior matters, contained the following important tidings: "*Les routes sont encombrées de troupes et de matériel, les officiers de toutes grades parlent haut que la grande bataille sera livrée avant trois jours.*" Here was intelligence which, if received in time, would have prevented the surprise of the allies, and enabled Wellington to transfer the great conflict from Waterloo to the banks of the Sambre, where the victory might have been won with less hazard and loss. But this important missive, which the duke should have received on the 16th, did not reach him till the 18th of June, at eleven o'clock, just when the battle of Waterloo was commencing. This delay, however, was not the fault of Colonel Grant, but of an intermediate authority, who should have transmitted the note from Grant to headquarters, but who on his own authority delayed it, believing either that the intelligence was false, or of little importance. How strange that an event so important to the world at large should have depended on such a contingency!

When the allied armies occupied Paris, the services of Grant were again in requisition. In the partition of the spoils of war the allies showed great dexterity in appropriating to themselves the lion's share—a circumstance which excited the discontent of the British army—who complained of the Duke of Wellington's remissness about their interests. Their complaints, however, were premature, as Colonel Grant was secretly on the watch, and he and his agents were taking note of every article that was being removed from the British allotment. He thus enabled the duke to receive restitution in money for all that was abstracted, and the British soldiers were saved from any loss.

When the European war had ended, Grant went to India, and served as brigadier-general in the first Burmese war, in command of a movable column upon Arracan. But there he was stricken by fever, the effects of which were aggravated by a mortified spirit, for his services had not been recognized according to their deserts. He returned to Europe, and died at Aix-la-Chapelle, where a monument is erected in the Protestant burying-ground to his memory. "He was by no means," says Sir James

M'Grigor, "the least distinguished for military talents of the many distinguished men who served with the Peninsular army. Equal to most officers of that army in military capacity, he far surpassed every one I ever met for the milder virtues of the Christian soldier, and for all that was amiable, kind, and benevolent in disposition." The same testimony to his personal virtues is borne by his friend Lieutenant-general Sir William Napier, the historian of the Peninsular war, who has been careful to record some of the most distinguished of his achievements. We extract also from the appendix to M'Grigor's Autobiography the following brief notice of a brother of the subject of this memoir, which shows that heroic and military worth did not exclusively belong to a single member of the family:—

"In this place it will perhaps be considered an interesting and graceful act by his countrymen to couple with the name of Colonel Colquhoun Grant that of his brother, Colonel Alexander Grant, who so much distinguished himself in those Indian wars—particularly that of the Mahratta—which were the foundation of the fame of the Duke of Wellington. Passing over many of the numerous actions and assaults in which he gained the applause of his superior officers and the confidence of his soldiers, it may be remarked that the military tact and individual exploits of Brigade-major Grant were specially conspicuous; and at the battle of Assaye they have been widely admitted to have contributed in no small degree to the decision of that memorable day. It was at his suggestion that the decisive charge of cavalry was made which saved the gallant 74th regiment from being annihilated; and his subsequent ubiquity in the field, together with his personal exertions wherever the enemy appeared to be collecting, obtained for him the admiration of all who witnessed them. In the heat of the action, and in competition with the gallant Captain Seale of the 19th dragoons, he was the first to come up with the German officer Pholman—a favourite leader in Scindia's army—and cut him off his horse. On his return to England he received from his sovereign the dignity of C.B., but died prematurely, his constitution, though naturally vigorous, being broken down by his numerous campaigns."

GRANT, SIR FRANCIS, of Cullen, a judge and political writer, was the son of Archibald Grant of Bellinton,¹ in the north of Scotland, a cadet of the family of Grant of Grant, the various branches of which, at that period, joined the same political party which was supported by the subject of this memoir. He was born about the year 1660, and received the elementary part of his education at one of the universities of Aberdeen. He was destined for the profession of the law; and as at that period there were no regular institutions for the attainment of legal knowledge in Scotland, and the eminent schools of law on the Continent furnished admirable instruction in the civil law of Rome, on which the principles of the greater part of the Scottish system are founded—along with most of the aspirants at the Scottish bar, Mr. Grant pursued his professional studies at Leyden, where he had the good fortune to be under the auspices of the illustrious commentator John Voet; an advantage by which he is said to have so far profited, that the great civilian retained and expressed for years afterwards a high opinion

¹ Such is his paternity, as given in Haig and Brunton's *History of the College of Justice*, on the authority of Milne's genealogical MS. Wodrow, in one of his miscellaneous manuscripts, says he understood him to be the son of a clergyman.

of his diligence and attainments, and recommended to his eldest student the example of his young Scottish pupil. He seems indeed to have borne through his whole life a character remarkable for docility, modesty, and unobtrusive firmness, which procured him the countenance and respect of his seniors, and brought him honours to which he did not apparently aspire. Immediately on his return to Scotland, and in consequence of the exhibition of his qualifications at the trial preparatory to his passing at the bar, we find him attracting the notice of Sir George M'Kenzie, then lord-advocate, at the head of the Scottish bar, and in the full enjoyment of his wide-spread reputation; a circumstance creditable to the feelings of both, and which must have been peculiarly gratifying to the younger man, from the circumstance of his early displaying a determined opposition to the political measures of the lord-advocate. Mr. Grant was only twenty-eight years of age when he took an active part in that memorable convention which sat in the earlier part of the year 1689, to decide on the claims of the Prince of Orange; and when older politicians vacillated, and looked to accident for the direction of their future conduct, he boldly adopted his line of politics, and argued strongly, and it would appear not without effect, that the only fit course to pursue was to bestow on the prince the full right of sovereignty, with those limitations only which a care for the integrity of the constitution might dictate, and without any insidious provisions which might afterwards distract the nation by a recurrence of the claims of the house of Stuart. His zeal for the cause he had adopted prompted him at that juncture to publish a small controversial work, which he called *The Loyalist's Reasons for his giving Obedience and swearing Allegiance to the Present Government, as being obliged thereto, by (it being founded on) the Law of God, Nature, and Nations, and Civil*, by F. G. In the freedom of modern political discussion the arguments which were produced as reasons for a change of government would appear a little singular; the whole is a point of law tightly argued, as if fitted to meet the eye of a cool and skilful judge, who has nothing to do but to discover its accord or disagreement with the letter of the law. The ground, however, upon which he has met his adversaries is strictly of their own choosing, and the advocate for a revolution seems to have adhered with all due strictness to relevancy and sound law. He founds his arguments on certain postulates, from which, and the facts of the case, he deduces that King James had forfeited his superiority by committing a grand feudal delict against his vassals; and the throne being thus vacated, he shows, in several theses, that the Prince of Orange had made a conquest of the same, and had relinquished its disposal to the country, and the country, having thus the choice of a ruler, ought to bestow the government on the generous conqueror. The whole is wound up by several corollaries, in a strictly syllogistic form. The reasonings are those of an acute lawyer, well interspersed with authorities from the civil and feudal law; and it may easily be presumed that such reasoning, when applied judiciously and coolly to the subject, had more effect on the restricted intellect of the age, than the eloquence of Dalrymple, or the energy of Hamilton. Indeed, the effect of the work in reconciling the feudalized minds of the Scottish gentry to the alteration, is said to have been practical and apparent; and while the author received honours and emoluments from the crown, his prudence and firmness made him respected by the party he had opposed.

The tide of Mr. Grant's fortune continued to flow

with steadiness from the period of this successful attempt in the political world, and he was constantly in the eye of government as a trustworthy person, whose services might be useful for furthering its measures in those precarious times. With such views a baronetcy was bestowed on him, unexpectedly and without solicitation, in the year 1705, preparatory to the general discussion of the union of the kingdoms; and after the consummation of that measure he was raised to the bench, where he took his seat as Lord Cullen in the year 1709. He is said to have added to the numberless controversial pamphlets on the union; and if certain pamphlets called *Essays on Removing the National Prejudices against a Union*, to which some one has attached his name, be really from his pen (which, from the circumstance under which they bear to have been written, is rather doubtful), they show him to have entered into the subject with a liberality of judgment and an extent of information seldom exhibited in such controversies, and to have possessed a peculiarly acute foresight of the advantages of an interchange of commerce and privileges. Lord Cullen was a warm friend to the Church of Scotland, a maintainer of its pristine purity, and of what is more essential than the form, or even the doctrine, of any church, the means of preserving its moral influence on the character and habits of the people. "He was," says Wodrow, "very useful for the executing of the laws against immorality." The power of the judicature of a nation over its morality is a subject to which he seems to have long paid much attention. We find him in the year 1700 publishing a tract entitled "*A Brief Account of the Rise, Nature, and Progress of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, &c., in England, with a Preface exhorting the Use of such Societies in Scotland.*" This pamphlet embodies an account of the institution and regulation of these societies by the Rev. Josiah Woodward, which the publisher recommends should be imitated in Scotland. The subject is a delicate and difficult one to a person who looks forward to a strict and impartial administration of the law as a judge, a duty which it is dangerous to combine with that of a discretionary censor morum; but, as a private individual, he proposes, as a just and salutary restraint, that such societies should "pretend to no authority or judicatory power, but to consult and endeavour, in subversivity to the magistracy, to promote the execution of the law by the respective magistrates;" a species of institution often followed by well-meaning men, but which is not without danger. This tract is curious from its having been published for gratis distribution, and as perhaps the earliest practically moral tract which was published for such a purpose in Scotland. The strict religious feeling of the author afterwards displays itself in a pamphlet, called "*A Short History of the Sabbath*, containing some few Grounds for its Morality, and Cases about its Observance; with a brief Answer to, or Anticipation of, several Objections against both;" published in 1705. This production aims its attacks at what the author says are improperly termed the innocent recreations of the Sabbath. It has all the qualifications which are necessary to make it be received within the strictest definition of a polemical pamphlet: authorities are gathered together from all quarters of the world; the sacred text is abundantly adduced; and laboured parallels are introduced, in some cases where there is little doubt of the application, in others where it is somewhat difficult to discover it. Controversial tracts are frequently the most interesting productions of any age: they are the ebullition of the feeling of the time. Called out,

generally, by the excitement of a critical state of affairs, and unguarded by the thought and reflection bestowed on a lengthened work, they are, next to speeches accurately reported, the best evidence positively possesses of the character of a public writer. Those which we have already referred to are anonymous; but we have every reason to believe they have been attributed to the proper quarter.

Lord Cullen had as his companions on the bench, Cockburn of Ormiston, M'Kenzie of Royston, Erskine of Dun, and Pringle of Newhall, under the presidency of Sir Hew Dalrymple, son to the celebrated Viscount Stair. In the course of seventeen years, during which he filled the responsible station of a judge, and the more than ordinarily responsible situation of a Scottish judge, he is asserted by his friends to have been impartial in the interpretation of the laws, vigilant in their application, and a protector of the poor and persecuted; and, what is more conducive to the credit of the assertion, no enemy has contradicted it. A character of his manner and qualifications is thus given in rather obscure terms by Wodrow:—"His style is dark and intricate, and so were his pleadings at the bar and his discourses on the bench. One of his fellow-senators tells me he was a living library, and the most ready in citation. When the lords wanted anything in the civil or canon law to be cast up, or acts of parliament, he never failed them, but turned to the place. He seemed a little ambulatory in his judgment as to church government, but was a man of great piety and devotion, wonderfully serious in prayer and learning the word." It is not improbable that by the terms "dark and intricate," the historian means what would now be expressed by "profound and subtle." The confidence which his friends, and the country in general, reposed in his generosity and justice, is said to have been so deeply felt, that on his intimating an intention to dispose of his paternal estate, and invest the proceeds, along with his professional gains, in some other manner, many decayed families offered their shattered estates for his purchase, in the hope that his legal skill, and undeviating equity, might be the means of securing to them some small remnant of the price—the condition of incumbrance to which they had been long subjected, and the improbability of their being enabled, by the intricate courses of the feudal law, to adjust the various securities, forbidding them to expect such a result by any other measure. On this occasion he purchased the estate of Monymusk, still the property of his descendants, and it is nobly recorded of him that he used his legal acuteness in classing the various demands against the estate, and compromising with the creditors, so as to be enabled to secure a considerable surplus sum to the vender of a property which was burdened to an amount considerably above its value.

Although acute, however, in his management of the business of others, Lord Cullen has borne the reputation of having been a most remiss and careless manager of his own affairs; a defect which seems to have been perceived and rectified by his more prudent and calculating spouse, who bore on her own shoulders the whole burden of the family matters. It is narrated that this sagacious lady, finding that the ordinary care which most men bestow on their own business was ineffectual in drawing her husband's attention to the proper legal security of his property, was in the habit, in any case where her mind misgave her as to the probable effect of any measure she wished to adopt, of getting the matter represented to him in the form of a "case," on which his opinion was requested as a lawyer.

This excellent and useful man died at Edinburgh on the 23d of March, 1726, of an illness which lasted only two days, but which, from its commencement, was considered mortal, and thus prepared him to meet a speedy death. His friend Wodrow, stating that the physician had given information of his mortal illness to Lord Cullen's brother-in-law, Mr. Fordyce, thus records the closing scene:—"Mr. Fordyce went to him, and signified so much. My lord, after he had told him, smiled and put forth his hand and took my informer by the hand, and said, Brother, you have brought me the best news ever I heard, and signified he was desirous for death, and how welcome a message this was. He had no great pain, and spoke to the edification of all who came to see him, and that day, and till Wednesday at twelve, when he died, was without a cloud, and in full assurance of faith."¹

Besides the works already mentioned, Lord Cullen published *Law, Religion, and Education, considered in three Essays, and A Key to the Plot, by Reflections on the Rebellion of 1715*. He left behind him three sons and five daughters. His eldest son, Sir Archibald, for some time represented the shire of Aberdeen in parliament. The second, William, was a distinguished ornament of the Scottish bar. He was at one time procurator to the church, and principal clerk to the General Assembly. In 1737 he was appointed solicitor-general, and in 1738 lord-advocate, an office which he held during the rebellion of 1745; a period which must have tried the virtue of the occupier of such a situation, but which has left him the credit of having, in the words of Lord Woodhouselee, performed his duties, "regulated by a principle of equity, tempering the strictness of the law." He succeeded Grant of Elchies on the bench in 1754, taking his seat as Lord Prestongrange, and afterwards became lord justice-clerk. He was one of the commissioners for improving the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, and afterwards one of the commissioners for the annexed estates. He died at Bath in 1764.

GRANT, MRS., of Laggan. This amiable and talented authoress, in whom a manly intellect was so happily blended with woman's gentleness and delicate feeling, was born at Glasgow on the 21st of February, 1755. Her father, Duncan M'Vicar, was an officer in the British army; her mother was a descendant of the ancient family of Stewart of Invernahyle in Argyleshire. A short time after she was born her father accompanied his regiment to America, with the intention of settling there; and soon after this was effected, he was joined by his wife and infant daughter, the latter being scarcely three years old. As New York, the place of her residence, was at this time thinly peopled, especially in the rural districts, where the settlers dwelt miles apart from each other, the early opportunities of education which Mrs. Grant possessed were such as to furnish little hope of future literary excellence. But, happily for her, she had a careful instructor in her mother, besides whom she had no other; and she so profited by domestic tuition, that she quickly learned to read, and before her sixth year was finished had perused the whole of the Old Testament, and was well acquainted with its contents. It was the home teaching of Scotland at this period transplanted into the back-settlements of America. She also acquired about the same time a knowledge of the Dutch language, in consequence of residing for some months with a family of Dutch colonists. Not

¹ Wodrow's *Analecta*, MS. v. 175.—Adv. Lib.

long after, she learned to write, solely from chance lessons which she received in penmanship from the servant of a Scottish regiment. Observing also the command of his pupil for knowledge, he presented her with an appropriate Scottish soldier's gift—even the poem of *Wallace*, by Blind Harry, the patriotic Homer of Scotland. The quaint and almost forgotten language in which this work is written, as well as its antique orthography, would have made it a sealed book to the half-Scottish half-American little maiden, had it not been for the kindness of the sergeant, who taught her to decipher the words and understand the meaning of the old heroic minstrel. From this source she mainly derived that enthusiastic love of her native country which ever afterwards was a distinguishing feature in her character. Another epic, which had a still higher influence in the formation of her mind, followed. This was Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which she received from an officer in her father's regiment, who marked her love of reading; and this sublime production, which has daunted so many youthful readers at the outset, she studied with eagerness and pleasure. The expansion of intellect and improvement of taste which the careful perusal of the great English bard imparted to her conversation were so conspicuous, that the most distinguished of the New York society, young though she was, were proud to cultivate her acquaintance. The chief of these was Madame Schuyler, a lady with whose excellence and worth she afterwards made the British public sympathize, in her *Memoirs of an American Lady*.

We have already mentioned that Mr. M'Vicar, the father of Mrs. Grant, had repaired to America chiefly for the purpose of becoming a settler in one of its colonies. This he effected in the state of Vermont, where he received a grant of land, to which he made large additions by purchase, while his worth and ingratiating manners secured him the esteem not only of the settlers, but the native Indian tribes. But this career of prosperity was interrupted by ill health, so that he was obliged to return to his native country in 1768, bringing with him his wife and daughter, the latter having now reached the age of thirteen. A few years after, Mr. M'Vicar was appointed barrack-master of Fort Augustus. Unfortunately for him, he had been obliged to leave America in such haste as to have no opportunity to dispose of his property; and, on the breaking out of the American war, the whole was confiscated by the new republican government, so that he was reduced to his limited pay of barrack-master. At the same station of Fort Augustus was the Rev. James Grant, the military chaplain, an accomplished scholar, of amiable manners, and connected with some of the most respectable families of the district, between whom and Miss M'Vicar an acquaintanceship of kindred disposition ripened into permanent affection. Soon afterwards they were married, in consequence of the appointment of Mr. Grant, in 1779, to the parish of Laggan in Inverness-shire—a union from which the subject of our memoir received her literary name and designation.

On becoming the wife of a Highland minister Mrs. Grant addressed herself in good earnest to become useful among the people of the parish. But a difficulty opposed her progress at the outset. Although a Mac, she was not a Highlander; and she was ignorant of Gaelic, that most essential of passports to a Highland heart. Undeterred, however, by an obstacle which few Lowlanders have ever surmounted, she commenced the study of that most difficult of all languages, and made such progress that she was soon able to converse readily with the

people in their own beloved tongue. In the woods of America she had been early trained to the labour of such a necessary task, by mastering the old Saxon Scotch of Blind Harry's *Wallace*. Along with the Celtic language she studied the manners and feelings of the Highlanders, and was soon able to identify herself with the people among whom her lot had been cast. They, on their part, appreciated these kind labours of a stranger with true Highland enthusiasm, and felt that she was their own countrywoman in heart and soul, as well as in tongue and lineage. In this way tranquil years passed on in Laggan, and Mrs. Grant, the mother of twelve children, seemed little likely to commence a new life as an authoress, and obtain distinction in the literary world. But such was her *weird*, and stern misfortune and necessity were to be the instruments of its accomplishment. After four successive deaths in her family, her husband died, and she was left a helpless widow, with eight children dependent upon her exertions, while the manse, so long her happy home, must be left to the successor of her husband. In taking account also of her worldly affairs, she found that she was worth less than nothing; for the scale of Highland and clerical hospitality by which her household had hitherto been regulated, rather exceeded than equalled the amount of stipend, so that she found herself somewhat, though not greatly, in debt. But strong in her trust on that Providence which had been with her from earliest infancy, she confronted her new necessities, and her first step was to take charge of a small farm in the neighbourhood of Laggan. This expedient soon failed, and in 1803 she removed to the neighbourhood of Stirling. Something was necessary to be done, and that speedily; but the great difficulty lay in the choice. At last the friends of Mrs. Grant suggested the idea of authorship. She had written many verses which they had greatly admired in manuscript, and these, collected into a printed volume, might be equally acceptable to the public at large. Her poems, indeed, had been hasty productions, of which she had hitherto made small account, and it was with no little urgency that she was persuaded to try the experiment of publishing. She had not even a collection of these poems in her possession, as she generally sent them to her numerous correspondents, without retaining a copy for herself. The work was announced to be published by subscription, and so well did her friends exert themselves, that 3000 subscribers were soon procured. This publication, which appeared in 1803, although favourably received by the public, was scarcely calculated to make any lasting impression, or stamp the character of Mrs. Grant as a genuine poetess; and accordingly, it has long ago disappeared from among those works of the period which the present generation cares to read. Its profits, however, enabled her to discharge those debts which had been contracted at Laggan, and which had continued to weigh upon her mind. But fresh domestic difficulties occurred. Her eldest daughter had been sent to Bristol for the cure of a consumptive complaint, which was attended with heavy expense; and one of her sons, who had got an appointment to India through the kindness of her friend Mr. Charles Grant, chairman of the India House, required the necessary outfit. The success that attended the former attempt suggested a fresh trial of authorship, and Mrs. Grant was advised by her friends to collect and publish her letters. These had been written in the manse of Laggan to her correspondents over a course of years, and were so full of Highland scenery, character, and legends, expressed in the happiest style of epistolary composition, that, even with the

omission of whatever was private or confidential, it was thought they would form an acceptable work to the reading public. She allowed herself to be persuaded, and the result was her best and most popular production, the *Letters from the Mountains*, which was published in 1806. This work went through many editions, and was so justly appreciated among the talented and influential men of the day, as to procure for her many distinguished friends, among whom may be enumerated Sir William Grant, master of the rolls, Sir William Farquhar, and Bishop Porteous. The only other works which she subsequently published were, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, and *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*; and it is enough to say that they did not detract from the reputation she had already won. Her productions are thus characterized by Sir Walter Scott, a judge well fitted to estimate them:—"Her literary works, although composed amidst misfortune and privation, are written at once with simplicity and force; and uniformly bear the stamp of a virtuous and courageous mind, recommending to the reader that patience and fortitude which the writer herself practised in such an eminent degree. Her writings, deservedly popular in her own country, derive their success from the happy manner in which, addressing themselves to the national pride of the Scottish people, they breathe a spirit at once of patriotism, and of that candour which renders patriotism unselfish and liberal. We have no hesitation in attesting our belief that Mrs. Grant's writings have produced a strong and salutary effect upon her countrymen, who not only found recorded in them much of national history and antiquities, which would otherwise have been forgotten, but found them combined with the soundest and the best lessons of virtue and morality."

In 1810 Mrs. Grant removed from Stirling to Edinburgh, where she resided during the rest of her life. But still domestic calamities pursued her, and all her children died successively, except her youngest son, who survived her. In the midst of these afflictions, so trying to the affectionate heart of a widowed mother, it is gratifying to add that she was not wholly unaided in the struggle. Her talents and her worth had surrounded her with a circle of affectionate friends, who in the worst hour were ready not only with sympathy but aid. In 1825 an application was made in her behalf for a pension from government, subscribed by Sir Walter Scott, Francis Jeffrey, Mackenzie (the Man of Feeling), Sir William Arbuthnot, Sir Robert Liston, and Principal Baird, which was cordially granted by George IV. At first it amounted to only £50, but was afterwards increased to £100 per annum; and this, with several legacies from deceased friends, enabled her to spend the last years of her life not only in comfort, but comparative affluence. But those for whose sake she most wished to have obtained it had one by one been snatched away! She was also at this period an invalid; for, nearly seven years before the pension was obtained, she had a fall in descending a stair, from the effects of which she was confined almost wholly to her house during the rest of her life. But still she was resigned, and even happy; and her frequent study of the Bible during her hours of leisure, as well as her conversation with intimate friends, betokened the sure foundation upon which her comfort was established. Thus she lived, honoured and beloved, till the eighty-fourth year of her age, when a cold, that increased into influenza, ended her days on the 7th of November, 1838, and her remains were interred in the new cemetery of the parish church of St. Cuthbert's. Her chief talent lay in conversation, in which she

was unrivalled, and hence the high fame she acquired among the literary circles of the day. That voice has passed away of which her works were but an echo, and thus the works themselves are now rated beneath their merits. Still, however, the *Letters from the Mountains* will continue to attest the high talent of their writer, and be perused with pleasure and profit.

GRANT, SIR WILLIAM. This able lawyer was a descendant of the Grants of Beldornie, a sept of the parent clan. His father, originally a farmer, was afterwards appointed collector of customs in the Isle of Man, an office which he held till his death. His son William, the subject of this notice, was born at Elchies in Morayshire, in 1754, and was educated at the grammar-school of Elgin, along with his younger brother, who afterwards became collector at Martinico. William did not forget, when he had attained distinction, the place in which he had been trained, so that, thirty years afterwards, when the school was to be rebuilt, he was one of its earliest contributors. His education was completed at the old college of Aberdeen. In the choice of a profession, which was that of law, he was directed by the advice of his uncle, a merchant, who had been so successful in England that he was enabled to purchase the estate of Elchies, on which he had been born. After the usual course of study at Aberdeen had been finished, William Grant went to London, and was entered at Lincoln's Inn. At the age of twenty-five, although he had not yet been called to the English bar, he was considered competent for colonial practice, and was appointed attorney-general of Canada. In this new office his professional talents soon brought him into universal esteem. He also showed that he understood the adage of *tam Marti quam Mercurio*; for on Quebec being besieged by the American army under Montgomery, the attorney-general became a bold and active captain of volunteers, and continued to perform military duty until the siege was ended. After this he continued to discharge his civil duties for several years; but finding the position of Canada too critical, as well as colonial practice too limited for his aspirations, he resigned his office of attorney-general; and on returning to London he entered with full ardour upon a more favourable arena in the courts of Westminster, after having been commissioned in 1787 to practise as an English barrister. His commencement, however, was so unpropitious as to bring all his energy and resolution into full exercise, and nerve them with double vigour; for however eminent he had been at the bar of Quebec, he found himself an utter stranger in London, while his shy retiring habits gave little promise that such a difficulty would be easily obviated. Fortunately, one of those incidents occurred by which the reserve of modest merit is often broken through, and the possessor dragged out to the sphere which he ought to occupy. Mr. Grant, after having gone the circuit year after year without obtaining a single brief, happened at length to be retained in some appeals from the Court of Session in Scotland to the House of Lords. He discharged his duty so ably on this occasion, and evinced such legal talent and force of reasoning, as to extort the highest approbation from the stern Lord-chancellor Thurlow, a man by no means profuse in compliments. He eagerly asked the name of the speaker; and having learned it he said to a friend, "Be not surprised if that young man should one day occupy this seat." It is thought that Grant might ultimately have fulfilled this prediction had he been willing to encounter the respon-

... of the ... Newton's ... in simple ... the ... of the ... but ... advice Grant left the practice of common law for ... and habits.

From this period his career was one of honour and success, and his first step was a seat in parliament, having been returned for Shaftesbury after the general election in 1790. On entering the house he made no attempt to attract notice as a political orator; his forte rather lay in private consultations, where his sagacity, good sense, and extensive knowledge were seen and appreciated by the most eminent of his contemporaries. Of these especially was Mr. Pitt, of whom he was a firm and effective supporter. On one occasion, in the year 1791, his colonial experience was of great service to the premier. The subject before the House for discussion was a new code of laws for the province of Canada, and on this question he enforced the proposal of Pitt with such incontrovertible arguments, drawn from his own knowledge and practice as attorney-general of the colony, that even Fox was gratified, and all but convinced. Another occasion on which Grant signalized himself in the House of Commons occurred in the following year, when he defended the measures of the ministry upon the subject of the Russian armament. At the beginning of 1794 he was returned to parliament by the borough of Westminster, and at the same time appointed solicitor-general to the queen, and in 1796 he was chosen knight in parliament for the county of Banff. In 1798 he was appointed chief-justice of Chester, and in the year following he was made solicitor-general, on which occasion he received the usual honour of knighthood. In 1801 he was honoured with his last and highest promotion of master of the rolls. This steady rise was owing, not to his support of the predominant party in the state, but to the high character which he maintained for himself as lawyer and judge, in which all parties coincided. He continued to represent the county of Banff until 1812, when the parliament was dissolved, and to fill the office of master of the rolls till 1817, at which period he was anxious to retire from public life, before age had unfitted him for its duties or impaired his intellectual vigour. On the 24th December, therefore, he fulfilled this resolution of self-denial by tendering his resignation of the mastership, on which occasion he received, among other well-deserved eulogiums, the following from the bar of Scotland, through Sir Arthur Pultney, the speaker of the House of Commons:—"The promptitude and wisdom of your decisions have been as highly conducive to the benefit of the suitors, as they have been eminently promotive of the general administration of equity. In the performance of your important and arduous duties you have exhibited an uninterrupted equanimity, and displayed a temper never disturbed, and a patience never wearied; you have evinced a uniform and impartial attention to those engaged in the discharge of their professional duties here, and who have had the opportunity, and enjoyed the advantage, of observing that conduct in the dispensation of justice which has been conspicuously calculated to excite emulation, and to form an illustrious example for imitation."

During the sixteen years of life that were still continued to him, Sir William Grant abstained from public affairs, devoting himself wholly to intellectual recreations, and the society of congenial company, in the neighbourhood of Walthamstow, and during

the two last years of his life at Barton House, Dawlish, the residence of his sister, the widow of Admiral Schanck. He was never married. His death occurred on the 25th of May, 1832, when he had reached the age of seventy-eight years.

GREGORY, DAVID, the able commentator on Newton's *Principia*, and Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, was born at Aberdeen on the 24th of June, 1661. His father, Mr. David Gregory, brother of the inventor of the reflecting telescope, had been educated as a merchant, and spent a considerable time in Holland; but by the death of his elder brother he became heir to the estate of Kinnairdie, and from a predilection for the mathematics and experimental philosophy, he soon afterwards renounced all commercial employments, devoting himself entirely to the cultivation of science. The peculiarity of Mr. Gregory's pursuits caused him to be noted through the whole country, and as he was the first person in Scotland who possessed a barometer, from which he derived an extensive knowledge of the weather, it was believed that he held intercourse with the beings of another world. So widely had this belief been circulated, that a deputation from the presbytery waited on him, and it was only one fortunate circumstance that saved him from undergoing a formal trial for witchcraft. He had from choice acquired an extensive knowledge of the healing art, his opinion was held in the highest estimation, and as he practised in all cases without fee, he was of great use in the district where he lived. It was this circumstance alone that prevented the reverend members of the presbytery from calling him to account for his superior intelligence. His son David, the subject of this sketch, studied for a considerable time at Aberdeen, but completed his education at Edinburgh. In 1684, when he was only twenty-three years of age, he made his first appearance as an author in a Latin work concerning the dimensions of figures, printed in Edinburgh, and entitled *Exercitationes Geometricæ*. The same year in which this work was published he was called to the mathematical chair in Edinburgh College, which he held with the greatest honour for seven years. Here he delivered some lectures on optics, which formed the substance of a work on that science of acknowledged excellence. Here also Gregory was first convinced of the infinite superiority of Newton's philosophy, and was the first who dared openly to teach the doctrines of the *Principia* in a public seminary. This circumstance will ever attach honour to the name of Gregory; for let it be remembered that in those days this was a daring innovation; and Cambridge university, in which Newton had been educated, was the very last in the kingdom to admit the truth of what is now regarded by all as the true system of the world. Whiston, in his *Memoirs of his own Time*, bewails this in "the very anguish of his heart," calling the men of science at Oxford and Cambridge poor wretches when compared with those at the Scottish universities. In the year 1691 Gregory went to London, as there had been circulated a report that Dr. Edmond Bernard, Savilian professor at Oxford, was about to resign, which promised a very desirable opening for the young mathematician. On his arrival in London he was kindly received by Newton, who had formed a very high opinion of him, as we learn from a letter written by Sir Isaac to Mr. Flamstead, the astronomer-royal. Newton had intended to make Flamstead a visit at Greenwich observatory, with a view to introduce Gregory, but was prevented by indisposition, and sent a letter with Gregory by way of introduction. "The bearer hereof is Mr. Gregory,

mathematical professor at Edinburgh College, Scotland. I intended to have given you a visit along with him, but cannot; you will find him a very ingenious person, a good mathematician, worthy of your acquaintance." Gregory could not fail to be highly gratified by the friendship of two of the greatest men of the age, and most particularly eminent in that department of science which he cultivated with so much zeal and success. Such a mind as Newton's was not likely to form an opinion of any individual on a vague conjecture of his ability, and the opinion once established would not be liable to change; accordingly, we find that his attachment to the interests of the young mathematician were only terminated by death. In a letter addressed a considerable time afterwards to the same amiable personage, he writes thus: "But I had rather have them (talking of Flamstead's observations upon Saturn, for five years, which Newton wished from him) for the next twelve or fifteen years—if you and I live not long enough, Mr. Gregory and Mr. Halley are young men."

Gregory's visit to London was important to his future fame as a mathematician. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and afterwards contributed many valuable papers to their *Transactions*. At the head of these must be mentioned that which he delivered on his first introduction to their meetings—a solution of the famous Florentine problem—which had been sent as a challenge to the British mathematicians. Gregory's solution, which is extremely beautiful, will be found in the number of the *Philosophical Transactions* for January, 1694. On the 8th of February, 1692, David Gregory was made Master of Arts of Balliol College, Oxford; and on the 18th of the same month he received the degree of Doctor of Physic. At this time he stood candidate with Dr. Halley for the Savilian professorship of astronomy at Oxford. Gregory had a formidable rival to contend with, as great interest was used for Halley at court, and he had besides rendered himself eminent by his numerous and important discoveries. Gregory in all likelihood would not have obtained this situation, notwithstanding the zealous intercession of Newton and Flamstead, had it not been for a circumstance which is stated by Whiston in his *Memoirs of his own Time*, as follows: "Halley being thought of as successor to the mathematical chair at Oxford, Bishop Stillingfleet was desirous to recommend him at court; but hearing that he was a sceptic and a contemner of religion, the bishop scrupled to be concerned till his chaplain, Mr. Bentley, should talk with him about it, which he did; but Halley was so sincere in his infidelity, that he would not so much as pretend to believe the Christian religion, though he was likely to lose a professorship by it—which he did, and it was given to Dr. Gregory." To the honour of science let it be mentioned, that this circumstance, which opposed the interest of these two mathematicians so directly to each other, instead of becoming the cause of those petty jealousies or animosities which in such cases so commonly occur, was in the present instance the foundation on which was raised a firm and lasting friendship. Nor is it perhaps too bold to suspect that the liberality displayed in this instance by these two eminent men proceeded not so much from themselves as from the science which they cultivated in common. The scruples of Stillingfleet in time lost their efficacy, and Gregory had soon after the pleasure of having Dr. Halley as his colleague, he having succeeded Dr. Wallis in the Savilian chair of geometry.

In 1695 he published at Oxford a very valuable work on the reflection and refraction of spherical sur-

faces. This work is valuable, as it contains the first hint for a practical method of improving the refracting telescope, and destroying the chromatic defect of these instruments. The difficulty to be avoided in those telescopes which operate by glasses instead of mirrors lies in procuring a large field of view, and at the same time retaining distinctness of vision. Gregory drew an analogy from the construction of the eye, and by referring to the method by which this was effected in nature, gave the hint that the same principle might be applied in practice. This, perhaps, paved the way for the achromatic glasses—one of the finest triumphs of modern science. A simplicity pervades the whole work truly characteristic of the author's mind. But the work on which the fame of David Gregory must ultimately depend was published in 1702, entitled *Elements of Physical and Geometrical Astronomy*. This work was a sort of digest of Newton's *Principia*. Great originality was shown in the illustrations, and the arrangement was so adapted as to show the progress the science had made in its various gradations towards perfection; and it was allowed by Newton himself that Gregory's work was an excellent view of his system.

Sir Henry Savile had projected a design of printing a uniform series of the ancient mathematicians; in pursuance of which Gregory published an edition of *Euclid*, and in conjunction with Dr. Halley he commenced the *Conics* of Apollonius; but scarcely had he entered upon this interesting undertaking when death put a period to his existence. He departed this life in 1701, at Maidenhead, in Berkshire, where it is believed his body is interred. His wife erected a monument at Oxford to his memory, with a very simple and elegant inscription. Of the talents of Dr. Gregory ample testimony is borne by the works which he bequeathed to posterity, and of his worth as a private individual by the respect in which he was held by his contemporaries Flamstead, Keil, Halley, and, above all, Sir Isaac Newton, who held him in the highest estimation. Of Newton's respect for him we shall add one other instance: Sir Isaac had intrusted Gregory with a copy of his *Principia* in manuscript, on which Gregory wrote a commentary, of the benefit of which the great author availed himself in the second edition. Dr. John Gregory presented a manuscript copy of this to the university of Edinburgh, in the library of which it is carefully preserved. Of his posthumous works two deserve particularly to be noticed: one on practical geometry, published by Mr. Colin Maclaurin, and a small treatise on the nature and arithmetic of logarithms, subjoined to Keil's *Euclid*, which contains a simple and comprehensive view of the subject.

An anecdote is told of David Gregory of Kinnairdie, Dr. Gregory's father, which it would not, perhaps, be altogether proper to omit. He had, as was remarked at the beginning, a turn for mathematical and mechanical subjects, and during Queen Anne's wars had contrived a method to increase the effect of field-ordnance. He sent it to the Savilian professor, his son, wishing his opinion, together with Sir I. Newton's. Gregory showed it to Newton, who advised him earnestly to destroy it, as said Newton, "Any invention of that kind, if it even were effectual, would soon become known to the enemy, so that it would only increase the horrors of war." There is every reason to think that the professor followed Newton's advice, as the machine was never afterwards to be found.

It is a more singular circumstance, and indeed without parallel in the scientific history of Scotland, that this old gentleman lived to see three of his sons professors at the same time, viz. David, the subject

in the present article, James, who succeeded his father in the chair of mathematics at Edinburgh, and Wallis, professor of mathematics in the University of St. Andrew.

GREGORY, James, whose valuable discoveries served so much to advance the progress of the mathematical and physical sciences in the seventeenth century, was born in 1638, at Drumoak, in Aberdeenshire, where his father, the Rev. John Gregory, was minister. Little is known of James Gregory's father, but from some slight notice of him in the minutes of the General Assembly; and whatever of the genius of the subject of this memoir was derived by inheritance seems to have descended from the mother. It is an observation of more than one distinguished philosopher, that "he never knew a man of talent whose mother was not a superior woman;" and a more happy instance of the truth of this remark could not be found than that of James Gregory. Mrs. Gregory seems to have descended from a family of mathematicians. Her father was Mr. David Anderson of Finghaugh, whose brother, Alexander Anderson, was professor of mathematics (about the beginning of the seventeenth century) in the university of Paris, and he himself was long noted for his application to mathematical and mechanical subjects. The Rev. John Gregory died when the subject of this article was yet in his boyhood, and left the care of the education of James to David, an elder brother, and the surviving parent. The mother having observed the expanding powers of his mind, and their tendency to mathematical reasoning, gave these early indications of his genius all possible encouragement, by instructing him herself in the elements of geometry. Having received the rudiments of his classical education at the grammar-school of Aberdeen, he completed the usual course of studies at Marischal College. For a considerable time after leaving the university, James Gregory devoted his attention to the science of optics. The celebrated French philosopher Descartes had published his work on *Dioptrics* the year before Gregory was born, nor had any advances been made in that science until James Gregory published the result of his labours in a work printed at London, in 1663, entitled "*Optics Promoted, or the Mysteries of Reflected and Refracted Rays Demonstrated by the Elements of Geometry*;" to which is added, an Appendix, exhibiting a Solution of some of the most difficult Problems in Astronomy." In this work, which forms an era in the history of the science of that century which its author so eminently adorned, and which was published when he was only twenty-four, there was first given to the world a description of the reflecting telescope, of which Gregory is the indisputable inventor. He proposed to himself no other advantage from using mirrors instead of glasses in the construction of telescopes, than to correct the error arising from the spherical figure of the lenses, and by forming the reflectors of a parabolic figure, to bring the rays of light into a perfect focus, being ignorant of the far greater error arising from the unequal refrangibility of the rays of light, which it was reserved for Newton afterwards to discover. Gregory went to London a year after the publication of his work on optics, with a view to the construction of his telescope, and was introduced to Mr. Rieves, an optical instrument maker, by Mr. Collins, secretary to the Royal Society. Rieves could not finish the mirrors on the tool so as to preserve the figure, and so unsuccessful was the trial of the new telescope that the inventor was deterred from making any farther attempts towards its improvement, nor

were these reflectors ever mounted in a tube. Sir I. Newton objected to this telescope, that the hole in the centre of the large speculum would be the cause of the loss of so much light, and invented one in which this defect was remedied. The Gregorian form is universally preferred to the Newtonian when the instrument is of moderate size, the former possessing some material advantages; yet the latter was always employed by Dr. Herschel in those large instruments by which the field of discovery has been so much extended. Although the inventor of the reflecting telescope has received all the honour which posterity can bestow, yet it is lamentable to think that he never had the satisfaction of seeing an instrument completed in his own lifetime. It is only necessary to remark farther, on this subject, that some papers of great interest passed between Gregory and Sir Isaac Newton concerning the reflecting telescope, which may be consulted with advantage by those who would wish to investigate the subject. His work on optics contains, besides the discovery of the reflecting telescope, that of the law of refraction. Descartes had made a similar discovery long ere this, but Gregory had not heard of it till his own work was ready for publication—to which circumstance he alludes in his preface. Playfair, in considering this subject, very justly remarks, that "though the optics of Descartes had been published twenty-five years, Gregory had not heard of the discovery of the law of refraction, and had found it out only by his own efforts—happy in being able, by the fertility of his genius, to supply the defects of an insulated and remote situation."¹ The method in which Gregory investigated the law of refraction is truly remarkable, not only for its singular elegance, but originality; and the series of experiments which he instituted for the purpose of demonstration, affords an indelible proof of the accuracy of his observations. It is truly remarkable that the calculations by this law differ so little from those obtained by the most accurate experiments. There is yet another discovery of the very highest importance to the science of astronomy, which is falsely, and, we would hope, unknowingly attributed to another philosopher, whose manifold brilliant discoveries throw an additional lustre over the country which gave him birth. We allude to the employment of the transits of Mercury and Venus in the determination of the sun's parallax, the merit of which is always ascribed to Dr. Halley, even by that eminent astronomer Laplace. But it is plainly pointed out in the scholium to the 28th proposition of Gregory's work, published many years prior to Halley's supposed discovery. The university of Padua was at this time in high repute for mathematical learning, and Gregory repaired thither from London, about the end of 1667, for the purpose of prosecuting his favourite study. Here he published a Latin work on the areas of the circle and hyperbola, determined by an infinitely converging series; a second edition of which he afterwards published at Venice, with an appendix on the transmutation of curves. Mr. Collins, who always showed himself zealous in Gregory's favour, introduced this work to the notice of the Royal Society of London, of which he was secretary. This work received the commendation of that distinguished nobleman Lord Brouncker, and Dr. Wallis, the celebrated inventor of the arithmetic of infinites. Gregory's attention was once more drawn to the squaring of curves, by the method of converging series, on account of re-

¹ Playfair's "Dissertation," in the *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica*, part 2d, page 29, 6th edition.





ceiving an instance of the case of the circle in a letter from his friend Collins, who informed him that Newton had discovered a general method for all curves, mechanical and geometrical. Gregory speedily returned to Collins a method for the same purpose, which he was advised by his brother David to publish. Gregory refused to do this, and that from the most honourable motive: as Newton was the original inventor, he deemed it unfair to publish it until Sir Isaac should give his method to the public. Soon after, he returned to London, and from his celebrity as a mathematician he was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society. He read before the society the account of a dispute in Italy concerning the motion of the earth, which Riccioli and his followers had denied; besides many other valuable communications. Huygens had attacked Gregory's method of quadrature in a journal of that period, to which he replied in the *Philosophical Transactions*. The dispute was carried on with great warmth by both, and from Gregory's defence it would appear he was a man of warm temperament, but acute and penetrating genius. Of the merits of either, in this dispute, it would be out of place here to enter into detail. Leibnitz, who considered the subject with attention, and whose capacity of discernment in such matters cannot be questioned, is of opinion that although Huygens did not point out errors in the work of Gregory, yet he obtained some of the results by a much simpler method.

The small work *Exercitationes Geometricæ*, published by Gregory at London in 1668, consisted of twenty-six pages, containing however a good deal of important matter. Nowhere do we learn more of the real private character of Gregory than in the preface and appendix to this little work. He speaks in explicit terms of his dispute with Huygens, complains of the injustice done him by that philosopher and some others of his contemporaries; and we are led to conclude from them that he was a man who, from a consciousness of his own powers, was jealous of either a rival or improver of any invention or discovery with which he was connected. The same year in which he published this last work he was chosen professor of mathematics in the university of St. Andrews. The year following he married Miss Mary Jamesone, daughter of Mr. George Jamesone, the painter whom Walpole has designated the Vandyke of Scotland. By his wife he had a son and two daughters. The son, James, was grandfather of Dr. Gregory, author of the *Theoreticæ Medicinæ*, and professor of the theory of medicine in the university of Edinburgh. James Gregory remained at St. Andrews for six years, when he was called to fill the mathematical chair in the university of Edinburgh. During his residence at St. Andrews he wrote a satire on a work of Mr. George Sinclair's, formerly professor of natural philosophy in Glasgow, but who had been dismissed on account of some political heresies. Dr. Gregory did not live to enjoy the chair in Edinburgh more than one year; for returning home late one evening in October, 1675, after showing some of his students the satellites of Jupiter, he was suddenly struck blind, and three days afterwards expired. Thus, at the early age of thirty-seven, in the vigour of manhood, was put a melancholy termination to the life of James Gregory. Of the character of this great man little can be said. His knowledge of mathematical and physical science was very extensive; acuteness of discrimination and originality of thought are conspicuous in all his works; and he seems to have possessed a considerable degree of independence and warmth of temper.

GREGORY, JAMES, M.D., an eminent modern medical teacher, was the eldest son of Dr. John Gregory, equally celebrated as a medical teacher, by the Honourable Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of William, thirteenth Lord Forbes. He was born in 1753, at Aberdeen, where his father then practised as a physician. Being removed in boyhood to Edinburgh, where his father succeeded Dr. Rutherford as professor of the practice of physic, he received his academical and professional education in that city, and in 1774 took his degree as Doctor of Medicine, his thesis being *De Morbis Cæli Mutatione Medendis*. An education conducted under the most favourable circumstances had improved in the utmost possible degree the excellent natural talents of Dr. Gregory, though he had the misfortune to lose his father before its conclusion. Notwithstanding the latter event, he was appointed in 1776, when only twenty-three years of age, to the chair of the theory of physic in the Edinburgh university. As a textbook for his lectures he published in 1780-2 his *Conspectus Medicinæ Theoreticæ*, which soon became a work of standard reputation over all Europe, not only in consequence of its scientific merits, but the singular felicity of the classical language in which it was written.

In consequence of the death of Dr. Cullen, the subject of this memoir was appointed, in 1790, to the most important medical professorship in the university, that of the practice of physic; an office upon which unprecedented lustre had been conferred by his predecessor; but which for thirty-one years he sustained with even greater distinction. During this long period the fame which his talents had acquired attracted students to Edinburgh from all parts of the world, all of whom returned to their homes with a feeling of reverence for his character, more nearly resembling that which the disciples of antiquity felt for their instructors, than anything which is generally experienced in the present situation of society. Descended by the father's side from a long and memorable line of ancestors, among whom the friend and contemporary of Newton is numbered, and by the mother's from one of the oldest baronial families in the country, the character of Dr. Gregory was early formed upon an elevated model, and throughout his whole life he combined, in a degree seldom equalled, the studies and acquirements of a man of science, with the tastes and honourable feelings of a high-born gentleman. By these peculiarities, joined to the point and brilliancy of his conversation, and his almost romantic generosity of nature, he made the most favourable impression upon all who came in contact with him.

Dr. Gregory had early bent his acute and discriminating mind to the study of metaphysics, and in 1792 he published a volume, entitled *Philosophical and Literary Essays*, in which is to be found one of the most original and forcible refutations of the doctrine of necessity which has ever appeared. His reputation as a Latinist was unrivalled in Scotland in his own day; and the numerous inscriptions which he was consequently requested to write in this tongue were characterized by extraordinary beauty of expression and arrangement. His only philological publication, however, is a *Dissertation on the Theory of the Moods of Verbs*, which appears in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 1790. Dr. Gregory's eminence as a man of science, and his fame throughout Europe, were testified by his being one of the few British honoured with a seat in the Institute of France.

While officiating for nearly fifty years as a medical teacher, Dr. Gregory carried on an extensive and

lucrative practice in Edinburgh. As a physician he enjoyed the highest reputation, notwithstanding a certain severe sincerity, and occasional *brusquerie* of manner, which characterized him in this capacity. It is probable that, but for the pressure of his professional engagements, he might have often employed his pen both in the improvement of medical knowledge and in general literature. His only medical publication, besides his matchless *Conspicius*, was an edition of Cullen's *First Lines of the Practice of Physic*, 2 vols. 8vo. It is with reluctance we advert to a series of publications of a different kind, which Dr. Gregory allowed himself to issue, and which it must be the wish of every generous mind to forget as soon as possible. They consisted of a variety of pamphlets, in which he gave vent to feelings that could not fail to excite the indignation of various members of his own profession; the most remarkable being a memorial addressed, in 1800, to the managers of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, complaining of the younger members of the College of Surgeons being there allowed to perform operations. A list of these productions is given in the preface to Mr. John Bell's *Letters on Professional Characters and Manners*, 1810, and we shall not therefore allude further to the subject than to say that the language employed in several of them affords a most striking view of one of the paradoxes occasionally found in human character, the co-existence in the same bosom of sentiments of chivalrous honour and benevolence, with the most inveterate hostility towards individuals.

Dr. Gregory died at his house in St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, April 2, 1821, leaving a large family, chiefly in adolescence.

GREGORY, DR. JOHN, a distinguished physician of the eighteenth century, was descended from a family of illustrious men, whose names and discoveries will ever form a brilliant page in the history of the literature of Scotland. Many of the members of this family held professorships in the most distinguished universities both in this and the southern kingdom; and we may turn to the name of Gregory for those who raised Scotland to an equal rank with any other nation in the scientific world. John Gregory was born at Aberdeen, on the 3d of June, 1724, being the youngest of the three children of James Gregory, professor of medicine in King's College there. This professor of medicine was a son of James Gregory, the celebrated inventor of the reflecting telescope.

When John Gregory was seven years of age he lost his father, and the charge of his education devolved upon his elder brother, James, who succeeded his father in the professorship. He acquired his knowledge of classical literature at the grammar-school of Aberdeen, where he applied himself with much success to the study of the Greek and Latin languages. He completed a course of languages and philosophy at King's College, Aberdeen, under the immediate care of Principal Chalmers, his grandfather by the mother's side. He studied with great success under Mr. Thomas Gordon, the professor of philosophy in that college; and, to the honour of both, a friendly correspondence was then commenced, which was maintained till the end of Gregory's life. In noticing those to whom Gregory was indebted for his early education, it would be unpardonable to pass over the name of Dr. Reid, his cousin-german; the same whose *Inquiry into the Human Mind* forms so conspicuous a feature in the history of the intellectual philosophy of the eighteenth century;—and here we may remark the existence of that family spirit for mathematical reasoning, which has so long

been entailed on the name of Gregory. The essay on quantity and the chapter on the geometry of visibles prove this eminently in Dr. Reid; and the success with which Gregory studied under Mr. Gordon can leave no doubt of its existence in him. In 1741 Gregory lost his elder brother George, a young man concerning whom there was entertained the highest expectation; and the year following John and his mother removed from Aberdeen to Edinburgh. He studied three years at Edinburgh under Monro, Sinclair, and Rutherford; and on his first coming to Edinburgh, he became a member of the Medical Society there, which was the cause of an intimacy between him and Mark Akenside, author of *The Pleasures of Imagination*.

The university of Leyden was at this time in very high reputation, and Gregory repaired thither, after having studied at Edinburgh for three years. Here he had as his preceptors three of the most eminent men of the age—Goubius, Royen, and Albinus; he also cultivated the acquaintance of some fellow-students who afterwards became eminent in the literary and political world; amongst whom the most eminent were John Wilkes, Esq., and the Honourable Charles Townshend. While prosecuting his studies at Leyden, John Gregory was honoured with an unsolicited degree of Doctor of Medicine from King's College, Aberdeen; and after two years' residence on the Continent he returned to his native country, and was immediately called to fill the chair of philosophy in that seminary where he had first been nurtured, and which lately had conferred on him so great a mark of her regard. He lectured for three years at Aberdeen on the mathematics, and moral and natural philosophy; when, in 1749, from a desire to devote himself to the practice of medicine, he resigned, and took a few weeks' tour on the Continent, of which the chief object seems to have been amusement. Three years after the resignation of his professorship Dr. Gregory married Miss Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of Lord Forbes, a lady of extraordinary wit, beauty, and intellectual endowment.

The field of medical practice in Aberdeen was already almost entirely preoccupied by men of the first eminence in their profession, and the share which fell to Dr. Gregory was not sufficient to occupy his active mind. He went to London in 1754, and his fame as a physician and as a literary man being already far extended, he had no difficulty in being introduced to the first society. Here it was that the foundation was first laid of that friendship which existed between him and Lord Lyttleton. It was at this period also that he became acquainted with Lady Wortley Montague and her husband. This lady kept assemblies, or conversaziones, to which the first characters of the kingdom resorted. By her he was introduced to all the most eminent men in the kingdom for taste or genius; yet he is indebted to her for a favour of a far higher order—the continuance to his posterity of that friendship she had ever shown towards himself. About this period Dr. Gregory was chosen fellow of the Royal Society of London, and his practice was daily increasing. Dr. James Gregory, professor of medicine in King's College, Aberdeen, to whose care Gregory owed so much, died in 1755, which created a vacancy in that chair. Dr. John Gregory was elected in his own absence, and, being a situation which suited his inclination, he accepted it. There were many circumstances which would render a return to his native country agreeable. He was to be restored to the bosom of the friends of his infancy, he was to be engaged in the duties of a profession in which he felt the highest interest, and to the enjoyment of the



THE GENTLEMAN

AND HIS WIFE



society of Reid, Beattie, Campbell, and Gerard. He entered on the duties of his new office in the beginning of 1756.

A literary club met weekly in a tavern in Aberdeen, which was originally projected by Drs. Reid and Gregory. It was called the Wise Club, and its members consisted of the professors of both Marischal and King's College, besides the literary and scientific gentlemen about Aberdeen. An essay was read each night by one of the members in rotation. Most of the distinguishing features of the philosophical systems of Gregory and his colleagues, who have been already mentioned, were first delivered in this society. Gregory's work on the faculties of man and other animals was first composed as essays for the Wise Club, but afterwards arranged and published under the patronage of his friend Lord Lyttleton—the first instance in which Gregory appeared to the world as an author. This work, which was published in London, 1764, was entitled *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man, with those of the Animal World*.

Dr. Gregory remained in the chair of medicine in Aberdeen for eight years, when, with a view to the increase of his practice, he removed to Edinburgh, and two years afterwards was appointed successor to Dr. Rutherford in the university there as professor of the practice of physic, and in the same year, 1766, he succeeded Dr. Whyt as first physician to his majesty in Scotland. Dr. Gregory lectured for three years solely on the practice of physic; but at that time an agreement was entered into by his honoured colleague Dr. Cullen—the celebrated author of the system of nosology which goes by his name—that they should lecture in turn on the theory and practice of medicine, which was continued for many years. None of Dr. Gregory's lectures were ever written, except a few introductory ones on the duties and qualifications of a physician; which probably would not have made their appearance, had it not been the circumstance of one of his students offering a written copy taken from notes to a bookseller for sale, which induced Gregory to publish the work, the profits of which he gave to a poor and deserving student. This will always be a standard work among medical men, and will ever remain a lasting monument of the author's profound research, energy of mind, and liberality of opinion. Nothing could so effectually convince us as the perusal of this work, of the truth of one of his observations—"that the profession of medicine requires a more comprehensive mind than any other." This work was published in 1770, and the same year he published his *Elements of the Practice of Physic*, a work which was intended as a text-book for his pupils, and was excellent as far as it went, but never was completed.

The amiable and accomplished wife of Dr. Gregory lived only with him nine years, during which period he enjoyed all the pleasure which domestic happiness could afford. He regretted her death exceedingly; and, as he says himself, he for the amusement of his solitary hours wrote that inimitable little work—*A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*. In this work he feelingly states, that while he endeavours to point out to them what they should be, he draws but a very faint and imperfect picture of what their mother was.

Gregory inherited from his mother a disease, with which he had from the age of eighteen been frequently attacked. This was the gout, of which his mother died suddenly while sitting at table. The doctor often spoke of this to his friends, and one day, when talking with Dr. James Gregory, his son (author of the *Conspectus Theoreticæ Medicinæ*), it was ob-

served by the latter, that as he had not had an attack these three years past, it was likely the next would be pretty severe. Dr. Gregory was not pleased with this remark of his son, but unfortunately the prediction was true. Dr. Gregory had gone to bed in his usual health on the 9th of February, 1773, and seems to have died in his sleep, as he was found in the morning without the slightest appearance of discomposure of feature or limb. Dr. Beattie laments him pathetically in the concluding stanzas of the *Mimstel*:—

"Art thou, my Gregory, for ever fled,
And am I left to unavailing woe;
When fortune's storms assail this weary head
Where cares long since have shed untimely snow!
Ah! now for ever whither shall I go?
No more thy soothing voice my anguish cheers,
Thy placid eyes with smiles no longer glow,
My hopes to cherish and allay my fears.
'Tis meet that I should mourn—flow forth afresh my tears."

Dr. Gregory was considerably above the middle size, and although he could not be called handsome, yet he was formed in good proportion. He was slow in his motion, and had a stoop forward. His eye and countenance had a rather dull appearance until they were lighted up by conversation. His conversation was lively and always interesting; and although he had seen much of the world, he was never given to that miserable refuge of weak minds—story-telling. In his lecturing he struck the golden mean between formal delivery and the ease of conversation. He left two sons and two daughters: Dr. James Gregory, who was the able successor of his father in the university of Edinburgh; William Gregory, rector of St. Mary's, Bentham; Dorothea, the wife of the Rev. A. Allison, of Baliol College; and Margaret, wife of J. Forbes, Esq., of Blackford.

GREGORY, DR. WILLIAM. It has often happened with some unfortunate branch of the human family, that the more it was trodden down by persecution and oppression, the more highly it has risen and prospered—that even every attempt to exterminate it only seems to increase its numbers. Such has been eminently the case with the unfortunate clan of Macgregor. Hunted from their homes, they have taken root and multiplied wherever they might find a resting-place; and although their very name was proscribed, as if to hold it were a crime, it has won distinction not only by itself, but under every form into which it has been modified. Such has especially been the case with those of the condemned race who endeavoured to find safety under the semi-transparent name of Gregory. For nearly two centuries it has supplied eminent professors to several of our universities, and won for itself a renown in science which perhaps no other collective name has surpassed.

The subject of our present notice was the fourth son of James Gregory, professor of the practice of physic in the university of Edinburgh. He completed his medical studies, and graduated at Edinburgh in 1828; but, having in early life acquired a strong predilection for the study of chemistry, it possessed him so wholly, that he relinquished all views of practice as a physician. The correctness of his choice was shown when but a young man, by his introducing a process for making the muriate of morphia, which is still, we believe, generally followed. He thus had the merit of introducing into use a very valuable remedy. Soon after completing his curriculum at the university, he went to the Continent, for the purpose of prosecuting the study of chemistry, to which he had resolved to devote himself; and after spending some time at the con-

tinental schools, he returned to Edinburgh, and established himself as an extra-academical lecturer in chemistry. Here his merits soon brought him into notice, so that he was appointed lecturer in chemistry in the Andersonian University of Glasgow, where he succeeded Mr. Graham, who had been translated to University College, London. Having afterwards found a more favourable opening in Dublin, Dr. W. Gregory removed afterwards to that city, and lectured in one of its medical schools. In 1839 he was appointed to the professorship of medicine and chemistry in King's College, Aberdeen—a chair which had been filled by more than one of his distinguished ancestors; and in 1844 he was elected professor of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh by the town-council of that city, who are the patrons of the university.

The need of such a man for the science to which he was so exclusively devoted, and in which he so greatly excelled, is thus stated by the writer of his obituary in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*:—"At the time of Dr. Gregory's graduation in 1828, but when he had already made up his mind to aim at distinction only as a chemist and teacher of chemistry, the greater part of what we now regard as the first principles of this science had been brought to light within the recollection of the passing generation. This may be said of the system of Lavoisier, of Priestley, and Cavendish, founded on the experiments which determined the constitution of air and of water, and the nature of combustion; of the researches of Black and of Watt on the nature of carbonic acid and the properties of steam; of the laws of crystallography, ascertained by Haüy; of the atomic theory, originating with Dalton; of the analysis of the alkalis, and discovery of the nature of chlorine, by Davy; and of all the applications of chemistry to illustrate the processes of assimilation, nutrition, respiration, and excretion, both in vegetables and animals; and likewise of the application of these processes to illustrate the results of examination of the memorials of the former inhabitants of the globe made known to us by geology. In order," the writer adds, "to bring within a reasonable compass the instruction to be given on subjects of such extent and interest, Dr. Gregory early saw the necessity of a greater subdivision of the science than had previously been adopted; and in the preface to his *Outlines of Chemistry*, published in 1845, he assigned his reasons for the division of the *ponderables* from the *imponderables*, and the exclusion of the former elementary subjects—*i.e.* of heat, light, electricity, and magnetism—from the study of the *ponderables*, or proper chemical elements, whether solid, fluid, or gaseous, and their compounds; and if his health had enabled him to execute what at one time he had in view—a separate and complete course of each of these, the whole of the instruction delivered from that chair would probably have been more complete than from any other scientific chair in Europe. But when the subject of chemistry is nearly confined to the ponderable elements, the study of the imponderables must be held as preliminary to that subject, and as being usually made part of natural philosophy, and part also of natural history. On the other hand, several of the applications of chemical science to the arts are of late years provided for by the professorships of agriculture and of technology."

This aim of Dr. Gregory to comprise and illustrate the science of chemistry in all its various departments, if a too ambitious, was also certainly a noble one, and that he failed in it could scarcely be imputed as his fault. That the attempt had been

commenced in good earnest is evident from his volume of *Outlines*, where it appears that two-thirds of his course of lectures were devoted to *organic*, as distinguished from *inorganic*, substances. The importance of the first-mentioned in all the departments of medicine is sufficiently apparent, and the novelty of their introduction was equal to their importance. This plan appeared to him the right way of treating the science of chemistry, and he was aware that these were better understood upon the Continent than at home. He therefore especially attached himself to the celebrated Professor Liebig of Giessen, whom he assisted in several courses of his experiments, and several of whose publications he translated and edited at their author's desire. The last and best of these translations was the *Familiar Letters on Chemistry and its Applications*, which obtained the following eulogium from its distinguished author:—"From his intimate familiarity with chemical science, and especially with the physiological subjects here treated, I am confident that the task could not have been intrusted to better hands than those of my friend Dr. Gregory." The intercourse of these two distinguished men of science continued to the last. With Baron Liebig he was also joint-editor of posthumous editions of Dr. Edward Turner's *Elements of Chemistry*.

From the foregoing account it will be rightly surmised that Dr. Gregory was more intent in teaching what was already known in chemistry than in hazarding fresh theories, or attempting new fields of discovery. Such was his love of the science independent of self, that he was more earnest to communicate the knowledge of it to others, than aggrandize his own reputation by becoming a discoverer; and for this he was admirably qualified, as he had carefully made himself acquainted with the history of the whole science up to his own day—a fact of which his elementary work entitled *Outlines of Chemistry*, the best *résumé* of chemistry, especially in the organic department, which exists in the English language, is a convincing proof. In the same spirit he was better known by his writings on the subject, than by his attempts in the laboratory. The chief of these consisted of communications on *pyroxanthine*, a solid volatile product of the destructive distillation of wood; on a compound of *sulphur and nitrogen*; and on the *decomposition products of uric acid*; whilst to practical chemistry he contributed improved processes for the preparation of hydrochloric acid, oxide of silver, and muriate of morphia. Nor was he by any means averse to the patient labour of observation and experiment:—"Whether he was right or not," says one of his admirers, "in some of his views of specific difference [in *diatomes*], they were not arrived at by hasty examination. Some people who find perhaps only one or two examples of one of his species in a slide, would be ready to jump to the conclusion that he was content to decide upon too scanty materials. But, in such cases, he persevered through hundreds of slides—often mounted only to be subsequently destroyed, until he had completed his investigation. He kept a record of everything of interest in every slide he examined, and the amount of labour is perfectly astonishing."

The constitution of Dr. Gregory, naturally a delicate one, was at the prime of life assailed by an acute disease, under repeated attacks of which he suffered for several years; and from these he sought relief sometimes by change of scene, and sometimes by change of study, in the last of which the microscope was in frequent use. His death occurred on the 24th of April, 1858, in the fifty-fourth year of his age; and it speaks highly both for his talents and

industry that already he had both learned and achieved so much in the science to which he was so zealously devoted. Of his personal character we extract the following paragraph from the biographical notice of him in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, from which the foregoing statements are derived:—

“Dr. Gregory retained throughout life the same simplicity and earnestness of character which had distinguished him as a zealous and devoted student of natural science. Incapable of deceit himself, he was unwilling to ascribe any such intention to those from whom he received what they held out as scientific facts; and hence, in the opinion of many of his friends, he was too credulous as to the evidence of certain alleged principles of science. His knowledge of the modern languages was such as to enable him to enjoy the society of several scientific friends both in Germany and France, and he often enjoyed better health in those countries than in this; but his naturally candid and benevolent disposition attached him strongly to his native city and his friends in Scotland. Under much and varied suffering from disease he was uniformly and remarkably patient and cheerful.” To this short account we have only to add, that at his decease Dr. Gregory left behind him a widow and an only son, the latter named after his friend Baron Liebig.

GREIG, SIR SAMUEL, a distinguished naval officer in the Russian service, was born 30th November, 1735, in the village of Inverkeithing in the county of Fife. Having entered the royal navy at an early period of life, he soon became eminent for his skill in naval affairs, and remarkable for his zeal and attention to the discharge of his duty—qualities which speedily raised him to the rank of lieutenant, and ultimately opened up to him the brilliant career which he afterwards pursued.

The court of Russia having requested the government of Great Britain to send out some British naval officers of skill to improve the marine of that country, Lieutenant Greig had the honour of being selected as one. His superior abilities here also soon attracted the notice of the Russian government, and he was speedily promoted to the rank of captain, the reward of his indefatigable services in improving or rather creating the Russian fleet, which had been previously in the most deplorable state of dilapidation.

On a war some time after breaking out between the Russians and the Turks, Captain Greig was sent under the command of Count Orlov, with a fleet to the Mediterranean. The Turkish fleet which they met here was much superior to the Russian in force, the former consisting of fifteen ships of the line, the latter of no more than ten. After a severe and sanguinary but indecisive battle, the Turkish fleet retired during the night close into the island of Scio, where they were protected by the batteries on land. Notwithstanding the formidable position which the enemy had taken up, the Russian admiral determined to pursue, and if possible destroy them by means of his fire-ships. Captain Greig's well-known skill and intrepidity pointed him out as the fittest person in the fleet to conduct this dangerous enterprise, and he was accordingly appointed to the command. At one o'clock in the morning Captain Greig bore down upon the enemy with his fire-ships, and although greatly harassed by the cowardice of the crews of these vessels, whom he had to keep at their duty by the terrors of sword and pistol, succeeded in totally destroying the Turkish fleet. Captain Greig, on this occasion assisted by another British officer, a Lieutenant Drysdale, who acted under him, set the match to the fire-ships with his own hands. This perilous

duty performed, he and Drysdale leaped overboard and swam to their own boats, under a tremendous fire from the Turks, and at the imminent hazard besides of being destroyed by the explosion of their own fire-ships. The Russian fleet following up this success, now attacked the town and batteries on shore, and by nine o'clock in the morning there was scarcely a vestige remaining of either town, fortifications, or fleet. For this important service Captain Greig, who had been appointed commodore on his being placed in command of the fire-ships, was immediately promoted by Count Orlov to the rank of admiral, an appointment which was confirmed by an express from the Empress of Russia. A peace was soon afterwards concluded between the two powers, but this circumstance did not lessen the importance of Admiral Greig's services to the government by which he was employed. He continued indefatigable in his exertions in improving the Russian fleet, remodelling its code of discipline, and by his example infusing a spirit into every department of its economy, which finally made it one of the most formidable marines in Europe.

These important services were fully appreciated by the empress, who rewarded them by promoting Greig to the high rank of admiral of all the Russias, and governor of Cronstadt. Not satisfied with this, she loaded him with honours, bestowing upon him the different orders of the empire, viz. St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newskie, St. George, St. Vladimir, and St. Anne.

Admiral Greig next distinguished himself against the Swedes, whose fleet he blocked up in port, whilst he himself rode triumphantly in the open seas of the Baltic. Here he was attacked by a violent fever, and having been carried to Revel, died on the 26th of October, 1788, on board of his own ship, the *Rotislaw*, after a few days' illness, in the fifty-third year of his age. As soon as the empress heard of his illness, she, in the utmost anxiety about a life so valuable to herself and her empire, instantly sent for her first physician, Dr. Rogerson, and ordered him to proceed immediately to Revel and to do everything in his power for the admiral's recovery. Dr. Rogerson obeyed, but all his skill was unavailing.

The ceremonial of the admiral's funeral was conducted with the utmost pomp and magnificence. For some days before it took place the body was exposed in state in the hall of the admiralty, and was afterwards conveyed to the grave on a splendid funeral bier drawn by six horses, covered with black cloth, and attended in public procession by an immense concourse of nobility, clergy, and naval and military officers of all ranks; the whole escorted by large bodies of troops, in different divisions; with tolling of bells and firing of cannon from the ramparts and fleet: everything in short was calculated to express the sorrow of an empire for the loss of one of its most useful and greatest men.

GREY, ALEXANDER, a surgeon in the service of the Honourable East India Company, and founder of an hospital for the sick poor of the town and county of Elgin, was the son of Deacon Alexander Grey, a respectable and ingenious tradesman of Elgin, who exercised the united crafts of a wheelwright and watchmaker, and of Janet Sutherland, of whose brother, Dr. Sutherland, the following anecdote is related by some of the oldest inhabitants of Elgin. It is said that the King of Prussia, Frederick William I., being desirous to have his family inoculated with small-pox, applied in England for a surgeon to repair to Berlin for that purpose. Though this was an honourable and probably lucrative mis-

sion, yet from the severe and arbitrary character of the king, it was regarded by many as a perilous undertaking to the individual, as it was not impossible that he might lose some of his princely patients, and be made answerable for the disaster. Sutherland, at all hazards, offered his services, was successful in the treatment of his royal patients, and was handsomely rewarded. On his return to England his expedition probably brought him more into public notice; for we afterwards find him an M.D. residing and practising as a physician at Bath, until he lost his sight, when he came to Elgin, and lived with the Greys for some years previous to 1775, when he died.

Deacon Grey had a family of three sons and two daughters, and by his own industry and some pecuniary assistance from Dr. Sutherland, he was enabled to give them a better education than most others in their station. Alexander, the subject of this memoir, born in 1751, was the youngest of the family. Induced by the advice or success of his uncle, he made choice of the medical profession, and was apprenticed for the usual term of three years to Dr. Thomas Stephen, a physician of great respectability in Elgin. He afterwards attended the medical classes in the college of Edinburgh, and having completed his education he obtained the appointment of an assistant-surgeonship on the Bengal establishment. It does not appear that he was distinguished either by his professional skill or literary acquirements from the greater proportion of his professional brethren in the East. When advanced in life, he married a lady much younger than himself, and this ill-assorted match caused him much vexation, and embittered his few remaining years. They had no children, and as there was no congeniality in their dispositions nor agreement in their habits, they separated some time before Dr. Grey's death, which happened in 1808. By economical habits he amassed a considerable fortune, and it is the manner in which he disposed of it that gives him a claim to be ranked among distinguished Scotsmen.

It is no improbable supposition that, in visiting the indigent patients of the humane physician under whom he commenced his professional studies, his youthful mind was impressed with the neglected and uncomfortable condition of the sick poor of his native town, and that when he found himself a man of wealth without family, the recollection of their situation recurred, and he formed the benevolent resolution of devoting the bulk of his fortune to the endowment of an hospital for their relief. He bequeathed for this purpose, in the first instance, £20,000, besides about £7000 available at the deaths of certain annuitants, and £4000 pounds more, liable to another contingency. From various causes, over which the trustees appointed by the deed of settlement had no control, considerable delay was occasioned in realizing the funds, and the hospital was not opened for the reception of patients until the beginning of 1819. It is an elegant building of two stories, in the Grecian style, after a design by James Gillespie, Esq., architect, and is erected on a rising ground to the west of Elgin. The funds are under the management of the member of parliament for the county, the sheriff-depute, and the two clergymen of the Established church, *ex officio*, with three life directors named by the founder in the deed of settlement. A physician and surgeon appointed by the trustees at fixed salaries attend daily in the hospital. For several years there was a prejudice against the institution among the class for whom it was founded; but this gradually wore off, and the public are now fully alive to and freely avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

Mr. Grey did not limit his beneficence to the founding and endowing of the hospital which will transmit his name to future generations; he bequeathed the annual interest of £2000 to "the reputed old maids in the town of Elgin, daughters of respectable but decayed families." This charity is placed under the management of the two clergymen and the physicians of the town of Elgin, and it is suggested that, to be useful, it ought not to extend beyond eight or ten individuals. At the death of Mrs. Grey a farther sum of £1000 was to fall into this fund. The annual interest of £7000 was settled on the widow during her life, and it was directed that at her death £4000 of the principal should be appropriated to the building of a new church in the town of Elgin, under the inspection of the two clergymen of the town, and that the interest of this sum should be applied to the use of the hospital until a church should be required. This is the contingency already referred to; and as a durable and handsome new church, of dimensions sufficient to accommodate the population of the town and parish, had been previously erected by the heritors at an expense exceeding £8000, the funds of the hospital, in all probability, will for a long time have the advantage of the interest of this bequest. Grey was kind and even liberal to his relatives during his life; and to his sister, the only member of his family who survived him, he left a handsome annuity, with legacies to all her family unprovided for at her death. On the whole he seems to have been a warm-hearted and benevolent man; but being disappointed in the happiness which he expected from his matrimonial connection, his temper was soured, and a considerable degree of peevishness and distrust is evident throughout the whole of his deed of settlement. Whatever were his failings, his memory will be cherished by the thousands of poor for whom he has provided medical succour in the hour of distress; while the public at large cannot fail to remember with respect a man who displayed so much benevolence and judgment in the disposal of the gifts of fortune.

GUILD, WILLIAM, an eminent divine, was the son of a wealthy tradesman in Aberdeen, where he was born in the year 1786. He received his education at Marischal College, then recently founded; and, while still very young, and before taking orders, published at London a work entitled *The New Sacrifice of Christian Incense*, and another soon after, called *The only Way to Salvation*. His first pastoral charge was over the parish of King Edward, in the presbytery of Turriff and synod of Aberdeen. He here acquired both the affections of his flock and an extended reputation as a man of learning and address, so that, when King James visited Scotland in 1817, Bishop Andrews, who accompanied his majesty as an assistant in his schemes for the establishment of Episcopacy, paid great attention to this retired northern clergyman, and took much of his advice regarding the proper method of accomplishing the object in view. Mr. Guild acknowledged his sense of the bishop's condescension, by dedicating to him in the following year his excellent work, entitled *Moses Unveiled*, which points out the figures in the Old Testament allusive to the Messiah. This was a branch of theological literature which Mr. Guild had made peculiarly his own province, as he evinced further in the course of a few years, by his work entitled *The Harmony of the Prophets*.

In 1810 Mr. Guild was married to Catharine Rolland, daughter of Rolland of Disblair, by whom he had no issue. Not long after the royal visit above

alluded to, he was appointed one of the king's chaplains. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was also conferred upon him. From his retirement at King Edward, he sent out various theological works of popular utility, and at the same time solid learning and merit. Of these his *Ignis Fatuus*, against the doctrine of Purgatory, *Popish Glorifying in Antiquity turned to their Shame*, and his *Compend of the Controversies of Religion*, are particularly noticed by his biographers. In the meantime he displayed many marks of attachment to his native city, particularly by endowing an hospital for the incorporated trades, which is described by Mr. Kennedy, the historian of Aberdeen, as in his day enjoying a revenue of about £1000, and affording relief to upwards of a hundred individuals annually. In 1631 he was preferred to one of the pulpits of that city, and took his place amongst as learned and able a body of local clergy as could be shown at that time in any part of either South or North Britain. His distinction among the Aberdeen doctors, as they were called, in the controversy which they maintained against the Covenanters, was testified by his being their representative at the General Assembly of 1638, when the system of church government to which he and his brethren were attached was abolished. The views and practice of Dr. Guild in this trying crisis seem to have been alike moderate; and he accordingly appears to have escaped much of that persecution which befell his brethren. He endeavoured to heal the animosities of the two parties, or rather to moderate the ardour of the Covenanters, to whom he was conscientiously opposed, by publishing *A Friendly and Faithful Advice to the Nobility, Gentry, and others*; but this, it is to be feared, had little effect. In 1640, notwithstanding his position in regard to the popular cause, he was chosen principal of King's College, and in June, 1641, he preached his last sermon as a clergyman of the city. The king about this time signified his approbation of Dr. Guild's services, by bestowing upon him "a free gift of his house and garden, which had formerly been the residence of the bishop." The reverend principal, in his turn, distributed the whole proceeds of the gift in charity.

Dr. Guild continued to act as principal of King's College till he was deposed by Monk in 1651, after which he resided in Aberdeen as a private individual. In his retirement he appears to have written several works—*The Sealed Book Opened*, or an explanation of the Apocalypse, and *The Novelty of Popery Discovered*, which was published at Aberdeen in 1656; and *An Explication of the Song of Solomon*, which appeared two years after in London. He also exerted himself during this interval in improving the Trades Hospital, and in other charitable pursuits. Upon these incorporations he bestowed a house on the south side of Castle Street (in Aberdeen), the yearly rents of which he directed to be applied as bursaries, to such of the sons of members as might be inclined to prosecute an academical course of education in the Marischal College; and of this fund, we are informed by Mr. Kennedy, six or eight young men generally participate every year. As an appropriate conclusion to a life so remarkably distinguished by acts of beneficence, Dr. Guild, in his will dated 1657, bequeathed seven thousand merks, to be secured on land, and the yearly profit to be applied to the maintenance of poor orphans. By the same document he destined his library to the university of St. Andrews, excepting one manuscript, supposed to be the original of the memorable letter from the states of Bohemia and Moravia to the council of Constance in 1415, relative to John Huss and Jerome

of Prague: this curious paper he bequeathed to the university of Edinburgh, where it is still faithfully preserved. Dr. Guild died in August, 1657, aged about seventy-one years. A manuscript work which he left was transmitted by his widow to Dr. John Owen, to whom it was designed to have been dedicated, and who published it at Oxford in 1659, under the title of *The Throne of David; or an Exposition of Second [Book of] Samuel*. Mrs. Guild, having no children upon whom to bestow her wealth, dedicated it to the education of young men and other benevolent purposes; and it appears that her foundations lately maintained six students of philosophy, four scholars at the public school, two students of divinity, six poor widows, and six poor men's children.

GUTHRIE, JAMES, one of the most zealous of the Protesters, as they were called, during the religious troubles of the seventeenth century, was the son of the laird of Guthrie, an ancient and highly respectable family. Guthrie was educated at St. Andrews, where, having gone through the regular course of classical learning, he commenced teacher of philosophy, and was much esteemed, as well for the equanimity of his temper as for his erudition. His religious principles in the earlier part of his life are said to have been highly prelatical, and of course opposite to those which he afterwards adopted, and for which, in the spirit of a martyr, he afterwards died. His conversion from the forms in which he was first bred is attributed principally to the influence of Mr. Samuel Rutherford, minister of Anwoth, himself a zealous and able defender of the Scottish church, with whom he had many opportunities of conversing.

In 1638 Mr. Guthrie was appointed minister of Lauder, where he remained for several years, and where he had already become so celebrated as to be appointed one of the several ministers selected by the committee of estates, then sitting in Edinburgh, to wait upon the unfortunate Charles I. at Newcastle, when it was learned that the unhappy monarch had delivered himself up to the Scottish army encamped at Newark.

In 1649 Mr. Guthrie was translated from Lauder to Stirling, where he remained until his death. While in this charge he continued to distinguish himself by the zeal and boldness with which he defended the covenant, and opposed the resolutions in favour of the king (Charles II.) He was now considered leader of the Protesters, a party opposed to monarchy, and to certain indulgences proposed by the sovereign and sanctioned by the committee of estates, and who were thus contra-distinguished from the Resolutions, which comprehended the greater part of the more moderate of the clergy.

Mr. Guthrie had in the meantime created himself a powerful enemy in the Earl of Middleton, by proposing to the commission of the General Assembly to excommunicate him for his hostility to the church; the proposal was entertained, and Guthrie himself was employed to carry it into execution in a public manner in the church of Stirling. It is related by those who were certainly no friends to Guthrie, regarding this circumstance, that on the morning of the Sabbath on which the sentence of excommunication was to be carried into effect against Middleton, a messenger, a nobleman it is said, arrived at Mr. Guthrie's house with a letter from the king, earnestly requesting him to delay the sentence for that Sabbath. The bearer, waiting until he had read the letter, demanded an answer. Guthrie is said to have replied, "You had better come to church and hear sermon, and after that you shall have your answer."

The messenger complied; but what was his surprise, when he heard the sentence pronounced in the usual course of things, as if no negotiation regarding it had taken place. On the dismissal of the congregation he is said to have taken horse and departed in the utmost indignation, and without seeking any further interview with Guthrie. It is certain that a letter was delivered to Guthrie, of the tenor and under the circumstances just mentioned, but it was not from the king, but, according to Wodrow, on the authority of his father, who had every opportunity of knowing the fact, from a nobleman. Who this nobleman was, however, he does not state, nor does he take it upon him to say even that it was written by the king's order, or that he was in any way privy to it. However this may be, it is stated further, on the authority just alluded to, that the letter in question was put into Mr. Guthrie's hands in the hall of his own house, after he had got his gown on, and was about to proceed to church, the last bell having just ceased ringing; having little time to decide on the contents of the letter, he gave no positive answer to the messenger, nor came under any promise to postpone the sentence of excommunication: with this exception the circumstance took place as already related.

Soon after the Restoration Mr. Guthrie and some others of his brethren, who had assembled at Edinburgh for the purpose of drawing up a *supplication* to his majesty, and who had already rendered themselves exceedingly obnoxious to the corrupt government, were apprehended and lodged in the castle of Edinburgh; from thence Mr. Guthrie was removed to Dundee, and afterwards brought back again to Edinburgh, where he was finally placed on trial for high treason, on the 20th of February, 1661; and, notwithstanding an able and ingenious defence, was condemned to death, a result in no small degree owing to the dislike which Middleton bore him for his officiousness in the matter of his excommunication, and which that nobleman had not forgotten.

It is said that Guthrie had been long impressed with the belief that he should die by the hands of the executioner, and many singular circumstances which he himself noted from time to time, and pointed out to his friends, strengthened him in this melancholy belief. Amongst these it is related, that when he came to Edinburgh to sign the solemn league and covenant, the first person he met as he entered at the West Port was the public executioner. On this occasion, struck with the singularity of the circumstance, and looking upon it as another intimation of the fate which awaited him, he openly expressed his conviction that he would one day suffer for the things contained in that document which he had come to subscribe.

Whilst under sentence of death Guthrie conducted himself with all the heroism of a martyr. Sincere and enthusiastic in the cause which he had espoused, he did not shrink from the last penalty to which his adherence to it could subject him, but, on the contrary, met it with cheerfulness and magnanimity. On the night before his execution he supped with some friends, and conducted himself throughout the repast as if he had been in his own house. He ate heartily, and after supper asked for cheese—a luxury which he had been long forbidden by his physicians; saying jocularly, that he need not now fear gravel, the complaint for which he had been restricted from it. Soon after supper he retired to bed, and slept soundly till four o'clock in the morning, when he raised himself up and prayed fervently. On the night before he wrote some letters to his friends, and sealed them with his coat of arms, but while the wax was yet soft, he turned the seal round and round

so as to mar the impression, and when asked why he did so, replied that he had now nothing to do with these vanities. A little before coming out of the tolbooth to proceed to execution, his wife, embracing him, said, "Now, my heart," her usual way of addressing him, "your time is drawing nigh, and I must take my last farewell of you." "Ay, you must," he answered, "for henceforth I know no man after the flesh." Before being brought out to suffer, a request was made to the authorities by his friends to allow him to wear his hat on the way to the scaffold, and also that they would not pinion him until he reached the place of execution. Both requests were at first denied; the former absolutely, because, as was alleged, the Marquis of Argyll, who had been executed a short while before, had worn his hat, in going to the scaffold, in a manner markedly indicative of defiance and contempt, and which had given much offence. To the latter request, that he might not be pinioned, they gave way so far, on a representation being made that he could not walk without his staff, on account of erysipelas in one of his legs, as to allow him so much freedom in his arms as to enable him to make use of that support, but they would not altogether dispense with that fatal preparation. Having ascended the scaffold, he delivered with a calm and serene countenance an impressive address to those around him; justified all for which he was about to suffer, and recommended all who heard him to adhere firmly to the covenant. After hanging for some time, his head was struck off, and placed on the Netherbow Port, where it remained for seven and twenty years, when it was taken down and buried by a Mr. Alexander Hamilton at the hazard of his own life. The body, after being beheaded, was carried to the Old Kirk, where it was dressed by a number of ladies who waited its arrival for that purpose; many of whom, besides, dipped their napkins in his blood, that they might preserve them as memorials of so admired a martyr. While these gentlewomen were in the act of discharging this pious duty, a young gentleman suddenly appeared amongst them, and without any explanation proceeded to pour out a bottle of rich perfume on the dead body. "God bless you, sir, for this labour of love," said one of the ladies, and then, without uttering a word, this singular visitor departed. He was, however, afterwards discovered to be a surgeon in Edinburgh named George Stirling. Guthrie was executed on the 1st June, 1661.

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM, the author of the well-known work entitled *The Christian's Great Interest*, was born at Pitforthly in Forfarshire, in the year 1620. His father was proprietor of that estate, and was a cadet of the family of that ilk. He had five sons, of whom it is remarkable that four devoted themselves to the ministry. Of these William was the eldest.

The rank and estate of Mr. Guthrie enabled him to educate his sons liberally for the profession which so many of them had chosen from their early years. William, with whom alone we are at present concerned, made while very young such advances in classical literature as to give high hopes of future eminence. His academical education was conducted at St. Andrews university under the immediate direction of his relation Mr. James Guthrie, afterwards the heroic martyr in the cause of civil and religious liberty, and subject of the preceding notice. The records of the university for this period are unfortunately lost, so that the time of his matriculation, or any other information respecting his advancement or proficiency, cannot be obtained from that

source. We know, however, that after completing the philosophical curriculum he took the degree of Master of Arts, and then devoted his attention to the study of divinity under Mr. Samuel Rutherford. At length he applied to the presbytery of St. Andrew's for license, and having gone through the usual "tryalls," he obtained it in August, 1642. Soon afterwards he left St. Andrews, carrying with him a letter of recommendation from the professors, in which they expressed a high opinion of his character and talents.

Mr. Guthrie was now engaged by the Earl of Loudon as tutor to his son Lord Mauchlin. In that situation he remained till his ordination as first minister of Fenwick—a parish which had till that time formed part of that of Kilmarnock. Lord Boyd, the superior of the latter—a staunch royalist and a supporter of the association formed at Cumbernauld in favour of the king in 1641—had also the patronage of Fenwick. This nobleman was most decidedly averse to Mr. Guthrie's appointment—from what reasons does not appear, although we may be allowed to conjecture that it arose either from Mr. Guthrie's decided principles, or from the steady attachment of the Loudon family to the Presbyterian interest. Some of the parishioners, however, had heard him preach a preparation sermon in the church of Galston, became his warmest advocates, and were supported in their solicitations by the influence of the heritors. Mr. Guthrie was after some delay ordained minister of the parish on the 7th of November, 1644.

The difficulties which Mr. Guthrie had to encounter when he entered upon his charge were neither few nor unimportant. From the former large extent of the parish of Kilmarnock, the nature of the country, and the badness, in many cases the total want, of roads, a large mass of the people must have entirely wanted the benefits of religious instruction. He left no plan untried to improve their condition in that respect. By every means in his power he allured the ignorant or the vicious: to some he even gave bribes to attend the church; others in more remote districts he visited as if incidentally travelling through their country, or even sometimes in the disguise of a sportsman; in such cases, says the author of the *Scots Worthies*, "he gained some to a religious life whom he could have had little influence upon in a minister's dress."

In August, 1645, Mr. Guthrie married Agnes, daughter of David Campbell of Skeldon in Ayrshire, but he was soon called to leave his happy home by his appointment as a chaplain to the army. He continued with them till the battle of Dunbar was fought and lost: after it he retired with the troops to Stirling; from thence he went to Edinburgh, where we find him dating his letters about six weeks afterwards. The last remove was viewed by the clergy with considerable jealousy; and their suspicions of an "intended compliance," intimated to him in a letter from Mr. Samuel Rutherford, must have been a source of much distress and embarrassment to him. That such was not his intention his subsequent conduct showed, nor was it any part of Cromwell's policy to convert the Scottish clergy by torture or imprisonment. Upon entering the metropolis he intimated that he did not wish to interfere with the religion of the country, and that those ministers who had taken refuge in the castle might resume their functions in their respective parishes.

But while Cromwell had determined to leave the clergy and people of Scotland to their own free-will in matters of religion, it is lamentable to observe that they split into factions, which were the cause of some violent and unchristian exhibitions. When

they divided into the grand parties of Resolutioners and Remonstrators or Protesters, Mr. Guthrie joined the latter: but he displayed little of that animosity which so unfortunately distinguished many of his brethren. He preached with those whose political opinions differed from his own, and earnestly engaged in every measure which might restore the peace of the church. But while we cannot but lament their existence, these dissensions do not seem to have been unfavourable to the growth of religion in the country. On the contrary, both Law and Kirkton inform us that "there was great good done by the preaching of the gospel" during that period, "more than was observed to have been for twenty or thirty years." We have some notices of public disputes which took place during the protectorate—particularly of one at Cupar in 1652, between a regimental chaplain and a Presbyterian clergyman.¹ It is highly probable that this freedom of debate, and the consequent liberty of professing any religious sentiments, may have been one great cause of so remarkable a revival.

From this period to the Restoration few interesting events present themselves to the reader of Scottish history. We do not find any notice of Mr. Guthrie till the year 1661, when all the fabric which the Presbyterians had raised during the reign of Charles I. was destroyed at one blow. Of the exaggerated benefits anticipated from the restoration of his son every one who has read our national history is aware. Charles II. was permitted to return to the throne with no farther guarantee for the civil and religious liberties of his people than fine speeches or fair promises. It was not long before our Scottish ancestors discovered their mistake; but the fatal power, which recalls to the mind the ancient fable of the countryman and the serpent, was now fully armed, and was as uncompromising as inhuman in its exercise. In the dark and awful struggle which followed, Mr. Guthrie was not an idle spectator. He attended the meeting of the synod of Glasgow and Ayr, which was held at the former place in April, 1661, and framed an address to the parliament at once spirited and moderate. Unfortunately, when this address was brought forward for the approbation of the synod, the members were so much divided that one party declared their determination to dissent in the event of its being presented. In such circumstances it could only prove a disgraceful memorial of their distractions, and many, otherwise approving of its spirit and temper, voted against any further procedure. The "Glasgow Act," by which all ministers who had been ordained after 1649, and did not receive collation from their bishop, were banished, soon followed; but it did not affect Mr. Guthrie.

Through the good offices of the Earl of Glencairn (to whom Mr. Guthrie had some opportunity of doing a favour during his imprisonment before the Restoration) he had hitherto escaped many of the evils which had visited so large a majority of his brethren. Dr. Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, now began to act with great severity towards the non-conforming clergy of his diocese. To the entreaty of Lord Glencairn and of other noblemen, that he would in the meantime overlook Mr. Guthrie, the haughty prelate only replied, "That cannot be done—it shall not: he is a ringleader and a keeper up of schism in my diocese." With much difficulty he prevailed upon the curate of Calder, for the paltry bribe of five pounds, to intimate his suspension. The parishioners of Fenwick had determined to oppose such an intimation even at the risk of rebellion, but were prevailed upon to desist from an

¹ *Lamont's Diary*, ed. 1830, p. 48.

attempt which would have drawn undoubted ruin upon themselves. The pious curate therefore proceeded upon his errand with a party of twelve soldiers, and intimated to Mr. Guthrie, and afterwards in the parish church, his commission from Archbishop Burnet to suspend him. Wodrow mentions that when he wrote his history it was still confidently asserted "that Mr. Guthrie, at parting, did signify to the curate that he apprehended some evident mark of the Lord's displeasure was abiding him for what he was now doing"—but that this report rested on very doubtful authority. "Whatever be in this," he continues, "I am well assured the curate never preached more after he left Fenwick. He came to Glasgow, and whether he reached Calder—but four miles beyond it—I know not: but in four days he died in great torment of an iliac passion, and his wife and children died all in a year or thereby. So hazardous a thing is it to meddle with Christ's sent servants."

Mr. Guthrie remained in the parish of Fenwick for a year after this time without preaching. In the autumn of 1665 he went to Pitforth, where his brother's affairs required his presence. He had only been there a few days when a complaint which had preyed upon his constitution for many years, a threatening of stone, returned with great violence, accompanied by internal ulceration. After some days of extreme pain, in the intervals of which he often cheered his friends by his prospects of happiness in a sinless state, he died in the house of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Lewis Skinner, at Brechin, on the 10th of October, 1665.

Mr. Guthrie would in all probability never have appeared before the world as an author had it not been requisite in his own defence. In 1656 or 1657 a volume was published, containing imperfect notes of sermons preached by him on the fifty-fifth chapter of Isaiah. Although it had a considerable circulation, he was not less displeased with its contents than the pomposity of its title. It was true, indeed, that it was not brought forward as his production, yet Mr. Guthrie "was reputed the author through the whole country," and therefore bound to disclaim it in his own vindication. He accordingly revised the notes which he had preserved of these sermons; and from thence wrote his only genuine work, *The Christian's Great Interest*, now better known by the title of the first part, *The Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ*. Any praise that could here be bestowed upon the work would be superfluous. It has gained for itself the best proof of its merits—a circulation almost unparalleled among that class of readers for which it was perhaps chiefly intended, the intelligent Scottish peasantry.

John Howie mentions in his *Scots Worthies*, that "there were also some discourses of Mr. Guthrie's in manuscript," out of which he transcribed seventeen sermons, published in the year 1779. At the same period there were also a great number of MS. sermons and notes bearing his name. Some of these had apparently been taken from his widow by a party of soldiers who entered her house by violence, and took her son-in-law prisoner in 1682.

It may be necessary here to allude to another work connected with Mr. Guthrie's name—"The Heads of some Sermons preached at Pencaik in August, 1662, by Mr. William Guthrie, upon Mat. xiv. 24, &c., anent the trials of the Lord's people, their support in, and deliverance from them by Jesus Christ," published in 1680, and reprinted in 1714. This work was wholly unauthorized by his representatives, being taken not from his own MSS., but from imperfect notes or recollections of some of his hearers.

His widow published an advertisement disclaiming it, a copy of which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, among the collections of the indefatigable Wodrow.

Memoirs of Mr. Guthrie will be found in the *Scots Worthies*, and at the beginning of the work *The Christian's Great Interest*. A later and more complete sketch of his life, interspersed with his letters to Sir William Muir, younger, has been written by the Rev. William Muir, the editor of the interesting genealogical little work, *The History of the House of Rowallan*. From the latter most of the materials for the present notice have been drawn.

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM, a political, historical, and miscellaneous writer, was born in Forfarshire in the year 1708. His father was an Episcopal minister at Brechin, and a cadet of a family which has for a long time possessed considerable influence in that part of the country. He studied at King's College in Aberdeen, and having taken his degrees, had resolved to retire early from the activity and ambition of the world to the humble pursuits of a Scottish parochial schoolmaster; from this retreat, however, he seems to have been early driven by the consequences of some unpropitious affair of the heart, hinted at but not named by his biographers, which seems to have created, from its circumstances, so great a ferment among the respectable connections of the schoolmaster, that he resolved to try his fortune in the mighty labyrinth of London. Other accounts mingle with this the circumstance of his having been an adherent of the house of Stuart, which is likely enough from his parentage, and of his consequently being disabled from holding any office under the Hanoverian government—a method of making his livelihood which his character informs us he would not have found disagreeable could he have followed it up; at all events, we find him in London, after the year 1730, working hard as a general literary man for his livelihood, and laying himself out as a doer of all work in the profession of letters. Previously to Dr. Johnson's connection with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which commenced about the year 1738, Guthrie had been in the habit of collecting and arranging the parliamentary debates for that periodical, or rather of putting such words into the mouths of certain statesmen as he thought they might or should have made use of, clothing the names of the senators in allegorical terms—a system to which a dread of the power of parliament, and the uncertainty of the privilege of being present at debates, prompted the press at that time to have recourse. When Johnson had been regularly employed as a writer in the magazine, the reports, after receiving such embellishments as Guthrie could bestow on them, were sent to him by Cave to receive the final touch of oratorical colouring; and sometimes afterwards the labour was performed by Johnson alone, considerably, it may be presumed, to the fame and appreciation of the honourable orators. Guthrie soon after this period had managed to let it be known to government that he was a person who could write well, and that it might depend on circumstances whether he should use his pen as the medium of attack or of defence. The matter was placed on its proper footing, and Mr. Guthrie received from the Pelham administration a pension of £200 a year. He was a man who knew better how to maintain his ground than the ministry did, and he managed with his pension to survive its fall. Nearly twenty years afterwards we find him making laudable efforts for the continuance of his allowance by the then administration: the following letter addressed to a minister—one of the coolest specimens

of literary commerce on record—we cannot avoid quoting:—

“June 3d, 1762.

“MY LORD,—In the year 1745–6 Mr. Pelliam, then first lord of the treasury, acquainted me that it was his majesty's pleasure I should receive till better provided for, which never has happened, £200 a year, to be paid by him and his successors in the treasury. I was satisfied with the august name made use of, and the appointment has been regularly and quarterly paid me ever since. I have been equally punctual in doing the government all the services that fell within my abilities or sphere of life, especially in those critical situations which call for unanimity in the service of the crown. Your lordship will possibly now suspect that I am an author by profession—you are not deceived; and you will be less so if you believe that I am disposed to serve his majesty under your lordship's future patronage and protection with greater zeal, if possible, than ever.

“I have the honour to be, my lord, &c.,

“WILLIAM GUTHRIE.”

This application, as appears from its date, had been addressed to a member of the Bute administration, and within a year after it was written the author must have had to undergo the task of renewing his appeal and changing his political principles. The path he had chosen out was one of danger and difficulty: but we have the satisfaction of knowing that the reward of his submission to the powers that were, and of his contempt for common political prejudices, was duly continued to the day of his death.

The achievements of Guthrie in the literary world it is not easy distinctly or satisfactorily to trace. The works which bear his name would rank him as, perhaps, the most miscellaneous and extensive author in the world; but he is generally believed to have been as regardless of the preservation of his literary fame as of his political constancy, and to have shielded the productions of authors less known to the world under the sanction of his name. About the year 1763 he published “*A Complete History of the English Peerage*, from the best Authorities, illustrated with elegant Copperplates of the Arms of the Nobility, &c.” The noble personages whose ancestors appeared in this work as the embodied models of all human perfection, were invited to correct and revise the portions in which they felt interested before they were committed to the press; nevertheless, the work is full of mistakes, and has all the appearance of having been touched by a hasty though somewhat vigorous hand. Thus, the battle of Dettingen, as connected with the history of the Duke of Cumberland, is mentioned as having taken place in June, 1744, while, in the account of the Duke of Marlborough, the period retrogrades to 1742—both being exactly the same distance of time from the true era of the battle, which was 1743. Very nearly in the same neighbourhood George II. achieves the feat of leaving Hanover on the 16th of June, and reaching Aschaffenberg on the 10th of the same month; in a similar manner the house of peers is found addressing his majesty on the subject of the battle of Culloden on the 29th of August, 1746, just after the prorogation of parliament. To this work Mr. Guthrie procured the assistance of Mr. Ralph Bigland. Guthrie afterwards wrote a history of England in three large folios; it commences with the conquest, and terminates, rather earlier than it would appear the author had at first intended, at the end of the republic. This work has the merit of being the earliest British history which placed reliance on the fund of authentic information to be found in the records of parliament. But the genius of Guthrie was not to be chained to

the history of the events of one island; at divers times about the years 1764–5 appeared portions of “*A General History of the World, from the Creation to the Present Time*, by William Guthrie, Esq., John Gray, Esq., and others Eminent in this Branch of Literature,” in twelve volumes. “No authors,” says the *Critical Review*, “ever pursued an original plan with fewer deviations than the writers of this work. They connect history in such a manner, that Europe seems one republic, though under different heads and constitutions.” Guthrie was then a principal writer in that leading periodical, in which his works received much praise, because, to save trouble, and as being best acquainted with the subject, the author of the books took on himself the duties of critic, and was consequently well satisfied with the performance. In 1767 Mr. Guthrie published in parts a *History of Scotland*, in ten volumes octavo. It commences with “the earliest period,” and introduces us to an ample acquaintance with Dornadilla, Durst, Corbed, and the numerous other long-lived monarchs, whose names Father Innes had, some time previously, consigned to the regions of fable. Of several of these persons he presents us with very respectable portraits, which prove their taste in dress, and knowledge of theatrical effect, to have been by no means contemptible. In this work the author adheres with pertinacity to many opinions which prior authors of celebrity considered they had exploded; like Goodall, he seems anxious to take vengeance on those who showed the ancient Scots to have come from Ireland by proving the Irish to have come from Scotland; and a similar spirit seems to have actuated him in maintaining the *regiam majestatem* of Scotland to have been the original of the *regiam potestatem* of Glanvil—Nicholson and others having discovered that the Scottish code was borrowed from the English. With all its imperfections, this book constituted the best complete history of Scotland published during the last century. The views of policy are frequently profound and accurate, and the knowledge of the contemporaneous history of other nations frequently exhibited, shows that attention and consideration might have enabled the author to have produced a standard historical work. Towards its general merits Pinkerton has addressed the following growl of qualified praise:—“Guthrie's *History of Scotland* is the best of the modern, but it is a mere money-job, hasty and inaccurate.” It would be a useless and tedious task to particularize the numerous works of this justly styled “miscellaneous writer.” One of the works, however, which bear his name, has received the unqualified approbation of the world. *Guthrie's Historical and Geographical Grammar* is known to every one, from the school-boy to the philosopher, as a useful and well-digested manual of information. This work had reached its twenty-first edition before the year 1810; it was translated into French in 1801 by Messieurs Noel and Soules, and the translation was re-edited for the fourth time in a very splendid manner in 1807. The astronomical information was supplied by James Gregory, and rumour bestows on Knox the bookseller the reputation of having written the remaining part under the guarantee of a name of literary authority. Besides the works already enumerated, Guthrie translated *Quintilian*, *Cicero De Officiis*, and *Cicero's Epistles to Atticus*; he likewise wrote *The Friends*, a *Sentimental History*, in two volumes, and *Remarks on English Tragedy*. This singular individual terminated his laborious life in March, 1770. The following tribute to his varied qualifications is to be found on his tombstone in Mary-le-bone:—“Near this place lies interred the body of William Guthrie, Esq., who died 9th

March, 1770, aged sixty-two, representative of the ancient family of Guthrie of Halkerton, in the county of Angus, North Britain; eminent for knowledge in all branches of literature, and of the British constitution, which his many works, historical, geographical, classical, critical, and political, do testify; to whom this monument was erected, by order of his brother, Henry Guthrie, Esq., in the year 1777."

Guthrie was one of those individuals who live by making themselves useful to others, and his talents and habits dictated the most profitable occupation for his time to be composition: he seems to have exulted in the self-imposed term of "an author by profession;" and we find him three years before his death complacently styling himself, in a letter to the Earl of Buchan, "the oldest author by profession in Britain;" like many who have maintained a purer fame, and filled a higher station, his political principles were guided by emolument, which, in his instance,

seems to have assumed the aspect of pecuniary necessity. Had not his engagements with the booksellers prompted him to aim at uniting the various qualities of a Hume, a Robertson, a Johnson, a Camden, and a Cowley, attention to one particular branch of his studies might have made his name illustrious. Johnson considered him a person of sufficient eminence to regret that his life had not been written, and uttered to Boswell the following sententious opinion of his merits:—"Sir, he is a man of parts. He has no regular fund of knowledge, but by reading so long, and writing so long, he no doubt has picked up a good deal." Boswell elsewhere states in a note:—"How much poetry he wrote I know not, but he informed me that he was the author of the beautiful little piece, 'The Eagle and Robin Redbreast,' in the collection of poems entitled *The Union*, though it is there said to be written by Archibald Scott before the year 1600."

H.

HACKSTON, DAVID, of Rathillet, is a name of considerable celebrity in the annals of Scotland, from its connection with the events of 1679-80, and from its pre-eminence in some of the most remarkable transactions of that stormy period. Hackston, though indebted for his celebrity to the zeal and courage which he displayed in the cause of the Covenanters, is said to have led an exceedingly irreligious life during his earlier years, from which he was reclaimed by attending some of the field preachings of the period, when he became a sincere and devoted convert. The first remarkable transaction in which he was engaged in connection with the party with which he had now associated himself was the murder of Archbishop Sharp. Hackston of Rathillet formed a conspicuous figure in the group of that prelate's assassins, although in reality he had no immediate hand in the murder. He seems, however, even previous to this, to have gained a considerable ascendancy over his more immediate companions, and to have been already looked up to by his party as a man whose daring courage and enthusiasm promised to be of essential service to their cause. When the archbishop's carriage came in sight of the conspirators, of whom there were eight besides Hackston, they unanimously chose him their leader, pledging themselves to obey him in everything in the conduct of the proposed attack on the prelate. This distinction, however, Hackston declined, on the ground that he had a private quarrel with the archbishop, and that therefore, if he should take an active part in his destruction, the world would allege that he had done it to gratify a personal hatred—a feeling of which he declared he entertained none whatever towards their intended victim. He further urged scruples of conscience regarding the proposed deed, of the lawfulness of which he said he by no means felt assured, the archbishop, as is well known, having only come accidentally in the way of Hackston and his associates. Hackston having refused the command of the party, another was chosen, and under his directions the murder was perpetrated. Whilst the shocking scene was going forward, Hackston kept altogether aloof, and countenanced it no further than by looking on. He seems, however, to have had little other objection to the commission of the crime than that he himself should not have an immediate hand in its accom-

plishment; for when the unfortunate old man, after being compelled to come out of his carriage by the assassins, appealed to him for protection, saying, "Sir, I know you are a gentleman, you will protect me;" he contented himself with replying that *he* would never lay a hand on him. Rathillet was on horseback, from which he did not alight during the whole time of the murder. Next day the conspirators divided themselves into two parties, three remaining in Fife, and five, with Rathillet, proceeding north in the direction of Dunblane and Perth. Soon after they repaired to the west, and finally joined a body of Covenanters at Evandale. Here the latter, having drawn up a declaration containing their testimony to the truth, Rathillet with another, Mr. Douglas, one of the most intrepid of the covenanting clergymen, was appointed to publish it. For this purpose he proceeded with his colleague to the town of Rutherglen, where, on 29th May, after burning, at the market cross, all those acts of parliament and council which they and their party deemed prejudicial to their interest, they proclaimed the testimony. Hackston's next remarkable appearance was at the battle of Drumclog, where he distinguished himself by his bravery. On the alarm being given that Claverhouse was in sight, and approaching the position of the Covenanters, who, though they had met there for divine worship, were all well armed, Hackston and Hall of Haugh-head placed themselves at the head of the footmen, and led them gallantly on against the dragoons of Claverhouse. The result of that encounter is well known. The bravery of the Covenanters prevailed. The affair of Drumclog was soon after followed by that of Bothwell Brig, where Rathillet again made himself conspicuous by his intrepidity, being, with his troop of horse, the last of the whole army of the Covenanters on the field of battle. He had flown from rank to rank when he saw the confusion which was arising amongst the Covenanters, and alternately threatened and besought the men to keep their ground. Finding all his efforts vain, "My friends," he said, addressing his troop, "we can do no more, we are the last upon the field;" and he now, retreating himself, endeavoured as much as possible to cover the rear of the fleeing Covenanters. Rathillet sought safety in concealment, for, besides what he had to fear from his having carried arms

against the government, he had also to apprehend the consequences of a proclamation which had been issued, offering a reward of 10,000 merks for his apprehension, or any of those concerned in the death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. For twelve months he contrived to escape, but was at length taken prisoner at Airmoss by Bruce of Earlsall. Rathillet, with about sixty other persons, had come to the place just named to attend a preaching by Richard Cameron, the celebrated founder of the sect called Cameronians, when they were surprised by Bruce with a large body of horse, and after a desperate resistance, during which Hackston was severely wounded, he and several others were taken. Cameron himself was killed in this affair, with nine of his adherents. Hackston gives a very interesting account of this skirmish, and, without the slightest aim at effect, has presented us with as remarkable and striking an instance of the spirit of the times, of the almost romantic bravery and resolution which religious fervour had inspired into the Covenanters, as is upon record. It appears from the account alluded to that the party to which Hackston was attached had been informed that the military were in search of them, and that, to avoid the latter, they had spent some days and nights, previous to their encountering them, in the moors. On the day on which the skirmish took place, while wandering through the morasses, they came upon a spot of grass, which tempted them to halt. Here they laid themselves down and took some refreshment, but while thus employed they were startled with the intelligence that their enemies were approaching them, Hackston conjectures, to the number of at least 112 men, well armed and mounted, while the force of the Covenanters did not amount to more than sixty-three, of which forty were on foot, and twenty-three on horseback, and the greater part of them but poorly appointed. Unappalled by those odds, Hackston immediately formed his little host in battle array, and, while doing so, asked them if they were all willing to fight. The reply was readily given in the affirmative, and preparations were instantly made for a desperate conflict. In the meantime the dragoons were fast advancing towards them. Hackston, however, did not wait for the attack, but put his little band also in motion, and marched on to meet their enemy. "Our horse," says Hackston, "advanced to their faces, and we fired on each other. I being foremost, after receiving their fire, and finding the horse behind me broken, rode in amongst them, and went out at a side without any wrong or wound. I was pursued by severals, with whom I fought a good space, sometimes they following me and sometimes I following them. At length my horse bogged, and the foremost of theirs, which was David Ramsay, one of my acquaintance, we both being on foot, fought it with small swords, without advantage of one another, but at length closing, I was stricken down with those on horseback behind me, and received three sore wounds on the head, and so falling, he saved my life, which I submitted to. They searched me and carried me to their rear, and laid me down, where I bled much—where were brought severals of their men sore wounded. They gave us all testimony of being brave resolute men." Hackston with several others were now, his little party having been defeated, carried prisoners to Douglas, and from thence to Lanark. Here he was brought before Dalryell, who, not being satisfied with his answers, threatened in the brutal manner peculiar to him to *roast* him for his contumacy. Without any regard to the miserable condition in which Hackston was—dreadfully wounded and worn out with fatigue—Dalryell now ordered him to be put

in irons, and to be fastened down to the floor of his prison, and would not allow of any medical aid to alleviate his sufferings. On Saturday, two days after the affair of Airmoss, Rathillet, with other three prisoners, were brought to Edinburgh. On arriving at the city they were carried round about by the north side of the town, and made to enter at the foot of the Canongate, where they were received by the magistrates. Here the unparalleled cruelties to which Hackston was subjected commenced. Before entering the town he was placed upon a horse with "his face backward, and the other three were bound on a goad of iron, and Mr. Cameron's head carried on a halbert before him, and another head in a sack on a lad's back." And thus disposed, the procession moved up the street towards the Parliament Close, where the prisoners were loosed by the hands of the hangman. Rathillet was immediately carried before the council, and examined regarding the murder of Archbishop Sharp, and on several points relative to his religious and political doctrines. Here he conducted himself with the same fortitude which had distinguished him on other perilous occasions, maintaining and defending his opinions, however unpalatable they might be to his judges. After undergoing a second examination by the council, he was handed over to the court of judicatory, with instructions from the former to the latter to proceed against him with the utmost severity. On the 29th of July he was brought to trial as an accessory to the murder of the primate, for publishing two seditious papers, and for having carried arms against his sovereign. Rathillet declined the jurisdiction of the court, and refused to plead. This, however, of course, availed him nothing. On the day following he was again brought to the bar, and in obedience to the injunctions of the council, sentenced to suffer a death unsurpassed in cruelty by any upon record, and which had been dictated by the council previous to his trial by the judicatory court, in the certain anticipation of his condemnation. After receiving sentence, the unfortunate man was carried directly from the bar and placed upon a hurdle, on which he was drawn to the place of execution at the cross of Edinburgh. On his ascending the scaffold, where none were permitted to be with him but two magistrates and the executioner and his attendants, the cruelties to which he had been condemned were begun. His right hand was struck off; but the hangman performing the operation in a tardy and bungling manner, Rathillet, when he came to take off the left hand also, desired him to strike on the joint. This done, he was drawn up to the top of the gallows with a pulley, and allowed to fall again with a sudden and violent jerk. Having been three times subjected to this barbarous proceeding, he was hoisted again to the top of the gibbet, when the executioner with a large knife laid open his breast, before he was yet dead, and pulled out his heart. This he now stuck on the point of a knife, and showed it on all sides to the spectators, crying, "Here is the heart of a traitor!" It was then thrown into a fire prepared for the purpose. His body was afterwards quartered. One quarter, together with his hands, were sent to St. Andrews, another to Glasgow, a third to Leith, and a fourth to Burntisland, his head being fixed upon the Netherbow. Thus perished Hackston of Rathillet, a man in whose life, and in the manner of whose death, we find at once a remarkable but faithful specimen of the courage and fortitude of the persecuted of the seventeenth century, and of the inhuman and relentless spirit of their persecutors.

HAILES, LORD. See DALRYMPLE, SIR DAVID.

HALDANE, JAMES ALEXANDER.—It seldom happens that when a great work is to be accomplished in which co-ordinated effort is required, the same family which produced the originator should also furnish the effectual seconder of the movement. From this general rule the family of Haldane of Airthrey is an honoured exception; for while Robert was building churches over the whole extent of Scotland, his younger brother, James, was ably preparing the way by preaching in its most destitute localities, and reviving that religious spirit which had sunk for years into cold apathy and indifference.

James Alexander Haldane was born at Dundee, on the 14th of July, 1768, within a fortnight after the death of his father. He also lost his mother when he had only reached his sixth year. After attending the high-school of Edinburgh with his brother, he went to the university, which he attended for three years, until he had completed his studies in Latin and Greek, and gone through the curriculum of logic, metaphysics, mathematics, and natural philosophy. Having thus established a sufficient groundwork for future self-improvement, and made a tour through the north of England, he joined, at the age of seventeen, the service for which he had been early destined, by entering as midshipman the *Duke of Montrose*, East Indiaman, bound to Bombay and China, of which ship he was to obtain the command when he was qualified by age and service.

On embarking upon his profession, James Haldane devoted himself earnestly to his duties, ambitious to become an active seaman and skilful navigator. Besides this, his love of general literature, which his previous education had imparted, made him spend all his leisure time in the study of the best authors, of which he carried with him a well-stored sea-chest, and in this way he was unconsciously training himself to become an able theological writer and eloquent preacher. He made in all four voyages to India and China; and during the long period over which these extended he saw much of the variety of life, as well as experienced the usual amount of hair's-breadth escapes so incidental to his profession. During his third voyage, in which he was third officer of the *Hillsborough*, and while returning from India, he encountered one of those dangers so frequently attendant upon the naval and military service, and so unreasonable and contemptible in services so full of perils of their own, because so utterly gratuitous. One of the passengers, a cavalry officer, notorious as a quarrelsome bully and a good shot, picked a quarrel with James Haldane, and at the mess-table threw a glass of wine in his face, which the other retorted by throwing a decanter at the officer's head. A challenge was inevitable, and Haldane was the more ready to receive it, as, from his antagonist's reputation as a duellist, a refusal might have looked like cowardice. Such was that law of honour now so generally abjured, which in a few years more will evaporate amidst the general derision. No opportunity occurred of a hostile meeting until the ship arrived at St. Helena, where the parties went ashore early in the morning to settle their quarrel by mortal arbitrament. James Haldane, who, the night before had made his will, and written a farewell letter to his brother, to be delivered in the event of his death, raised his pistol at the signal, and inwardly ejaculating, with fearful inconsistency, the solemn prayer, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," he drew the trigger. The pistol burst, and one of the splinters wounded him in the face, while his opponent, whose weapon at the same instant missed fire, declared himself fully satisfied. Thus terminated the first and last affair of the kind

in which he ever was engaged. His amiable disposition, as well as his acknowledged courage and spirit, alike prevented him afterwards from giving or receiving injury.

After his fourth voyage was completed, James Haldane, now at the age of twenty-five, was found fully competent to assume the command of the *Melville Castle*; and on passing his examinations he was promoted to that office in 1793. After his appointment he married Miss Joass, only child of Major Joass, fort-major of Stirling Castle, and niece of Sir Ralph Abercromby. As his fortune was still to seek, while his bride was a young lady of great attractions and high prospects, some demur was made by her relatives to her marriage with a younger brother; but the mutual affection of the pair at last reconciled all parties to the measure. At the end of the year the *Melville Castle* was at Portsmouth ready for an Indian voyage, in company with a large fleet of Indiamen lying at the same port, and Haldane, having parted with his wife at London, had already joined his vessel, when delays occurred that prevented its sailing till some months afterwards. While the fleet was thus lying at anchor, a mutiny broke out in the *Dutton*, which grew to such a height that the chief officers were obliged in terror to abandon the ship; and the crew, arming themselves with what weapons came to hand, threatened to sink every boat that came alongside to board them, or at the worst to blow up the ship, or carry it into a French port. In this state of wild uproar Captain Haldane threw himself into one of the boats of the *Melville Castle*, and approached the *Dutton*, amidst the cries of "Keep off, or we'll sink you!" Undeterred by these threats, he boarded the hostile deck, cutlass in hand, relieved the remaining officers, who were about to be overpowered on the quarter-deck, and by his prompt decided measures so appalled the mutineers, that they were soon brought to a surrender. But while this was going on upon deck, a noise was heard below, and on learning the cause he rushed to the powder magazine, which two men were about to enter, with a shovelful of live coals, after having wrenched off the doors, swearing that they would blow the ship to heaven or hell, no matter which. He clapped a pistol to the breast of the most forward, and compelled him to stand; and ordered the crew to put the two offenders instantly in irons, which was done almost as rapidly as it had been commanded. The daring demeanour and prompt decision of the young captain of the *Melville Castle* so completely quelled the ship's company, and recalled their habits of obedience, that the chief mutineers submitted, and order was restored.

By this time Haldane had acquired a high character in his profession. His skill as a sailor, and his excellent qualities as an officer, had endeared him to seamen and passengers alike; his courage in trying emergencies had been well proved; while the political influence by which he was supported, not only through his friends at home, but in India, where his wife's uncle, Sir Ralph Abercromby, was commander-in-chief of the British army, insured him the speedy attainment both of rank and fortune. Such a consummation was also expected of him as a duty, both on the part of his wife's relatives and his own, who saw no reason why he should sink, with all his prospects and attainments, into the rank of an obscure bonnet laird, or idle country gentleman. And yet he had even already resolved to abandon the sea and all its alluring advantages! The cause of this is to be traced to his early religious education, which had more or less clung to him in his after-career, so that in all he had undergone and enjoyed, as well as all

that he hoped or feared, he had felt the contention of two hostile elements within him—he had been a man divided against himself. With an earnest longing that the spiritual should prevail, so that he might be renewed and sanctified, he felt withal as if such an end could not be attained in his present pursuits and occupations. Frequent conversations with the Rev. Dr. Bogue of Gosport confirmed him in his purpose, which was also enforced by the earnest entreaties of his brother Robert, who had already quitted the navy, and was about to devote himself to that career of religious usefulness by which his whole life was afterwards distinguished. James Haldane accordingly sold his interest in the *Melville Castle* for a sum that insured him a decent independence for life, bade adieu to the sea for ever, and, on rejoining his wife in Scotland and establishing a peaceful home in Edinburgh, he became a diligent student in theology in the best sense of the term. It was in this way that both the brothers qualified themselves for their appointed work. In their case it was from no sudden fit of enthusiasm that they devoted themselves to a career which excited the wonderment of society, and that had to be persevered in through much scorn and opposition for years; on the contrary, they were led to the faith upon which they acted through a long course of inquiry; and this being attained, they were able deliberately to count the cost, and prepare themselves for the sacrifice. In this spirit, while Robert was earnestly straining every nerve to obtain the privilege of deportation and exile as a missionary, James was qualifying himself for the equally humble and self-denying duties of an itinerant preacher. The first attempts of James Haldane in this new sphere of action were sufficiently humble, being confined to the collier village of Gilmerton, where he preached his first sermon in May, 1797.

After having continued to preach for a short time at Gilmerton, James Haldane's views extended over Scotland at large, so that he resolved to commence the work of an itinerant preacher in good earnest. But an ambulatory ministry and lay preaching—these are irregularities which only a very urgent emergency can justify; and yet, perhaps, Scotland at this time needed them as much as England did the labours of her Wesleys and Whitefield. James Haldane also went forth, not as a minister, to dispense the higher ordinances of religion, but simply as an evangelist, to call men to repentance. This his first tour, in 1797, extended through the northern counties of Scotland and the Orkney Islands, and was made in company with Mr. Aikman, originally settled in a prosperous business in Jamaica, but now a student in theology, with the view of becoming a minister. They preached wherever they could find a place to assemble men together—in school-rooms and hospitals, at market-crosses, and in church-yards and upon stair-heads—and assembled their auditories by announcing their purpose through the town-drummer or bellman. In this way they itinerated through Perth, Scone, Cupar, Glamis, Kirriemuir, Montrose, and Aberdeen. At the last-mentioned place Haldane had hearers in thousands, who were attracted by the novelty of a captain of an East Indian turning preacher. The tourists then proceeded to Banff, Elgin, Forbes, Nairn, and Inverness; and having learned that a great fair was soon to be held at Kirkwall, to which people were wont to assemble from every island of the Orkneys, they resolved to comprise this Ultima Thule of the modern as well as the ancient world within the sphere of their operations. And miserable indeed was the spiritual state of the Orkneys at this time, where the ministers were

so far removed beyond the ken of the General Assembly, that they might live as they listed; while the difficulties of navigation in the performance of their duties were so numerous, that they might leave as much undone as they pleased. Here, then, was the field for a devoted Christian, earnest in his sacred work, and fearless of wind and weather; and from Kirkwall as his head-quarters, the bold sailor was ready to scud before the wind in an open boat, to preach the gospel at whatever island might most require his services. In some of these desolate places there had been no religious ordinances for several years; while in Kirkwall, where he and his fellow-traveller preached daily during the fair, they had congregations by the thousand.

This was but the first of a series of tours of a similar character, which were continued at intervals for years, not only in the north, south, and west of Scotland, but in England and Ireland; and which only ceased when the increase of a faithful ministry, and the general revival of a religious spirit, superseded the necessity of such itinerancy.

While Mr. James Haldane was thus pursuing his course as an itinerating and lay preacher, events soon occurred by which the office of an ordained minister, and the superintendence of a regular congregation, were added to his employments. His brother Robert, after having failed in his attempt to establish a great Indian mission, was now employed in the opening of tabernacles, and the extension of evangelical religion at home. It was natural that in such a work he should seek the able co-operation of his brother, and that, too, at Edinburgh, the metropolis and head-quarters of the new movement. The circus or tabernacle, a large place of worship capable of holding 2500 hearers, had been opened for this purpose, and on the 3d of February, 1799, Mr. James Haldane was ordained as its minister.

The rest of the life of James Haldane, as an Edinburgh dissenting minister, although it passed over such a course of years, may be briefly summed up.

The first important event that occurred arose from the divisions in that party of which he was so important a member. While a religious body is small, with the whole world arrayed against it, there is neither time for discord nor motive for division, and in this very feebleness its strength mainly consists. But with its expansion grows security, which promotes dissension, until it falls asunder by its own weight. This dissension had now commenced among the Independent congregations of Scotland, and it was based upon the trying questions of ecclesiastical polity and discipline. It was agreed on all hands that the apostolic model was the only authoritative rule; but what was that model? Here every one had his own theory or interpretation. The frequency with which the Lord's supper should be administered, the mode of conducting their weekly fellowship meetings for social worship, and the amount of pastoral duty that might be conceded to gifted lay members in exhorting the church and conducting the public devotions, were all severally and keenly contested as matters of religious, and therefore of infinite importance. To these, also, was added the question of pædobaptism, in which Mr. James Haldane himself was personally and deeply interested. He had been anxiously studying the subject for several years, and after some time he announced to his flock, that "although his mind was not made up to become himself a Baptist, yet that at present he could not conscientiously baptize children." His mind was made up at last: he was baptized; but still his wish was that the difference of opinion should be no ground of disunion between Baptists and Pædobaptists.

This, however, was too much to expect from any sect or class of Christians in the present state of human nature, and accordingly a disruption ensued in his congregation, of whom nearly two-thirds went away, some to the Establishment, and others to the two tabernacles in College Street and Niddry Street. By this change, also, the two Haldanes ceased to be the leaders of a sect which their labours had originated in Scotland, and their resources hitherto supported. As for James, he now ministered to a very limited congregation, and with diminished popularity, but his elevated generous heart could endure the change as far as it only affected himself. He saw that the good which he had sought to accomplish was in progress under other agencies; and he was content to be nothing, and less than nothing, if the gospel itself should become all in all.

In this way the days and years of James Haldane's life went onward. He regularly officiated to his own Edinburgh congregation, preached occasionally in the open air in its neighbourhood, and diversified his duties by journeys of similar usefulness to greater distances. He published several tracts upon the most important religious doctrines, which were widely circulated, and attended, it is believed, with much usefulness. He was also engaged as a controversialist, in which capacity he published a *Refutation of the Humean Doctrine promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving, respecting the Person and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ*; and when Mr. H. Drummond came to the rescue of his pastor, with his *Candid Examination of the Controversy between Messrs. Irving, Andrew Thomson, and James Haldane*, the last replied with a volume of 277 pages. But controversy was not his congenial element, and Dr. Johnson would have rejected him because he was not a good hater. "I see many evils," he thus writes in a letter, "both at home and abroad, which I hope the Lord will correct; but I do not see anything which I can do, unless it be to live near to God, and to preach his gospel where I am placed in the course of his providence." In 1831 he published *Observations on Universal Pardon, the Extent of the Atonement, and Personal Assurance of Salvation*. The next important event that occurred in his course was the decease of his brother Robert, whose death-bed he attended, and whose triumphant end he witnessed; and it was during the closing hours of his life that the dying man spoke affectionately to his wife of the great benefit he had derived from the sermons and publications of his brother James, from which, he said, he had derived more solid edification than from any others. He also spoke with fond affection of the complete harmony of mind and purpose that had subsisted between them from the beginning. It seemed as if, in the course of nature, the death of James Haldane must speedily follow, for he was now seventy-four years old, and had already outlived many of his early associates. But his term was extended eight years longer, and they were years not of inert senility, but active diligent exertion. In 1842 he published a treatise entitled *Man's Responsibility; the Nature and Extent of the Atonement, and the Work of the Holy Spirit; in reply to Mr. Howard Hinton and the Baptist Midland Association*. In 1848 he reappeared as an author, by publishing an *Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians*. Between these he also published two tracts on the important subject of the *Atonement*. Until he had nearly reached the age of fourscore he was wont also, in addition to these labours, to conduct three public services every Sabbath. In 1849, having completed the fiftieth year of his ministry, his flock and the Congregationalists of Edinburgh agreed to

celebrate the event by a jubilee, which they did on the 12th of April; and the meeting was attended by ministers of all denominations, who were thus eager to testify their love for such a venerable father in Israel. After this his life and labours were continued till 1851, when both were terminated on the 8th of February, in the eighty-third year of his age. His last illness was gentle and brief, and his death the death of the righteous.

HALDANE, ROBERT. The family of Haldane had, for many centuries, been possessors of the barony of Gleneagles, in Perthshire, and were connected with some of the noblest houses of Scotland. As their name implies, they were of a Norse rather than Anglo-Saxon origin, and had probably emigrated from the Danelagh of England at, or soon after, the period of Alfred. Of the representatives of this family (Captain James Haldane of Airthrey, and Katherine Duncan, his wife and first cousin) were born two sons, Robert and James, the subjects of this and the previous notice, and a daughter, who died in childhood. Robert Haldane, the eldest of the family, was born, not in Scotland, but in London, on the 28th of February, 1764; but while still an infant he became a resident in his ancestral country of Scotland, where his father died in 1768. His widowed mother, the daughter of Alexander Duncan of Lundie, and sister of the illustrious hero of Camperdown, was eminent not only for gentleness and maternal affection, but ardent piety; and her religious instructions to her fatherless children, as well as fervent prayers in their behalf, were long after remembered by the objects of her pious cares. But brief was the period of her widowed life, for she died in 1774, when Robert had only reached his tenth, and James his fifth year, and the orphans were consigned to the guardianship of their relatives, by whom their education was carefully superintended. And that they were willing to learn was attested by the following incident. Having been instructed by their tutor in the mysteries of the ancient battering-ram, they resolved to try a practical experiment of its effects by dragging the carriage of their uncle Admiral Duncan to the edge of a slope, down which it would rush by its own weight against a garden wall at the bottom. The carriage was accordingly wheeled up, and let loose; and the astonished admiral, who had been alarmed by the noise, came out only in time to find the vehicle fairly lodged in the garden, and the wall as effectually breached as if one of his own broadsides had been discharged against it.

Having made some progress in Latin, the two boys were sent to the high-school of Edinburgh, where they were boarded with Dr. Adam, its rector, and had for class-fellows John Campbell and Greville Ewing, the former the African traveller, and the latter the minister of the Independent congregation in Glasgow—men with whose labours the Haldanes were in after-life to be intimately connected. When the time arrived that they should choose a profession, the sea naturally presented itself, not only from the high naval reputation of their uncle, but the circumstance of their father having been captain of the *Duke of Albany*, East Indiaman, and on the eve of being elected an East India director when his unexpected death occurred. Besides this, their great family influence insured a rapid promotion, whether in the royal service or that of the East India Company. Robert accordingly was destined to the former, and James to the latter; and in 1780 the family separation commenced, by Robert's joining the *Monarch* at Portsmouth during that year. From this period we follow their respective careers.

On entering the naval service under such a commander as the future hero of Camperdown, Robert Haldane, now at the age of seventeen, was not likely to remain idle. After being a year in the *Monarch*, he was transferred to the *Foudroyant*, 80 guns, commanded by Captain Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent, and was present at the memorable night engagement with the *Pégase*, a French ship of fully greater force than the *Foudroyant*. In this battle, which was hotly maintained for three-quarters of an hour, Robert Haldane served his guns with the skill and coolness of a veteran, and in pointing them in the dark he persevered in using a lantern, although he thereby served as a mark for the enemy's rifles. His gallantry on this occasion obtained the approbation of his brave commander, who sent him on board the *Pégase* to receive its surrender; and on writing to Admiral Duncan, he congratulated him on the conduct of his nephew, and predicted that he would become an ornament to his country. On the return of the *Foudroyant* to Spithead, Robert Haldane spent much of his time at Gosport; and being there attracted by the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Bogue, originally a Scottish Presbyterian, but afterwards the pastor of an Independent congregation at Gosport, Robert Haldane not only had those religious impressions revived which had been implanted by his mother, but his bias directed in favour of Independence.

The design of relieving Gibraltar, for which an expedition was sent out in 1782, under the command of Lord Howe, summoned Robert Haldane once more into action. The garrison was relieved, and at the entrance of the British fleet into Gibraltar the *Foudroyant* was the leading ship. On the return from the Straits an indecisive engagement with the enemy took place, after which the fleet reached Spithead unmolested. An incident occurred on the way that showed Haldane's courage and self-devotedness in his profession. A Spanish 60-gun ship occasioned a chase among some of the British vessels, in which the fast-sailing *Foudroyant* was foremost, as usual, with all her canvas spread, while Haldane was ordered to the fore-topgallant-mast to remain on the look-out until he was recalled. In the meantime, in consequence of an order from Lord Howe, the chase was abandoned, but Haldane was forgot in the movement; the overstrained mast had sprung with the press of canvas, and he expected every moment to be swept into the sea; but still, faithful to the letter of his orders, he would not abandon his post: his only chance of safety, which an old seaman who was stationed beside him suggested, was to keep hold of the lower part of the ropes, so that when carried into the sea they might still retain their hold of the mast, with their heads above water. While their moments were thus numbered, a sudden cry of "A man overboard!" occasioned a rapid shortening of sail; the critical situation of Haldane and the sailor was then discovered, and an instant order to descend relieved them from their peril. It was an act of obedience such as Rome would have gladly enrolled in her history. On the *Foudroyant* being paid off at Spithead, Haldane was removed into the *Salisbury*, of 50 guns, on which the broad pennant of his commander, Sir John Jervis, was hoisted, as commodore of a squadron intended for the double purpose of a voyage of discovery round the world, and an attack on the Spanish settlements of South America. But the peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, in 1783, altered the destination of the *Salisbury*, so that she only made a short voyage to Newfoundland. On her return to England Robert Haldane, finding no prospect either of active service

or immediate promotion, resolved to spend the rest of his days on shore. He accordingly resigned his commission; and being as yet only twenty years old, he determined to complete the education which had been interrupted three years before, when he went to sea. For this purpose he once more became a student at the university of Edinburgh, of which he had formerly been an alumnus; and, after attending two seasons, he made the grand tour, comprising the principal countries of Europe. After his return he married, in 1786, Katherine Cochrane Oswald, daughter of George Oswald of Scotston, and settled down upon his patrimonial estate of Airthrey, resolving to devote himself to the life and occupations of a country gentleman. Into this he now threw all his energies, and his taste in agricultural improvements soon made him conspicuous among his compereers. Airthrey was possessed of great natural capabilities, and these he so highly improved that his example was speedily followed, and the surrounding country began to assume a new aspect.

Thus passed the course of Robert Haldane's life for eight years, an even tenor such as poets delight to picture and moralists to recommend. But higher and holier duties awaited him than the transplanting of trees and improvement of lawns and gardens; and he was suddenly awoken from his innocent dream by an event that shook the very pillars of the world, and roused the dullest to alarm and inquiry. Who could sleep, or even muse, amidst the sudden and universal reel of the French Revolution? The laird of Airthrey saw in this event the annihilation of feudal rights and the destruction of heritable charters; but his generous heart did not the less sympathize in the sufferings of a great nation, and its Titan-like throes for deliverance, while he hoped that all this was but the beginning of a happy political millennium, of which France was destined to be the first-fruits. He did not at the time take into account the infidel principles upon which that revolution was based, and the utter insufficiency of such principles to produce the results he anticipated. The recoil, however, soon arrived, and with it that spirit of thoughtful inquiry which was to lead him to the best results.

Having attained a vital knowledge of Divine truth, and prosecuted his first perceptions by careful reading and inquiry, Robert Haldane was eager to impart to others the knowledge he had learned and the blessings he had experienced. Such is the effect of the Christian life, especially when ingrafted upon a naturally heroic temperament. It will neither sit down amidst the silence of private life, nor withdraw itself to the solitude of the hermit's cell; not content with its own salvation alone, it is impatient for the salvation of others also, so that, while the patriot is ready to die for his country, the Christian is ready for even more than this—like St. Paul, he could wish himself "accused from Christ for his brethren." Thus animated, he looked for a field of Christian enterprise, and soon found it in India—that empire of a hundred realms, which Britain has conquered, but still failed to Christianize. The Baptist mission had just previously been established there, and the account of its proceedings been published; and Haldane, who read the first number of its periodical statements, was impatient to enter such a field, and co-operate with the efforts of Carey and his brethren. He, too, like the poor English shoemaker, would become a missionary, and devote himself to a life of danger and toil in India. It was a strange plan, but neither rashly adopted nor unwisely prosecuted. It was upon a grand and comprehensive scale. With himself, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Innes, minister at

Stirling, Mr. Doane of Gosport, and Greville Ewing, at that time a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, were to go out as missionaries. These were to be accompanied by an efficient staff of catechists, city missionaries, and schoolmasters; and a printing-press, with its necessary establishment of printers and bookbinders. The whole mission, thus completely equipped, was to be conveyed to India, and, when there, to be salaried and supported entirely at the expense of Mr. Haldane; and, to provide a fund for the purpose, he was prepared to bring to the hammer his rich and beautiful estate of Airthrey, for which he had already done so much. Well might such a man say, as he did, "Christianity is everything or nothing. If it be true, it warrants and commands every sacrifice to promote its influence. If it be not, then let us lay aside the hypocrisy of professing to believe it."

All being thus in readiness, it appeared as if nothing more was necessary than that the mission should hoist sail and be gone. It was a great national undertaking, of which our government should reap the fruits, and that, too, with the unwonted advantage of having to pay nothing in return. Still, however, permission had to be obtained from the directors of the East India Company and the Board of Control, without which the mission would have been treated as an unauthorized intrusion. It was not forgotten, also, that Carey had been obliged to commence his labours, not in British India, from which he would have been excluded, but in the Danish settlement of Serampore. But it was thought that a better spirit, the result of a more matured experience, had descended upon our Indian legislators; and that so extensive and liberal an enterprise, superintended by one of Haldane's rank, character, and high connections, would scarcely be met by a refusal. Thus also hoped Robert Haldane, and he applied accordingly, but was rejected. Politicians, who had not yet recovered from their astonishment at the facility with which our Indian empire of twenty millions of subjects had been won by a few British bayonets, and who feared that such a sovereignty might be lost as rapidly as it had been gained, could at present see no better mode of retaining their conquest than by keeping the natives in profound ignorance. If Christianity was introduced, the Hindoos would become as knowing as ourselves, and where, then, would be our superiority? It was alleged, also, that an attack upon Brahminism, like that which a Christian mission implied, would kindle such resentment throughout the whole of Hindoostan, that instant revolt would ensue, and end in the expulsion of the British from the country. To these political motives in behalf of such a selfish forbearance, religious ones were also added. It was asserted that Brahminism was a religion the best of all fitted for India; that it was a mild, innocent, and virtuous system; and that, by disturbing the faith of its worshippers, we could at best only translate them from good, pious Hindoos, into very questionable Christians. These motives prevailed, notwithstanding the powerful influence with which Haldane's application was supported, and the persevering urgency with which it was reiterated.

In this way was extinguished one of the noblest and most comprehensive schemes of Christian philanthropy that graced the religious history of the eighteenth century. Of the proceedings of its originator, in consequence of this heavy disappointment, he has himself given the following account:—"For some time after this (1797) I did not lay aside my endeavours to go out to Bengal; and, in the meanwhile, was busied in selling my estate, that there

might be no delay on my part, if obstructions from without should be removed. I accordingly at length found a purchaser, and with great satisfaction left a place, in the beautifying and improving of which my mind had once been much engrossed. In that transaction I sincerely rejoice to this hour, although disappointed in getting out to India. I gave up a place and a situation which continually presented objects calculated to excite and gratify 'the lust of the eye and the pride of life.' Instead of being engaged in such poor matters, my time is now more at my command; and I find my power of applying property usefully very considerably increased." A man thus resolved and disencumbered was not likely to remain long inactive; and his new course of enterprise embraced such a variety of religious benevolence, that we can only bestow a glance upon the objects in which the men of the present generation found him toiling, with unabated hopes and undiminished energy.

One of the first of these was the plan of Christianizing Africa through the agency of its own children. That dark continent, hitherto so impervious to Europeans, and its climate so noxious to all but its natives, presented insuperable obstacles to the zealous missionary as well as the enterprising explorer; so that, to repair thither, was considered as a journey to that country

"———From whose undiscovered bourne
No traveller returns."

In this difficulty, the idea had occurred to Mr. John Campbell, himself afterwards a successful explorer of Africa, that native children brought to Britain, there educated in Christianity and the arts of civilization, and afterwards returned to their homes, would prove the fittest missionaries and teachers of their countrymen. It was a simple expedient, the soundness of which all our subsequent experience has verified. But, with all its excellence, Campbell, at that time nothing more than a poor tradesman in Edinburgh, could only propose it, for funds were wanting for its accomplishment. In 1798 he met with Robert Haldane, to whom he mentioned his scheme; and the latter, struck with its promising character, at once offered to defray the expense, which was calculated at from £6000 to £7000. Accordingly, twenty-four African children, belonging to the families of different chiefs, were shipped at Sierra Leone, and brought safely to London. Nothing now remained than that they should be sent to Edinburgh, and placed under Mr. Haldane's care, who, in the anticipation of such an arrival, had leased the large old tenement in King's Park, well known to tourists as the house of the Laird of Dumbiedykes. But here, unfortunately, a ground of refusal had occurred. Mr. Haldane, while he defrayed the whole expense of the experiment, was not to be intrusted with the management and education of the children, which, on the contrary, was to be placed under a London committee. He could not accede to proposals so unexpected, and made at the last hour, and he found himself constrained to withdraw from the enterprise. It is gratifying to add, however, that the main purpose was not abandoned, or the children neglected. After having received a religious education, and been taught several handicraft professions, these youthful missionaries were in due time restored to their homes.

While this unpleasant affair was pending, and after it had terminated so unsatisfactorily, Mr. Haldane was by no means idle in the work of Christian benevolence; and the disappointments he experienced, both in his Indian and African efforts, seemed only to recal him with redoubled

vigour into the field. Among his labours may be mentioned his zealous dissemination of religious tracts. In the present day, when publications of this kind descend like snow-showers, and too often melt away as rapidly, such a mode of doing good has come to be held in little account. But very different was the state of things at the close of the last century. As yet the Tract Society had no existence, and many can well recollect the "perilous stuff" which, under the name of "ballants," was plentiful in every cottage of Scotland, and constituted the principal reading of the people, both young and old. And what kind of training did the youthful mind receive from the *Exploits of John Cheap the Chapman, Leper the Tailor, and Lotherian Tom?* It was much, indeed, that one man should have set himself to stem such a tide, and this Mr. Haldane did. At his own expense he caused useful religious tracts to be printed, and these he distributed over the country in myriads. In this manner slim broadsheets insinuated their way through every opening, and the attention of all classes was awakened to doctrines which they were too seldom accustomed to hear from the pulpit. While he thus anticipated the work of the Tract Society, he also forestalled that of the British and Foreign Bible Society, by a copious dissemination of the Scriptures at his own expense. He formed, and aided in forming, Sabbath-schools, at that time sorely needed in Scotland, in consequence of the new mercantile character impressed upon it, through which children became sons and daughters of the loom and the spinning-jenny, instead of the legitimate offspring of Christian men and women. And wherever missionary work was to be undertaken, whether at home or abroad, there his counsel and his purse were equally open; and the Serampore translations of the Scriptures, for the use of India, were benefited by his aid, at the same time that he was labouring for the circulation of the gospel among the huts and cottages of his own native country.

But of all the attempts of Robert Haldane, that of the establishment of a new church in Scotland was certainly the most remarkable. It was a daring, and at first sight a superfluous attempt, in the land of John Knox and of solemn leagues and covenants. For was not Scotland already famed over Europe as the most religious and most spiritually enlightened of all countries? But this was the reputation of a past age, upon which a spendthrift generation had now entered, and which they were squandering away in handfuls. At the close of the last century Moderatism had attained its height, and alongside of philosophy and metaphysics, these sciences so congenial to the Scottish national character, infidelity and scepticism had kept equal pace; so that, both in college and church, the doubts of Hume and the doctrines of Socinus had well-nigh eradicated all the visible landmarks of the national faith. Happily, however, for Scotland, its creed, thus driven from both school and pulpit, found a shelter among the homely dwellings of our peasantry; and through the writings of such men as Guthrie, Boston, and Willison, of our own country, and Bunyan, Flavel, and Hervey, of England—all equally prized and carefully studied—the people were in many cases wiser than all their teachers. Still, without further aid these defences must have gone down, and the whole land been inundated with the prevalent tide. Then, however, a few ministers were raised up, by whom that aggressive warfare against the general evil was waged, which was finally attended with such beneficial results; and then also was Robert Haldane, a layman, a man of rank, and

therefore a disinterested witness, brought forward to corroborate these clerical efforts, and give effectual aid in the coming revival.

The necessity of a faithfully-preached gospel was at that time peculiarly urgent in Scotland, and here, therefore, it was that Haldane directed his chief endeavours. While the population had increased two-fold, church accommodation had in a great measure remained stationary; and even if additional churches should be built, the difficulty of supplying them with a proper ministry still remained. There was as little hope at the time that government would supply the former as the church the latter deficiency, and thus the affair was allowed to drift onward, let it finally strand where it might. To build or hire churches was Mr. Haldane's first aim, and these were speedily set up in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Perth, Thurso, Wick, and Elgin; and to furnish them with an efficient ministry eighty students were soon enrolled, under the pastoral instruction of Dr. Bogue, Mr. Ewing, and Mr. Innes. His chapels, or tabernacles, as they were usually called, continued to multiply, so that by the year 1805 nearly 200 preachers from Mr. Haldane's seminaries were labouring as ministers and missionaries in Scotland, besides those who had gone to America. When the result of all this devotedness is reduced to pounds, shillings, and pence, it assumes the most tangible form to the eye and understanding; we shall therefore simply state that, from 1798 to 1810, Mr. Haldane had expended about £70,000 in his labours to propagate the gospel at home. And be it remembered, too, that he was no mere philanthropic epicure, acting upon random impulses, or impatient, through sheer laziness, to be rid of his money as an incubrance. Instead of this, he was as much alive to the enjoyments of fortune as others—as conscious of the value of money, and as provident in securing and expending it as the shrewdest trafficker could well be. But all this he deliberately did at the solemn call of duty; toiling, calculating, and foreseeing at every step; and bestowing these princely sums, that were never to return to him, as considerately as if he had been speculating in the stocks, or investing funds in some hopeful mercantile enterprise. Never, perhaps, were Christian liberality and Scottish *cannyness* so admirably combined, or so nobly illustrated; and it is upon this principle that we are to estimate the true worth and the disinterested sacrifices of Robert Haldane.

The effects produced by these tabernacles were very soon apparent throughout Scotland. They roused a spirit of attention; and even when the feeling was nothing more than that of alarm, it led to inquiry, of all feelings the one most needful at such a crisis. The most neglected districts, the most secluded nooks of our land, were soon pervaded with an itinerant or settled mission; and communities that had slumbered in hundreds of parishes under the drowsy influence of Moderatism were shaken from their torpor, and raised into full activity. And was Presbyterian Scotland in very deed to become Independent? Happily for the national character and its established habits, so great a violence was not to be sustained; and the public mind, once awakened, had its own beloved Presbyterianism at hand, instead of that system of tabernacle church-government, which it could not well comprehend. In this way Independency fulfilled its mission in Scotland, and having accomplished this it silently retrograded, and left what remained for accomplishment to a more efficient, or at least a more popular and congenial agency. At first, indeed, Haldane, in the introduction of these chapels, had no idea of a dissent from the church

—they were only intended as auxiliaries; and both ministers and members were in the practice of communicating at the sacrament in the Established churches. But it was impossible that this harmony could long continue; and, as was the case of Methodism in England, the alliance was soon broken, and the new congregations were organized into a body of Dissenters. And then followed a spirit of division by which the body was rent in twain. The question of paedobaptism was the subject of controversy; and while Haldane and his brother adopted the sentiments of the Baptists, and were followed by a large portion of the Congregationalists, the rest took a more decided stand upon those principles of Independency which had long been recognized in England. Such was the history of a religious cause which, be its intrinsic merits what they may, has never been congenial to the spirit of the Scottish nation.

In this manner the days of Robert Haldane were indefatigably occupied for a course of years, and to these general labours we must add his own individual exertions as a lay-preacher and missionary; for he was of opinion that the office of an evangelist neither needed the regular preparation of a college nor the authoritative sanction of a presbytery. At length, finding that repose to be necessary which results from change of action, he once more turned to the occupations of a country gentleman, by purchasing, in 1809, the estate of Auchingray, in Lanarkshire—a desolate moor of 2000 acres, on which grew only a single tree; but which his exertions adorned with forests of larch, fir, birch, ash, and coppice. This, however, was not his chief occupation, for a large portion of his time was spent in the study, where his preparations for the pulpit equalled those of the most ambitious or painstaking minister. Another important purpose to which he addressed himself was the preparation of a literary work on the *Evidences of Christianity*. He was dissatisfied with the established writings upon this important subject, where the authors, however learned and talented, seemed to be more solicitous about the outworks of Christianity than its inner life and spirit; and he justly thought that a more correct and more endearing view of the faith itself should be given, in addition to the arguments by which its heaven-descended authority was authenticated. The result of this wish was his *Evidence and Authority of Divine Revelation*, of which the first edition was published in 1816. The work, which, at a later period of his life, was considerably extended and improved, was not only favourably received by the Christian public, but highly commended by the most influential judges.

After this publication an important epoch in the life of Mr. Haldane followed. This was his memorable journey to Geneva and Montauban. After twenty years of toil and sacrifice he had witnessed such a religious revival in Scotland as left him little cause to regret that Congregationalism should at last be found unnecessary. Still as earnest upon the great work of his life, and as buoyant for missionary enterprise as when he commenced his career, he now resolved to make once more a tour of the Continent, which the peace had but lately opened to the visits of British travellers. Accompanied by Mrs. Haldane, he left Edinburgh on the 9th of October, 1816. His first halt was at Paris; but finding no opening there for missionary labour, and hearing of the benighted state of Geneva, he went to that city, and there took up his residence. That home of Calvin and refuge of John Knox, and therefore so endeared to the affections of every leal-hearted Scotsman—alas! how it had fallen from its ancient supremacy! Those doctrines, of which it was once the nursing-

mother and propagandist, had been so utterly forgotten, that, when the new visitor announced them, he was met with the Athenian cry, "Thou bringest certain strange things to our ears!" Not merely the Calvinistic form of Christianity, but even Christianity itself, had dwindled down into Arianism, Socinianism, Neology, Deism—anything, in short, but what it originally was; while each man was allowed to modify it according to his own pleasure, provided he did not disturb society, either with warnings of its apostasy or a summons to repentance. Such was especially the state of the pastors of the canton, the theological schools, and the students in training for the ministry; and although a very few suspected occasionally that they were in the wrong, and that there was some better way which they had missed, there was neither friend to encourage nor teacher to direct them in their inquiries. But, on the entrance of Robert Haldane, a change commenced in Geneva. He received a few of the students at his hôtel, to whom he expounded the Scriptures; the numbers of inquirers grew and multiplied, and light increased among those who diligently sought it. These students, however, numerous as they ultimately became, did not constitute the whole of his audience. "Besides those who attended regularly," Haldane himself writes, "some, who did not wish to appear with the students, came at different hours; and in conversing with them at those times, or after finishing the public course at eight o'clock, I was often engaged till near midnight. Others of the inhabitants of Geneva, unconnected with the schools of learning, and of both sexes, occasionally visited me in the afternoon respecting the gospel." No such movement has ever occurred without opposition; and the Genevese pastors, after vainly attempting to refute the new preacher, endeavoured to procure his banishment from the canton; and, on the refusal of their free republican government, they proposed to cite him before their spiritual court as a teacher of error and perverter of their students. But all that they could do was to frame new acts, which every student was required to sign before being licensed to preach; acts particularly framed against the doctrines of the Godhead of the Saviour, original sin, grace and effectual calling, and predestination. It was the blundering policy of persecutors, who endeavour to silence, without having power and authority to destroy. The sword, wielded by such feeble hands, was as the touch of a spur to accelerate the movement.

Having finished the good work at Geneva, and kindled a flame that was not to be extinguished, Mr. Haldane wisely resolved to retire, and transfer his labours to some other quarter. Montauban was selected as his next field, which he reached in July, 1817. Here he published, in French, his prelections to the students of Geneva, in two volumes, under the title of a *Commentary on the Romans*. Although the centre of education for the Protestants of the Reformed Church in France, Montauban was too like the parent city of Geneva; it had lapsed from the faith, and was overrun with Arianism and infidelity. Here he resided more than two years, and proceeded in the same manner as he had done at Geneva. And, happily, it was with similar results. Several ministers and many young students, who had been trained in Rationalism, were awake from their security, and converted to the faith under his apostolic ministry. At length, the near prospect of the death of his father-in-law, in Scotland, occasioned his return, but with the purpose of revisiting Montauban, which, however, he was not destined to accomplish.

On his return to Scotland Mr. Haldane, always indefatigable in the good work to which he had devoted himself, was employed with the state of religion at home and upon the Continent, intermingled with occasional preaching and a missionary visit to Ireland. In this way he occupied himself till 1821, when a painful event called him forth as a controversialist, and that too, not with the enemies, but the professed friends and disseminators, of vital uncontaminated Christianity. This conflict in which he was engaged, still remembered as the Apocryphal Controversy, originated in the following circumstances:—On the establishment of the British and Foreign Bible Society, it was agreed that the Scriptures should be circulated without note and comment, and that the Apocrypha should be excluded. This condition it was easy to observe at home, and in Protestant countries abroad, where the canon of Scripture has been established, and its own inspired language received as the only authority. But it was very different in Popish countries, where the prevalent errors are mainly established upon passages from the Apocryphal writings, and where, consequently, the books of Tobit, the Maccabees, and Bel and the Dragon, are of equal authority with those of the apostles and prophets. They would not receive the Bible, therefore, unless it included the Apocrypha, and in an evil hour the society yielded to their demand. They not only gave money in aid of foreign societies that published these adulterated Scriptures, but actually printed Bibles with the Apocrypha intermingled or appended, to further the circulation of the Word among Romanist, Greek, and semi-Protestant communities. In this way a pious fraud was commenced, that went onward step by step, until it attained the maturity of full-grown Jesuitism. And still the unsuspecting public increased their liberality from year to year, and satisfied themselves that all was right. At length it fell to Robert Haldane, by the merest accident, to detect this monstrous evil. In 1821, being in London, he had occasion to visit the offices of the Bible Society, where he left his umbrella, and called next day to recover it. While he thus “looked in,” he was requested to join a sub-committee which was then sitting. He complied; but as the business went onward, he was astonished to discover how much the Apocrypha had been already circulated among the foreign translations of the Bible. His appeals on the occasion were loud and earnest, and the society agreed to discontinue the practice. Thus matters continued quiet till 1824, when it was found that the practice was still going on—and all that good might come out of it. Finding his remonstrances ineffectual, Mr. Haldane now appealed to the Edinburgh Society, which had hitherto acted in connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society; and as none of those Apocryphal sympathies were harboured in the north that still lingered in England, the Edinburgh branch withdrew from the coalition, and formed an establishment of its own for the circulation of an unmingled, unadulterated gospel. Such a secession could not be accomplished without a controversy; for the parent society, that felt itself rebuked by the movement, endeavoured to justify itself to the Christian public; and thus the two parties entered into a conflict that lasted for years, and was waged with all the earnestness not only of a religious but a national warfare. It was England and Scotland once more in the field, while the canon of Scripture itself was at issue. In behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, not only the mere advocates of expediency were enlisted, but men of the highest reputation for learning, orthodoxy,

and piety, and the chief religious periodicals of the day. On the other side, Dr. Andrew Thomson, the most formidable of controversialists, and Robert Haldane, by whom the evil had been detected and the resistance commenced, were the principal champions.

Nothing can be more unjust and ungenerous at this time of day, than to look back upon such a conflict either with contempt or indifference. Revelation itself was at stake. Driven from all their weak defences of necessity and expediency, the Apocryphal party in desperation endeavoured to justify themselves by calling in question the canon of Scripture itself, as if it were a mere matter on which every one might think as he pleased; and to make good their mischievous position, they explored the works of the old heretical writers, to show how much of the Bible was interpolated or uninspired, and how much might safely be called in question. Never indeed was such violence done to the faith of a Protestant community, or the belief of men in such danger of being unsettled. Onward went the conflict till 1830, when Dr. Thomson, exhausted by his almost superhuman efforts, fell dead at his post with the banner in his hand, which was immediately caught and raised aloft by Mr. Haldane. It was much indeed that he had been able hitherto to keep pace with the onward stride of such a leader. But after many a change and trial, truth in the end prevailed; the canon of inspiration was more securely settled than ever, and the Bible Society recovered from its errors and restored to healthfulness and efficiency. During this long controversy, Mr. Haldane's exertions, both on the platform and in the press, were so numerous, that we can only particularize his chief publications upon the subject. In 1825 appeared his “*Review of the Conduct of the British and Foreign Bible Society relative to the Apocrypha, and to their Administration on the Continent*”; with an Answer to the Rev. C. Simeon, and Observations on the Cambridge Remarks.” This was afterwards followed by a *Second Review*, in a pamphlet of more than 200 pages, in consequence of a *Letter addressed to Robert Haldane, Esq.*, by Dr. Steinkopf, impugning the statements of the first. A third work which he published was entitled *Authenticity and Inspiration of the Scriptures*. A fourth was a *Review of Dr. Pye Smith's Defence of Dr. Haffner's Preface, and of his Denial of the Divine Authority of Part of the Canon, and of the full Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, by Alexander Carson. This work, written by a friend, served as a sequel to his own on the *Authenticity and Inspiration of the Scriptures*. Several other works by the same Dr. Carson, on the canon of Scripture, were published by Mr. Haldane during the course of the controversy, at his own expense. After these, a series of pamphlets appeared from the pen of Mr. Haldane, in which he answered separately the Rev. John Scott of Hull, Mr. Gurney of Norwich, the Rev. Samuel Wilks, and other defenders of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

We must now hasten over the latter days of Haldane, although they were characterized by the same high sense of duty and devoted activity that had distinguished his whole career. Before the Apocryphal controversy had ended, he published a *Refutation of the Heretical Doctrine promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving respecting the Person and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ*; a work, the title of which will sufficiently explain the purport. In 1834 he published a new edition of his *Evidences of Christianity*, to which many valuable chapters were added that had not appeared in the original work of 1816. After this he addressed himself to the re-

vision of his greatest work, the *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans*, upon which he had been more or less employed for thirty years, and published it, greatly improved and enlarged, in 1835. The fact of a lengthened exposition upon such a subject having reached a fifth edition within seven years was a full attestation of its theological merits. It might have been hoped that his controversial warfare had now ended, and that his life would have been left undisturbed to those important theological investigations which he so greatly delighted to prosecute. But, in 1838, a generous love of fair play and sympathy for the oppressed, obliged him once more to buckle on his armour. The clergy of the Established church in Edinburgh were paid, as they had long been, by an annuity-tax levied upon every householder within the royalty of the city. But at this the dissenters and seceders had demurred, and were now in open opposition; while many, from mistaken conscientiousness, or allured by the *déat* of martyrdom divested of its more serious pains and penalties, were willing to incur the risk of fine or even of imprisonment rather than support any longer what they called "the State church." Thus the Established clergy of Edinburgh were surrounded by a blockade, and threatened to be reduced by famine. It was then that Haldane, himself a dissenter, hastened to the rescue. He boldly assailed the coalition that had been formed for the non-payment of the annuity-tax; grounding his argument upon the first seven verses of the thirteenth chapter of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, and startled the recusants by proving from this authority that they were guilty of rebellion against Christ himself. His appeal was addressed through one of the Edinburgh newspapers, and eleven letters followed, in which he pursued the same line of argument. So successful were these addresses that the tide of popular feeling was turned, the coalition broken, and its leader silenced. It would be well for the Established clergy of Edinburgh, if again, when the hostile feeling has been renewed, they could find such another advocate.

Old age and its decay were now doing their appointed work, and by 1840 Mr. Haldane was obliged to desist from his wonted duties as preacher in the chapel which he had erected at Auchingray. But to the last he continued to interest himself in religious and missionary movements, and to revise and improve his *Exposition of the Romans*, which he justly regarded as the most important of all his writings. Thus he continued to the close of his life, on the 12th of December, 1842, when he died, rejoicing in the faith he had preached, and the love and Christian charity which his whole life had so beautifully exemplified. His remains lie interred in one of the aisles of the venerable cathedral of Glasgow, awaiting the joyful resurrection of the just. Only six months after his widow also died, and her body was buried in the same vault with her husband. Their only child, Margaret, left one son and three daughters, the grandchildren of Robert Haldane.

HALKET, LADY ANNE, whose extensive learning and voluminous theological writings place her in the first rank of female authors, was the daughter of Mr. Robert Murray, of the family of Tullibardine, and was born at London, January 4, 1622. She may be said to have been trained up in habits of scholastic study from her very infancy, her father being preceptor to Charles I. (and afterwards provost of Eton College), and her mother, who was allied to the noble family of Perth, acting as sub-governess to the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth. Lady Anne was instructed by her parents in every

polite and liberal science; but theology and physic were her favourite subjects; and she became so proficient in the latter, and in the more unfeminine science of surgery, that the most eminent professional men, as well as invalids of the first rank, both in Britain and on the Continent, sought her advice. Being, as might have been expected, a staunch royalist, her family and herself suffered with the misfortunes of Charles. She was married on March 2d, 1656, to Sir James Halket, to whom she bore four children, all of whom died young, with the exception of her eldest son Robert. During her pregnancy with the latter she wrote an admirable tract, *The Mother's Will to the Unborn Child*, under the impression of her not surviving her delivery. Her husband died in the year 1670; but she survived till April 22d, 1699, and left no less than twenty-one volumes behind her, chiefly on religious subjects, one of which, her *Meditations*, was printed at Edinburgh in 1701. She is said to have been a woman of singular but unaffected piety, and of the sweetest simplicity of manners; and these qualities, together with her great talents and learning, drew upon her the universal esteem and respect of her contemporaries of all ranks.

HALL, CAPTAIN BASIL, R.N., was the son of Sir James Hall, Bart., of Dunglass, in the county of Haddington, and M.P. for the borough of St. Michael's, Cornwall, of whom a notice will be given in this collection. Basil was born in Edinburgh in 1788. His education, which was chiefly conducted at the high-school of his native city, appears to have given little promise of future literary distinction; its monotony he felt to be a very weariness; and, instead of seeking a high place among his fellows, he preferred the middle of the class, because it was nearest to the comfortable fire. Still, however, his character was marked by considerable originality and independence; a startling proof of which he once gave to the master, by desiring to have the hours for study and recreation left to his own disposal, instead of his being tied down to the regulations of the school. As might be expected, this disregard of the laws of the Medes and Persians fared as it deserved, and he continued to doze by the fireside. Happily, however, his aim in life had been early chosen, so that he could think of something else than Latin conjugations. He had resolved to be a sailor, and every holiday that released him from the class-room was spent by the sea-shore, and in frequent cruises with the fishermen of the coast on which his father's estate was situated.

This early predilection of Basil Hall was soon gratified; for, in 1802, when he had only reached his fourteenth year, he was entered into the royal navy. On leaving home, "Now," said his father, putting a blank-book into one hand of the stripling, and a pen into the other, "you are fairly afloat in the world; you must begin to write a journal." Little did Sir James know how zealously this judicious advice would be followed out, and what fruits would germinate from such a small beginning. The education that was fitted for such a mind as his had now fairly commenced. As his biographer has justly observed, "The opportunities which the naval profession affords, both for scientific pursuits and the study of men and manners in various climes, happened, in Captain Hall's case, to lead him into scenes of more than usual interest; or perhaps it would be more correct to state that his eager and indefatigable pursuit of knowledge induced him to seek every means of extending the sphere of his observations." After having been six years at sea,

during which long period he had been only twelve days at home, he received a lieutenant's commission in 1808; and, being desirous of active service, he procured his transference from a ship of the line to the frigate *Endymion*, employed at that time in transporting troops for Sir John Moore's army in Spain. There Lieutenant Hall witnessed many heart-stirring events, not the least of which was that of the heroic Moore borne dying from the battle of Corunna. Of the whole of this conflict, in which he was a spectator, he has given an interesting account in his *Fragments of Voyages and Travels*.

The rest of Basil Hall's naval career is so well known from his numerous works, that nothing more is necessary than merely to advert to its leading points. In 1814 he was promoted to the rank of commander, and in 1817 to that of post-captain. Pending the period of advance from a lieutenantancy, he was acting commander of the *Theban* on the East India station, in 1813, when he accompanied its admiral, Sir Samuel Hood, in a journey over the greater part of the island of Java. On his return home he was appointed to the command of the *Lyra*, a small gun-brig that, in 1816, formed part of the armament in the embassy of Lord Amherst to China. On the landing of the suite, and while his lordship was prosecuting his inland journey to Peking, Captain Hall used the opportunity by exploring those wonders of the adjacent seas, which as yet were little, if at all, known to the "barbarians" of the "outer circle." During this cruise his visit to the Great Loo-Choo Island will continue to be memorable, from the Eden-like scenery and primitive innocent race which it presented to the eyes of its astonished visitors. Even Napoleon himself was justified in doubting whether such a community existed, when he was informed by Captain Hall that they not only used no money, but possessed also no lethal weapon, not even a poniard or an arrow. The ex-emperor indeed was in the right, for subsequent accounts have shown that the Loo-Chooans must have cunningly imposed both upon Hall and Captain Maxwell, by whom the *Alceste* was commanded in the expedition, and that these gentle islanders used not only weapons and money, but were among the most merciless pirates in the Yellow Sea. On his return to England in 1817 Captain Hall published *A Voyage of Discovery to the Western Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island in the Japan Sea*, a work so novel and interesting in its materials, as well as so attractive in style, that it rapidly secured a wide popularity. In this first edition there was an appendix containing charts and various hydrographical and scientific notices, which were omitted in the second, published in 1820. In 1827 the work appeared in a still more popular form, being the first volume of *Constable's Miscellany*, while it was enriched with the highly interesting account of his interview with Napoleon at St. Helena, when the *Lyra* was on its return from the Chinese Sea.

In 1820 Captain Hall, in the ship *Conway*, under his command, proceeded to Valparaiso, being charged to that effect by the British government. It was a period of intense interest to the Spanish colonies of South America, engaged as they were in that eventful warfare with the mother country by which their independence was secured, and in such a contest Britain could not look on as an unconcerned spectator. After having touched at Teneriffe, Rio-de-Janeiro, and the River Plate, and remained at anchor in the principal seaport of the Chilean coast, according to orders, he was next sent in 1821 from Valparaiso towards Lima, being commanded to call by the way at the intermediate ports on the coast of Chili and Peru. The object of this cruise was to

inquire into the British interests at these places; to assist and protect any of his Britannic majesty's trading subjects; and, in a general way, to ascertain the commercial resources of the district. Having discharged these pacific but important duties to the full satisfaction of government, he returned to England early in 1823, and published the result of his observations under the title of *Extracts from a Journal written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, in the years 1820, 1821, and 1822*. This work, which afterwards constituted the second and third volumes of *Constable's Miscellany*, contained not only a highly interesting account of the people of these countries, and the events of the war of South American independence, but a memoir on the navigation of the South American station, a valuable collection of scientific observations, and an article "On the Duties of Naval Commanders-in-chief on the South American Station, before the appointment of Consuls."

Captain Hall had now established for himself a higher reputation than that of a brave sailor, skilful navigator, and rising man in his profession; his scientific acquirements, which he made by close study and careful observation during the course of his professional service in every quarter of the world, had insured him the favourable notice of the most eminent in the several departments of physics, while the literary excellence of the works he had already published had given him an honoured place among the most popular writers of the day. On this account, while he was on shore, it was as an author, and in the society of authors; and in this respect his journal affords such a mass of information that we wonder how a sailor could have written it. But every phase of intellectual society, every movement, every utterance, was as carefully noted by him as if he had been on the look-out upon the mast-head amidst a new ocean studded with rocks, shoals, and sunny islands. In this way, amongst other information, he has given us one of the most minute, and at the same time most graphic and interesting, accounts which we possess of the domestic life of Sir Walter Scott. As he was living on shore at the time, he spent the Christmas of 1824 at Abbotsford, with the "Great Unknown," while the mansion itself, which was newly finished and now to be inaugurated, had a greater concourse of distinguished guests than it could well contain. "Had I a hundred pens," exclaims Hall on this occasion, "each of which at the same time should separately write down an anecdote, I could not hope to record one-half of those which our host, to use Spenser's expression, 'welled out alway.'" But what man could do he did on this occasion; and during these ten or twelve happy days, every hour found him on the alert, and every evening occupied in bringing up his log. In this way his *Abbotsford Journal* alone would form a delightful volume. "Certainly, Sir Walter Scott," observes his son-in-law and biographer, "was never subjected to sharper observation than that of his ingenious friend Captain Basil Hall." But while thus observant, Hall could also be as frolicsome a Jack-ashore as ever landed after a two years' cruise, and this he showed when Hogmanay-night came; that night often so destructive of merriment, because people are then, as it were, enjoined by proclamation, like that of Othello in Cyprus, to "put themselves in triumph." "It is true enough," says Hall, when philosophizing upon this perverse tendency, "that it is to moralize too deeply to take things in this way, and to conjure up, with an ingenuity of self-annoyance, these blighting images. So it is, and so I acted; and as my heart was light and unloaded with any care,

I counted myself to carry through the ponderous evening; ponderous only because it was one set apart to be light and gay. I danced reels like a wild man, snapped my fingers, and hallooed with the best of them; flirted with the young ladies at all hazards; and with the elder ones—of which there was a store—I talked and laughed finely."

While mentioning Scott and Hall in connection, it may be as well to state that the acquaintance-ship which they enjoyed during these bright but brief festal meetings at Abbotsford, was not interrupted, but rather drawn more closely, by the distressing events that clouded the latter years of Sir Walter. When Scott's health was so utterly broken down that a voyage to Naples, and a winter's residence there, were prescribed as a last resource, Captain Hall, unknown to his friend, and prompted by his own kind heart, applied on this occasion to Sir James Graham, first lord of the admiralty, and suggested how fit and graceful an act it would be on the part of government to place a frigate at Scott's disposal for his voyage to the Mediterranean. The application was successful; and Sir Walter, amidst the pleasure he felt at such a distinction, could not help exclaiming of Hall, "That curious fellow, who takes charge of every one's business without neglecting his own, has done a great deal for me in this matter." Here Captain Hall's good offices did not terminate, for he preceded Sir Walter to Portsmouth, to make preparations for his arrival and comfortable embarkation. Of the few days which Sir Walter Scott spent at Portsmouth on this occasion, the captain has given a full account in the third volume of his *Third Series of Voyages and Travels*.

In the interview which Hall was privileged to enjoy with Napoleon Bonaparte at St. Helena, and amidst the abrupt transitions that occurred in the manifold dialogue, where he was catechized more closely than ever he had been before, he records the following part of it, so closely connected with his own personal history:—"Bonaparte then said, 'Are you married?' and upon my replying in the negative, continued, 'Why not? What is the reason you don't marry?' I was somewhat at a loss for a good answer, and remained silent. He repeated his question, however, in such a way that I was forced to say something, and told him I had been too busy all my life; besides which, I was not in circumstances to marry. He did not seem to understand me, and again wished to know why I was a bachelor. I told him I was too poor a man to marry. 'Aha!' he cried, 'I now see—want of money—no money—yes, yes!' and laughed heartily, in which I joined, of course, though, to say the truth, I did not altogether see the humorous point of the joke." We do not wonder at Hall's blindness, for it was no joke at all to have been compelled to remain so long in celibacy (he was now in his thirtieth year), without a definite prospect of emancipation. Thus matters continued for eight years longer, when, in 1825, he married Margaret, youngest daughter of Sir John Hunter, consul-general for Spain.

Hitherto the career of Captain Hall had been a mixed one, being spent partly on sea and partly on shore, while the duties of his profession were alternated with the study of the sciences and the acquirement of languages; and whatever land he visited in the course of his many voyages, called forth from him a descriptive work, such as few literary landmen could have written. And yet, with all this incessant mental action, and overflow of intellectual labour, the details of his profession had been so carefully studied, and its manifold requirements so well attended to, that he had attained a naval rank and

reputation only accorded to those who have devoted themselves exclusively to the sea service. Now, however, we must briefly trace the rest of his life on shore, when, as a married man, he had settled down, and, in the words of Bacon, given hostages to fortune. By settling down, however, we are to understand nothing else than his abandonment of the naval profession, for his active inquiring spirit would have carried him into every corner of the earth, had time and opportunity permitted. In 1827 he repaired with his wife and child to the United States, in which they spent above a year, and where he travelled during that time nearly nine thousand miles by land and water. The fruits of his observations were given soon after his return, in his *Travels in North America*, in three vols. 8vo, which he published in 1829. His next work was *Fragments of Voyages and Travels*, which formed three serial publications, each consisting of 3 vols. 12mo. In 1834 he was travelling in Italy, and at Rome he formed the acquaintance of the distinguished Countess of Purgstall, who had been an early friend of his father. This lady, originally Miss Cranstoun, a native of Scotland, and sister of George Cranstoun, advocate, afterwards Lord Corehouse, was so famed for her eccentric liveliness, beauty, wit, and accomplishments, as to have been supposed by many to have been the original Diana Vernon, who so fascinated the novel-reading world in the pages of *Rob Roy*. Although this identity is denied by the biographer of Sir Walter Scott, it is certain that she was the early friend of the great novelist, and bore a strong family resemblance to the subsequent heroine of his creation. In 1797 she was married to Godfrey Wenceslaus, Count of Purgstall, an Austrian nobleman, possessing large establishments in Styria. But although surrounded with almost regal splendour, the latter part of the life of this once happy creature was a mournful one; for first her husband died in 1811, and finally, a few years afterwards, her only son, a youth of high promise and attainments, at the early age of nineteen, by which death the illustrious race of Purgstall was extinct; and the forlorn wife and mother, who had vowed to her son upon his death-bed that her dust should finally be mingled with his, resisted every solicitation of her early friends to return to her native Scotland, and preferred a residence for the rest of her days in her now lonely and deserted Styria. Captain Hall gladly accepted an invitation to visit her at her *schloss* or castle of Heinfeld, near Gratz; and from the journal which he kept there he afterwards published his work of *Schloss Heinfeld, or a Winter in Lower Styria*. The lady had now reached the advanced age of seventy-eight, but her recollections of early days were still so fresh and vivid, that they formed the chief theme of her conversation, while she found in Captain Hall a delighted listener. "The countess's anecdotes," he says, "relating to this period (of her intimacy with Sir Walter Scott), were without number; and I bitterly regretted, when it was too late, that I had not commenced at once making memoranda of what she told us. It was indeed quite clear to us that this accomplished and highly-gifted lady was the first person who not merely encouraged him to persevere, but actually directed and chastised those incipient efforts which, when duly matured, and rendered confident by independent exercise, and repeated though cautious trials, burst forth at last from all control, and gave undisputed law to the whole world of letters." It was at this huge Styrian castle, also, that Captain Hall spent his forty-sixth birth-day, upon which occasion he gives us the following retrospect of his past existence:—"I have enjoyed to the full each

successive period of my life, as it has rolled over me; and just as I began to feel that I had had nearly enough of any one period, new circumstances, more or less fortunate and agreeable, began to start up, and to give me fresher, and, generally speaking, more lively interest in the coming period than in that which had just elapsed. As a middy, I was happy—as a lieutenant, happier—as a captain, happiest! I remember thinking that the period from 1815 to 1823, during which I commanded different ships of war, could not by any possibility be exceeded in enjoyment; and yet I have found the dozen years which succeeded greatly happier, though in a very different way. It is upon this that the whole matter turns. Different seasons of life, like different seasons of the year, require different dresses; and if these be misplaced, there is no comfort. Were I asked to review my happy life, and to say what stage of it I enjoyed most, I think I should pitch upon that during which I passed my days in the scientific, literary, and political society of London, and my nights in dancing and flirting till sunrise, in the delicious paradise of Almack's, or the still more bewitching ball-rooms of Edinburgh! Perhaps next best was the quiet half-year spent in the Schloss Heinfeld. What the future is to produce is a secret in the keeping of that close fellow, Time; but I await the decision with cheerfulness and humble confidence, sure that whatever is sent will be for the best, be it what it may."—How blessed a boon is our ignorance of futurity! Through this ignorance, years of happiness were yet in store for Captain Hall, and at their close "sufficient for the day were the evils thereof."

Hitherto we have noticed the carefulness with which he had been accustomed, wherever he went, to keep a daily journal. The advantage of this plan is obvious in all his writings. Every object he describes as if he had just left it, and every event as if its last echo had not yet died away. Thus, his *Schloss Heinfeld*, which is such a lively fascinating work, was but an episode in one of three trips to the Continent, and out of these visits he purposed to make a whole series of similar writings from the copious memorials he had taken of his every-day movements. This, however, he did not accomplish, and his last production, entitled *Patchwork*, in three volumes, was published in 1841. It is a light sketchy collection of tales, recollections of his travel in foreign countries, and essays, and evinces that his intellect was still as vigorous and his heart as buoyant as ever. But here the memoir of Captain Hall must be abruptly closed. Mental aberration, perhaps the result of so much activity and toil, supervened, after which his existence was but a blank; and, being necessarily placed in confinement, he died in the Royal Hospital, Haslar, Portsmouth, on the 11th of September, 1844, at the age of fifty-six.

In the preceding notice, instead of enumerating the whole of Basil Hall's numerous writings, we have confined ourselves to those that were connected with his personal history. Allusion has already been made to his scientific researches, which he commenced as a young midshipman, and continued to the end of his career. Besides the interspersions of these researches among his popular works, he produced several detached papers, of which the following list has been given:—*An Account of the Geology of the Table Mountain; Details of Experiments made with an Invariable Pendulum in South America and other Places, for determining the Figure of the Earth; Observations made on a Comet at Valparaiso*. Besides these three papers, which were published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, Captain Hall produced—*A Sketch of the Professional and Scientific*

Objects which might be aimed at in a Voyage of Research; "A Letter on the Trade-winds," in the Appendix to Daniell's Meteorology; several scientific papers in Brewster's Journal, Jameson's Journal, and the Encyclopedia Britannica. It is only necessary to add to this account, that Captain Hall was a fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, and a member of the Astronomical Society of London.

HALL, SIR JAMES, Bart., father of Captain Sir Basil Hall, R.N., the subject of the preceding notice, was born at Dunglass in East Lothian, on the 17th January, 1761. He was the eldest son of Sir John Hall, who had married his cousin, Magdalen, daughter to Sir Robert Pringle of Stitchell in Berwickshire. Sir James received a private education until his twelfth year, when he was sent by his father to a public school in the neighbourhood of London, where he had the good fortune to be under the care and superintendence of his uncle, Sir John Pringle, the king's physician. He succeeded to the baronetcy by the death of his father, in July, 1776, and much about the same period entered himself in Christ's College, Cambridge, where he remained for some years. He then proceeded with his tutor, the Rev. Mr. Brand, on a tour on the Continent, whence he returned to Edinburgh, when twenty years old, and lived there with his tutor until he became of age, attending, at the same time, some of the classes of the Edinburgh university. In 1782 Sir James Hall made a second tour on the continent of Europe, where he remained for more than three years, gradually acquiring that accurate information in geology, chemistry, and Gothic architecture, which he afterwards made so useful to the world. During this period he visited the courts of Europe, and made himself acquainted with their scientific men. In his rambles he had occasion to meet with the adventurer Ledyard; the interview between them, its cause and consequence, are, with a sense of gratitude and justice not often witnessed on similar occasions, detailed in the journals and correspondence of that singular man; and the scene is so honourable to the feelings of Sir James Hall, that we cannot avoid quoting it in Ledyard's own words:

"Permit me to relate to you an incident. About a fortnight ago Sir James Hall, an English gentleman, on his way from Paris to Cherbourg, stopped his coach at our door, and came up to my chamber. I was in bed, at six o'clock in the morning, but having flung on my *robe de chambre*, I met him at the door of the ante-chamber—I was glad to see him, but surprised. He observed, that he had endeavoured to make up his opinion of me with as much exactness as possible, and concluded that no kind of visit whatever would surprise me. I could do no otherwise than remark that his opinion surprised me at least, and the conversation took another turn. In walking across the chamber he laughingly put his hand on a six-livre piece and a louis d'or that lay on my table, and with a half-stifled blush, asked me how I was in the money way. Blushes commonly beget blushes, and I blushed partly because he did, and partly on other accounts. 'If fifteen guineas,' said he, interrupting the answer he had demanded, 'will be of any service to you, there they are,' and he put them on the table. 'I am a traveller myself, and though I have some fortune to support my travels, yet I have been so situated as to want money, which you ought not to do—you have my address in London.' He then wished me a good morning and left me. This gentleman was a total

stranger to the situation of my finances, and one that I had, by mere accident, met at an ordinary in Paris."¹

The sum was extremely acceptable to Ledyard, for the consumption of the six-livre piece and the louis d'or would have left him utterly destitute; but he had no more expectation or right to assistance from Sir James Hall than (to use his own simile) from the Khan of Tartary. On his return to Scotland, Sir James Hall married, in 1786, the Lady Helen Douglas, second daughter of Dunbar, Earl of Selkirk. Living a life of retirement, Sir James commenced his connection with the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which he was for some time president, and enriched its *Transactions* by accounts of experiments on a bold and extensive scale. The results were in many instances so important that they deserve to be cursorily mentioned in this memoir, which, treating of a scientific man, would be totally void of interest without some reference to them. He was a supporter of the theory of Dr. Hutton, who maintained the earth to be the production of heat, and all its geological formations the natural consequences of fusion; and his experiments may be said to be special evidence collected for the support of this cause. Among the minute investigations made by the supporters of both sides of the controversy, it had been discovered by the Neptunians, that in some granites, where quartz and feldspar were united, the respective crystals were found mutually to impress each other—therefore, that they must have been in a state of solution together, and must have congealed simultaneously; but as feldspar fuses with less heat than is required for quartz, the latter, if both were melted by fire, must have returned to its solidity previously to the former, and so the feldspar would have yielded entirely to the impression of the crystals of the quartz. Sir James Hall discovered that when the two substances were pulverized and mixed in the proportions in which they usually occur in granite, a heat very little superior to that required to melt the feldspar alone, fused both, the feldspar acting in some respects as a solvent or flux to the quartz. Making allowance for the defects of art, the result of the experiment, while it could not be used as a positive proof to the theory of the Huttonians, served to defend them from what might have proved a conclusive argument of their opponents. But the other experiments were founded on wider views, and served to illustrate truths more important. The characteristic of the theory of Dr. Hutton, distinguishing it from those of others who maintained the formation of the earth by means of fire, was, that perceiving the practical effect of heat on most of the bodies which formed the crust of the earth, to be calcination, or change of state, and not fusion, or change of form, and knowing from the experiments of Dr. Black, that, in the case of limestones, the change depended on the separation of the carbonic acid gas from the earth, the theorist concluded, that by a heat beyond what human agency could procure, calcareous earths might be fused, provided the gas were prevented from escaping by means of strong pressure. Sir James Hall, conceiving it possible that a sufficient heat might be procured to exemplify the theory on some calcareous bodies, commenced a series of experiments in 1798, which he prosecuted through success and disappointment for seven years. The result of these experiments was announced in an elaborate paper, read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and published in the *Transactions* of that body in

1806; they were in number 156, some successful, others productive of the disappointment to which accident frequently exposes the zealous chemist—conducted with considerable danger, great expense, and unvarying patience and labour, and on the whole singularly satisfactory in their results. The plan followed by Sir James was, to procure a tube which might afford a strong resistance to inward pressure, for which purpose he alternately tried iron and porcelain; one end being closed up, pulverized chalk or other limestone was inserted, and the space betwixt its surface and the mouth of the tube being closely packed with some impervious substance, such as clay baked and pounded, fused metal, &c., the open extremity was hermetically sealed, and the end which contained the substance to be experimented upon, subjected to the action of a furnace. The iron or the porcelain was frequently found insufficient to sustain the pressure; the substance rammed into the tube to prevent the longitudinal escape of the gas had not always the effect, nor could Sir James, even in the most refined of his experiments, prevent a partial though sometimes scarcely perceptible escape of gas; yet the general results showed the truth of the theory on which he had proceeded to act, with singular applicability;—the first successful experiment procured him from a piece of common chalk, broken to powder, a hard stony mass, which dissolved in muriatic acid with violent effervescence—sometimes the fruit of his labour was covered with crystals visible to the naked eye—proving fusion and re-formation as a limestone mineral. The results of these experiments, as applicable to the formation of the earth, were reduced to a table, in which, by a presumption that the pressure of water had been the agent of nature, the author considers that 1700 feet of sea, with the assistance of heat, is sufficient for the formation of limestone—that by 3000 feet a complete marble may be formed, &c.;—it may be remarked that a fragment of marble manufactured by Sir James Hall in the course of his experiments, so far deceived the workman employed to give it a polish, that, acting under the presumption that the fragment had been dug up in Scotland, he remarked, that if it were but a little whiter, the mine where it was found might be very valuable.

In 1808 Sir James Hall represented the burgh of St. Michael's in Cornwall; but after the dissolution of parliament in 1812, he did not again offer himself as a candidate. In 1813 he published his well-known *Origin, Principles, and History of Gothic Architecture*, in one volume quarto, accompanied with plates and illustrations. It contained an enlargement and correction of the contents of a paper on the same subject, delivered before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in the year 1797. This elegant volume is the most popular and esteemed work on the subject of which it treats, both in the particular theory it espouses, and the interest of its details. The origin and formation of Gothic architecture had given birth to many theories, accounting for it on the imitative principles which guide the formation of all architecture, some ingenious, but none satisfactory. Warburton pointed out the similarity of Gothic aisles to avenues of growing trees. Milner adopted the theory propounded in Bentham's *History of Ely Cathedral*, that the pointed arch was formed by the interlacing of two semicircular arches; and Murphy referred the whole formation of Gothic architecture to an imitation of the form of the pyramid. Sir James Hall perceived that no form could be appropriately assumed in Gothic architecture which might not be constructed in wicker-ware; and considered that the earliest stone buildings of this

¹ *Life and Travels of John Ledyard, from his Journals and Correspondence*, 1828, p. 232, 234.

peculiar form were imitations of the natural forms assumed in constructions of boughs and twigs. "It happened," he says, in giving a lively account of the circumstance which hinted such a theory, "that the peasants of the country through which I was travelling were employed in collecting and bringing home the long rods or poles, which they make use of to support their vines, and these were to be seen in every village, standing in bundles, or waving partly loose in carts. It occurred to me that a rustic dwelling might be constructed of such rods, bearing a resemblance to works of Gothic architecture, and from which the peculiar forms of that style might have been derived. This conjecture was at first employed to account for the main parts of the structure, and for its general appearance only; but after a diligent investigation, carried on at intervals, with the assistance of friends, both in the collection of materials, and the solution of difficulties, I have been enabled to reduce even the most intricate forms of this elaborate style to the same simple origin; and to account for every feature belonging to it, from an imitation of wicker-work, modified according to the principles just laid down, as applicable to architecture of every sort." Sir James, who was never fond of trusting to the power of theory without practice, erected with twigs and boughs a very beautiful Gothic edifice, from which he drew conclusions strikingly illustrative of his theory. But it must be allowed that he has carried it in some respects a little beyond the bounds of certainty, and that, however much our tasteful ancestors continued to follow the course which chance had dictated of the imitation of vegetable formations in stone, many forms were imitated, which were never attempted in the wicker edifices of our far-distant progenitors. A specimen of this reasoning is to be found in the author's tracing the origin of those graceful spherical angles which adorn the interior parts of the bents of the mullions in the more ornate windows of Gothic churches, to an imitation of the curled form assumed by the bark when in a state of decay, and ready to drop from the bough. The similitude is fanciful, and may be pronounced to be founded on incorrect data, as the ornament in question cannot be of prior date to that of the second period of Gothic architecture, and was unknown till many ages after the twigs edifices were forgotten. The theory forms a check on the extravagancies of modern Gothic imitations, and it were well if those who perpetrate such productions would follow the advice of Sir James Hall, and correct their work by a comparison with nature. This excellent and useful man,¹ after a lingering illness of three and a half years, died at Edinburgh on the 23d day of June, 1832. Of a family at one time very numerous, he left behind him five children, of whom the second was the distinguished Captain Basil Hall.

¹ The following anecdote of Sir James Hall, which has been related to us by the individual concerned in it, appears to be characteristic of the philosopher. Our friend had become interested in some improvements suggested upon the quadrant by a shoemaker named Gavin White, resident at Aberdeen in Fife; and he sent an account of them to Sir James Hall, desiring to have his opinion of them. A few days after, Sir James Hall visited our friend, and, with little preface, addressed him as follows: "Sir, I suppose you thought me a proper person to write to on this subject, because I am president of the Royal Society. I beg to inform you that I am quite ignorant of the quadrant, and therefore unable to estimate the merit of Mr. White. I have a son, however, a very clever fellow, now at Loo Choo; if he were here, he would be your man. Good morning, Sir." It occurs to the editor of these volumes, that few philosophers of even greater distinction than Sir James Hall, would have had the candour to confess ignorance upon any subject—although unquestionably to do so is one of the surest marks of superior acquirements and intellect.

HALYBURTON, THOMAS, an eminent author and divine, and professor of divinity in the university of St. Andrews, was born in December, 1674, at Dupplin in the parish of Aberdalgy, near Perth, of which parish his father had been clergyman for many years, but being a "nonconformist," was ejected after the Restoration. Upon his death, in 1682, his widow emigrated to Holland with Thomas, her only son, then eight years old, on account of the persecutions to which those of their persuasion were still exposed in their native country. This event proved fortunate for the subject of this notice, who attained uncommon proficiency in all branches of classical literature. He returned to Scotland in 1687, and after completing the usual curriculum of university education, turned his views to the church, and entered upon the proper course of study for that profession. He was licensed in 1699, and in the following year was appointed minister of the parish of Ceres, in Fife-shire. Here he continued till 1710, distinguished by the piety of his conduct and the zeal with which he performed the duties of this charge, when his health becoming impaired in consequence of his pastoral exertions, he was appointed, upon the recommendation of the synod of Fife, to the professor's chair of divinity in St. Leonard's College at St. Andrews, by patent from Queen Anne. About this period *Deism* had partly begun to come into fashion in Scotland, in imitation of the free-thinking in England and on the Continent, where it had been revived in the preceding century. Many writers of great learning and talent had adopted this belief, and lent their pens either directly or indirectly to its propagation, the unhappy consequences of which were beginning to display themselves on the public mind. To counteract their pernicious influence Mr. Halyburton assiduously applied himself, and on his induction to the professor's chair delivered an inaugural discourse, taking for his subject a recent publication by the celebrated Dr. Pitcairn of Edinburgh, containing an attack on revealed religion under the feigned name of *Epistola Archimedis ad Regem Gelonem abbe Græcæ reperta, anno ævæ Christianæ, 1688, A. Pitcairnio, M.D. ut vulgo creditur, auctore*. One of the earliest, and perhaps the most powerful of all the deistical writers that have yet appeared, was Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in Shropshire (elder brother of the amiable George Herbert, the well-known English poet), who figured conspicuously in the political world in the time of Charles I., and wrote several works in disproof of the truth or necessity of revealed religion. His most important publication, entitled *De Veritate*, was originally printed at Paris in 1624, in consequence, as the author solemnly declares, of the direct sanction of Heaven to that effect, but was afterwards republished in London, and obtained very general circulation. Mr. Halyburton applied himself zealously to refute the doctrines contained in these works and others of similar tendency from the pens of different other writers, and produced his *Natural Religion Insufficient, and Revealed Necessary to Man's Happiness*—a most able and elaborate performance—in which he demonstrates with great clearness and force the defective nature of reason, even in judging of the character of a Deity—the kind of worship which ought to be accorded him, &c. Dr. Leland, in his letters entitled *View of Deistical Writers*, expresses great admiration of this performance, and regrets that the narrowness and illiberality of the writer's opinions on some points operated prejudicially against it in the minds of many persons. Neither this nor any other of Mr. Halyburton's works were given to the world during his life, which unfortunately terminated in September, 1712, being

then only in his thirty-eighth year. Besides the above work, which was published in 1714, the two others by which he is best known in Scotland are *The Great Council of Scotland*, published in 1721, and *Two Sermons preached before and after the Celebration of the Lord's Supper*, published in 1722. A complete edition of his works, in one vol. 8vo, was some years ago published at Glasgow.

HAMILTON, COUNT ANTHONY, a pleasing describer of manners and writer of fiction, was born about the year 1646. Although a native of Ireland, and in after-life more connected with France and England than with Scotland, the parentage of this eminent writer warrants us in considering him a proper person to fill a place in a biography of eminent Scotsmen. The father of Anthony Hamilton was a cadet of the ducal house of Hamilton, and his mother was sister to the celebrated Duke of Ormond, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The course of politics pursued by the father and his connections compelled him, on the execution of Charles I., to take refuge on the Continent, and the subject of our memoir, then an infant, accompanied his parents and the royal family in their exile in France. The long residence of the exiles in a country where their cause was respected produced interchanges of social manners, feelings, and pursuits unknown to the rival nations since the days of the Crusades, and the young writer obtained by early habit that colloquial knowledge of the language, and familiar acquaintance with the magnificent court of France, which enabled him to draw a finished picture of French life as it existed in its native purity, and as it became gradually ingrafted in English society. At the age of fourteen he returned with the restored monarch to England; but in assuming the station and duties of a British subject he is said to have felt a reluctance to abandon the levities of a gayer-minded people, which were to him native feelings. The return of the court brought with it Englishmen who had assimilated their manners to those of the French, and Frenchmen, anxious to see the country which had beheaded its king, and not averse to bestow the polish of their own elegant court on the rough framework of the reconstructed kingdom. Of these polished foreigners, the circumstances under which one celebrated individual visited the British court are too much interwoven with the literary fame of Anthony Hamilton to be here omitted. The chevalier, afterwards Count de Grammont, one of the gayest ornaments of the court of Louis, found it inconvenient to remain in France after having disputed with his master the heart of a favourite mistress. High born, personally courageous, enthusiastic in the acquisition of "glory," handsome, extravagant, an inveterate gambler, a victor in war and in love, *Vainqueur, et même un peu perfide en amour*, the French emigrant to the court of England was a perfect human being, according to the measure of the time and the place. The admired qualities with which he was gifted by nature were such as control and prudence could not make more agreeable; but the friends of the chevalier seem sometimes to have regretted that the liaisons in which he was frequently engaged were so destructive to the peace of others, and would have prudently suggested the pursuit of intrigues which might have been less dangerous to his personal safety. The chevalier found in his exile a new field rich in objects that engaged his vagrant affections. Tired of alternate conquest and defeat, he is represented as having finally concentrated his affections on the sister of his celebrated biographer, on whom the brother has bestowed poetical charms in one of the most exquisite of his living descriptions

of female beauty, but who has been less charitably treated in the correspondence of some of her female rivals. The attentions of the chevalier towards Miss Hamilton were of that decided cast which admitted of but one interpretation, and justice to his memory requires the admission that he seemed to have fixed on her as firm and honourable an affection as so versatile a heart could form. But constancy was not his characteristic virtue. He forgot for an interval his vows and promises, and prepared to return to France without making any particular explanation with the lady or her brother. When he had just left the city, Anthony Hamilton and his brother George found it absolutely necessary to prepare their pistols, and give chase to the faithless lover. Before he had reached Dover the carriage of the offended brothers had nearly overtaken him. "Chevalier De Grammont," they cried, "have you forgot nothing in London?" "Beg pardon, gentlemen," said the pursued, "I forgot to marry your sister." The marriage was immediately concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, and the inconstant courtier appears to have ever after enjoyed a due share of domestic felicity and tranquillity. The chevalier returned with his wife to his native country, and Hamilton seems to have added to the attraction of early associations a desire to pay frequent visits to a country which contained a sister for whom he seems to have felt much affection. Hamilton and Grammont entertained for each other an esteem which was fostered and preserved by the similarity of their tastes and dispositions. A third person, differing in many respects from both, while he resembled them in his intellect, was the tasteful and unfortunate St. Evremond, and many of the most superb wits of the brilliant court of Louis XIV. added the pleasures, though not always the advantages, of their talents to the distinguished circle. Wit and intellect, however perverted, always meet the due homage of qualities which cannot be very much abused, and generally exercise themselves for the benefit of mankind; but unfortunately the fashion of the age prompted its best ornaments to seek amusement among the most degraded of the species, who were in a manner elevated by the approach which their superiors strove to make towards them, and these men could descend so far in the scale of humanity as to find pleasure even in the company of the notorious Blood. Anthony Hamilton was naturally a favourite at the court of St. Germain, and maintained a prominent figure in many of the gorgeous entertainments of the epicurean monarch. He is said to have performed a part in the celebrated ballet of the *Triumph of Love*. Being by birth and education a professed Roman Catholic, Charles II., who befriended him as a courtier, dared not, and could not by the laws, bestow on him any ostensible situation as a statesman. His brother James, however, was less scrupulous, and under his short reign Hamilton found himself colonel of a regiment of foot and governor of Limerick. Having enjoyed the fruits of the monarch's rashness, Hamilton faithfully bore his share of the consequences, and accompanied his exiled prince to St. Germain; but he was no lover of solitude, seclusion, and the Jesuits, and took little pains to conceal his sense of the disadvantageous change which the palace had experienced since his previous residence within its walls. The company of the brilliant wits of France sometimes exhilarated his retirement, but the playful count frequently found that in the sombre residence of the exiled monarch the talents which had astonished and delighted multitudes must be confined to his own solitary person, or discover some other method of displaying themselves to the world; and it is likely that we may

date to the loyalty of the author the production of one of the most interesting pictures of men and manners that was ever penned. All the works of Count Anthony Hamilton were prepared during his exile, and it was then that he formed of the life and character of his brother-in-law a nucleus round which he span a vivid description of the manners of the day, and of the most distinguished persons of the English court. In the *Memoirs of Grammont*, unlike Le Sage, Cervantes, and Fielding, the author paints the vices, follies, and weaknesses of men, not as a spectator, but as an actor, and he may be suspected of having added many kindred adventures of his own to those partly true and partly imagined of his hero. But the elasticity of a vivid and lively imagination, acute in the observation of frailties and follies, is prominent in his graphic descriptions; and no one who reads his cool pictures of vice and sophism can avoid the conviction that the author looked on the whole with the eye of a satirist, and had a mind fitted for better things, while at the same time the spirit of the age had accustomed his mind, in the words of La Harpe, *ne connaître d'autre vice que le ridicule*. The picture of the English court drawn by Hamilton is highly instructive as matter of history; it represents an aspect of society which may never recur, and the characters of many individuals whose talents and adventures are interesting to the student of human nature; nor will the interest of these sketches be diminished when they are compared with the characters of the same individuals portrayed by the graver pencils of Hyde and Burnet. That the picture is fascinating with all its deformity has been well objected to the narrative of the witty philosopher, but few who read the work in this certainly more proper and becoming age will find much inducement to follow the morals of its heroes; and those who wish a graver history of the times may refer to the *Atalantis* of Mrs. Manley, where, if the details are more unvarnished, they are neither so likely to gratify a well-regulated taste, nor to leave the morals so slightly affected. The other works written by Count Anthony Hamilton in his solitude were *Le Belier*, *Fleur d'Épine*—*Les quatre Facardins et Teneyde*. Many persons accused him of extravagance in his Eastern tales—a proof that his refined wit had not allowed him to indulge sufficiently in real English grotesqueness when he wished to caricature the French out of a ravenous appetite for the wonders of the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*. Count Anthony Hamilton died at St. Germain in 1720, in his sixty-fourth year, and on his death-bed exhibited feelings of religion, which Voltaire and others have taken pains to exhibit as inconsistent with his professions and the conduct of his life. His works have been highly esteemed in France; and whether from an amalgamation of the feelings of the two nations, or its intrinsic merits, Englishmen have professed to find in one of them the best picture of the habits and feelings of that brilliant and versatile nation. Grammont himself is maintained by St. Simon to have been active in bringing before the world the work in which his own probity is so prominently described, and to have appealed to the chancellor against the decision of Fontenelle, who, as censor of the work, considered it a very improper attack on so eminent a person as the Count de Grammont. The first complete collection of Hamilton's works was published in six vols. 12mo, along with his correspondence, in 1749. A fine impression of Grammont was prepared by Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill in 1772, in 4to, with notes and portraits—a rare edition, less tastefully republished in 1783. In 1792 Edwards published a quarto edition, with correct notes, numerous portraits,

and an English translation, which has been twice republished. Two fine editions of the author's whole works were published at Paris, 1812, four vols. 8vo, and 1813, five vols. 18mo, accompanied with an extract from a translation into French of Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, by the count, said still to exist in manuscript.

HAMILTON, DAVID. This architect, who ornamented his native country with many excellent buildings, was born in Glasgow, May 11, 1768. Of his early education and training for his profession little if anything is known, so that his entire history is to be read in the edifices he erected. Of these, the first place is due to the works he constructed in his native city. In Glasgow, he erected in 1804 the theatre in Queen Street, by far the largest in Scotland, which shared the usual fate of such buildings, by being destroyed by fire. Besides this, he erected the Western Club-house, and the Glasgow, the British, and several other banks. But his chief work in that city was the Glasgow Exchange, built about 1837–40, one of its noblest architectural ornaments. It stands isolated in an area of 300 by 200 feet, and measures 200 by 76 feet, while the hall is one of the largest and finest in the British island, measuring 100 feet by 65, and divided into three spaces by a range of seven columns on each side. On the completion of this stately and commodious temple of our Scottish merchandise, he was honoured with a public dinner, and the present of a service of plate, and a gold snuff-box, &c., by the citizens of Glasgow.

Of the country mansions in the west of Scotland, several of the most distinguished were also erected by Mr. David Hamilton. The chief of these were Hamilton Palace, the almost regal residence of the princely family of the Duke of Hamilton; Toward Castle, that of the late Kirkman Finlay, Esq., M.P.; Dunlop House, Ayrshire, for Sir John Dunlop; and Lennox Castle, judged one of the best of his works, for John Kincaid, Esq., of Kincaid.

When a competition for the new Houses of Parliament was advertised, Mr. Hamilton was one of those candidates remote from the metropolis whose emulation was stirred by the architectural challenge, and the plan which he submitted for this august fabric was one of the four to which the premium of £500 was awarded for superior excellence. The architect, after a long and active life, in which he was universally esteemed for the excellence of his character and integrity, as well as his professional superiority, died at Glasgow on the 5th of December, 1843, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

HAMILTON, GAVIN, a distinguished painter, was descended from the ancient family of the Hamiltons of Murdieston, originally of Fife, but latterly of Lanarkshire, and he was born in the town of Lanark. From a very early period of his life he entertained a strong love for historic painting. It cannot be traced with any degree of certainty under what master he first studied in his native country, as there was no fixed school of painting established in Britain at the time; but being sent to Rome while yet very young, he became a scholar of the celebrated Augustine Mossuchi. On his return to Scotland after many years absence, his friends wished him to apply himself to portrait-painting, but having imbibed in Italy higher ideas of the art, after a few successful attempts, he abandoned that line and attached himself entirely to historic composition. Few of his portraits are to be found in Britain, and of these, two full lengths of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton are considered the best. The figure of the duchess with a greyhound

leaving upon her is well known by the mezzotinto prints taken from it, to be found in almost every good collector's hands. There is said to be another unfinished portrait of the same duchess by him, in which the then Duke of Hamilton thought the likeness so very striking, that he took it from the painter, and would never allow it to be finished, lest the resemblance should be lost. He remained but a few months in his native country, and returned to Rome, where he resided for the principal part of his life. From the advantages of a liberal education, being perfectly familiar with the works of the great masters of Grecian and Roman literature, he displayed a highly classic taste in the choice of his subjects; and the style at which he always and successfully aimed, made him at least equal to his most celebrated contemporaries. The most capital collection of Mr. Hamilton's paintings that can be seen in any one place was, and if we mistake not is at present, in a saloon in the Villa Borghese, which was wholly painted by him, and represents in different compartments the story of Paris. These were painted on the ceiling, and other scenes form a series of pictures round the alcove on a smaller scale. This work, though its position be not what an artist would choose as the most advantageous for exhibiting his finest efforts, has long been accounted a performance of very high excellence. The Prince Borghese, as if with a view to do honour to Scottish artists, had the adjoining apartment painted by Jacob More, who excelled as much in landscape as Hamilton in historical painting. He had another saloon in the same palace painted by Mengs, the most celebrated German artist, and these three apartments were conceived to exhibit the finest specimens of modern painting then to be found in Italy.

In his historical pictures, some of which have come to Britain, Mr. Hamilton plainly discovers that he studied the chaste models of antiquity with more attention than the living figures around him; which has given his paintings of ancient histories that propriety with regard to costume, which distinguished them at the time from most modern compositions.

One of his greatest works was his Homer, consisting of a series of pictures, representing scenes taken from the *Iliad*; these have been dispersed into various parts of Europe, and can now only be seen in one continued series in the excellent engravings made of them by Cunego, under the eye of Mr. Hamilton himself. Several of these paintings came to Britain, but only three reached Scotland. One of these, the parting of Hector and Andromache, was in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton. Another represents the death of Lucretia, in the collection of the Earl of Hopetoun, and was deemed by all judges a capital performance. The third was in the house of a Mrs. Scott, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. It represents Achilles dragging the body of Hector round the walls of Troy—a sublime picture, which if not the *best* *Painter* of Mr. Hamilton, would alone have been sufficient to have transmitted his name to posterity as one of the greatest artists. It was painted for the Duke of Bedford, and had been in his possession some time before the unfortunate accident which deprived him of his son the Marquis of Tavistock, whose disastrous fate had some resemblance to the story of the picture, being thrown from his horse and dragged to death, his foot having stuck in the stirrup. After this, none of the family being able to endure the picture, it was ordered to be put away, and General Scott became the purchaser of it at a very moderate price. The figure of Achilles in this picture is painted with surprising characteristic justness, spirit, and fire, and might stand the test of

the severest criticism. It was in the grand and terrible that Mr. Hamilton chiefly excelled. His female characters had more of the dignity of Juno, or the coldness of Diana, than the soft inviting playfulness of the goddess of love.

He published at Rome, in 1773, a folio volume, entitled *Schola Picturæ Italia*, or the *Italian School of Painting*, composed of a number of fine engravings by Cunego, making part of the collection of Piranesi. He there traces the different styles from Leonardo da Vinci to the Carraccis. All the drawings were made by Mr. Hamilton himself, and this admirable collection now forms one of the principal treasures in the first libraries in Europe. All his best pictures were likewise engraved under his own eye by artists of the first ability, so that the world at large has been enabled to form a judgment of the style and merit of his works. In reference to the original pictures from whence the engravings were taken, many contradictory opinions have been expressed; some have considered his figures as wanting in the characteristic purity and correctness of form so strictly observed in the antique—others have said he was no colourist, though that was a point of his art after which he was most solicitous. But setting all contending opinions apart, had Mr. Hamilton never painted a picture, the service he otherwise rendered to the fine arts would be sufficient to exalt his name in the eyes of posterity. From being profoundly acquainted with the history of the ancient state of Italy, he was enabled to bring to light many of the long-buried treasures of antiquity, and to this noble object he devoted almost the whole of the latter part of his life. He was permitted by the government of the Roman states to open scavos in various places; at Centumcellæ, Velletri, Ostia, and above all at Tivoli, among the ruins of Adrian's villa; and it must be owned that the success which crowned his researches made ample amends for the loss which painting may have suffered by the intermission of his practice and example. Many of the first collections in Germany and Russia are enriched by statues, busts, and bas-reliefs of his discovery.

In the collection of the Museo Clementino, next to the treasures of Belvidere, the contributions of Hamilton were by far the most important. The Apollo, with six of the nine Muses, were all of his finding. At the ruins of ancient Gabii (celebrated by Virgil in his sixth book of the *Æneid*, and by Horace, epistle xi. b. 1) he was also very fortunate, particularly in the discovery of a Diana, a Germanicus, a Pan, and several rich columns of verd antique and marmo fiorito. The paintings in fresco, preserved also by his great care and research, are admitted to surpass all others found in Italy.

He visited Scotland several times in the decline of his life, and had serious thoughts of settling altogether in Lanark; where he at one time gave orders for a painting-room to be built for him; but finding the climate unsuitable to his constitution, he abandoned the idea and returned to Rome, where he died, according to Bryan's account in his *History of Painting*, about 1775 or 1776.

All accounts of this artist agree in stating that, however exalted his genius might be, it was far surpassed by the benevolence and liberality of his character.

HAMILTON, JAMES, third Marquis, and first Duke of Hamilton, was born in the palace at Hamilton, on the 19th of June, 1666. His father, James, Marquis of Hamilton, was held in high favour by James I., who, amongst other honours which he bestowed on him, created him Earl of Cambridge,

a title which was at an after-period a fatal one to the unfortunate nobleman who is the subject of this memoir. Before the marquis had attained his fourteenth year his father, who was then at St. James's court, sent for him for the purpose of betrothing him to the lady Margaret Fielding, daughter to the Earl of Denbigh, and niece of the Duke of Buckingham, and then only in the seventh year of her age. After this ceremony had taken place, the marquis was sent to Oxford to complete those studies which he had begun in Scotland, but which had been seriously interrupted by his coming to court. He succeeded his father as Marquis of Hamilton, March 2, 1625, while as yet considerably under age.

An early and fond intimacy seems to have taken place between Prince Charles and the marquis. That it was sincere and abiding on the part of the latter the whole tenor of his life and his melancholy and tragical death bear testimony. On Charles succeeding to the throne, one of his first cares was to mark the esteem in which he held his young friend, by heaping upon him favours and distinctions. Soon after the coronation of the king, however, in which ceremony he carried the sword of state in the procession, he returned to Scotland for the purpose of superintending in person his family affairs, which had been much deranged by the munificence of his father. The marquis, who does not seem to have ever been much captivated by the life of a courtier, soon became warmly attached to the quiet and retirement of the country, and spent the greater part of his time at Brodick Castle, a beautiful and romantic residence in the island of Arran. The king, however, whose attachment to him seems to have gained strength by his absence, wrote to him repeatedly, and with his own hand, in the most pressing terms, to return. All these flattering invitations he for some time resisted, until his father-in-law, the Earl of Denbigh, came expressly to Scotland with another earnest request from the king that he would come up to London, and at the same time offering him the appointment of master of the horse, then vacant by the death of the Duke of Buckingham. Unable longer to resist the entreaties of his sovereign, now seconded by the earl, the marquis complied, and proceeded with his father-in-law to court, where he arrived in the year 1628. The promised appointment was immediately bestowed on him, with that of gentleman of the bed-chamber, and privy-councillor in both kingdoms. The amiable and unassuming manners of the marquis saved him at this part of his career from all that hostility and jealousy which usually attend the favourite of a sovereign, and he was permitted to receive and enjoy all his offices and honours without a grudge, and without the cost of creating an enemy.

At the baptism of Prince Charles in 1630, he represented the King of Bohemia as one of the sponsors, and on this occasion the order of the Garter was conferred upon him, together with a grant of the office of chief steward of the house and manor of Hampton Court. A more active life, however, was now about to open upon the favourite courtier. King Charles, having in the duke's name entered into a treaty with the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to furnish him with 6000 men for his intended invasion of Germany, with the view of thus enabling his brother-in-law, the elector palatine, to regain his hereditary territories from which he had been driven, the marquis was empowered to raise the stipulated force. These he soon collected, and was on the point of embarking with them himself, when he found that a charge of high treason had been preferred against him by Lord Ochiltree, son of that Captain

James Stewart who had usurped the Hamilton estates and dignities in the time of his grandfather. The king himself was the first to inform the duke of the absurd charge which had been brought against him, and which consisted in the ridiculous assertion that the marquis intended, in place of proceeding to Germany with the forces he had raised, to employ them in asserting a right to the Scottish crown. Although the accusation was too absurd to be credited, yet the marquis insisted that his innocence should be established by a public trial. To this proposal, however, the king would not listen, and to show his confidence in the marquis's fidelity, he invited him to sleep in the same bed-chamber with him on the very night on which the charge was brought against him by Lord Ochiltree. The forgeries of the latter in support of his accusation having been proven, he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and thrown into the castle of Blackness, where he remained a captive for twenty years, when he was liberated by one of Cromwell's officers.

On the 16th of July the marquis sailed from Yarmouth Roads with his army and forty ships, and arrived at Elsinore on the 27th of the same month. On the 29th he sailed again for the Oder, which he reached on the 30th. Here he landed his men, and having previously received a general's commission from the King of Sweden, marched into Silesia, and distinguished himself on all occasions by his bravery and judicious conduct. After much severe service, however, during which his army was reduced to two incomplete regiments, and, conceiving himself slighted by the King of Sweden, he wrote to his own sovereign, requesting his advice as to his future proceedings. Charles immediately replied "that if he could not be serviceable to the palatinate he should take the first civil excuse to come home." This he soon afterwards did, still parting, however, on good terms with the Swedish king, who expressed his esteem for him by saying at his departure, "in whatever part of the world he were, he would ever look upon him as one of his own." The marquis, on his return to the English court, was received with unabated kindness, and again took his place amongst the foremost in the esteem of his sovereign.

In 1633 he accompanied the king to Scotland, when he came down to receive the crown of that kingdom; but from this period until the year 1638 he meddled no further with public affairs. The troubles, however, of that memorable year again brought him on the stage. To put an end to the religious distractions in Scotland, the marquis was despatched thither with instructions, and a power to grant further concessions on some important points. The demands of the Covenanters were, however, greater than was expected, and this attempt at mediation was unsuccessful. He was a second time sent down to Scotland with enlarged powers; but as these embraced no concession regarding the covenant, this journey was equally fruitless with the other. In the beginning of winter he was a third time despatched, with instructions to act as commissioner at the General Assembly which had been appointed to meet for the settlement of differences, and which sat down at Glasgow in November. The concessions, however, which he was authorized to make were not considered at all sufficient. The opponents of the court in the assembly proceeded from measure to measure, in 'despite of all the marquis's efforts to stem the tide of disaffection. Finding this impossible, he dissolved the court. The Covenanters, however, continuing their sittings, went on subscribing the covenant, and decreed the abrogation of bishops in

the Scottish church. Having been able to render the king little more service than the gain of time which his negotiations had secured, the marquis returned to London. Indeed, more success could not have been expected from an interference where the covenant, the principal subject of contention, was thus spoken of by the opposite parties: the king, writing to his commissioner, "So long as this damnable covenant is in force, I have no more power in Scotland than a Duke of Venice;" and the Covenanters again replying to some overtures about its renunciation, that "they would sooner renounce their baptism." The king, who had long anticipated a violent issue with the Scottish malcontents, had in the meantime been actively employed in collecting a force to subdue them; and the marquis, soon after his arrival in England, was appointed to a command in this armament. Whilst the king himself proceeded overland with an army of 25,000 foot and 3000 horse, the marquis sailed from Yarmouth with a fleet, having on board a further force of 5000 men, and arrived in Leith Roads on the 1st of May. On his arrival he required the leaders of the Covenanters to acknowledge the king's authority, and seemed disposed to proceed to hostilities. But the king, in the meantime, having entered into a pacific arrangement with the Covenanters, his military command ceased, and he proceeded to join his majesty at his camp near Berwick. Soon after this the marquis once more retired from public employment, and did not again interfere in national affairs for several years. In 1642 he was once more sent to Edinburgh by the king to resume negotiations with the Covenanters; and on this occasion was so successful as to alarm Pickering, the agent of the English parliament at Edinburgh, who wrote to his employers recommending them to bring Hamilton immediately to trial as a disturber of the harmony between the two kingdoms. This representation of Pickering's, however, was attended with no immediate result, whatever effect it might have on its ultimate fate; and it is not improbable that it was then recollected to his prejudice. As a reward for his faithful and zealous services, the king now bestowed upon the marquis by patent, dated at Oxford, 12th April, 1643, the title of duke. The same patent invests him also with the title of Marquis of Clydesdale, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, and Lord Avon and Innerdale. By one of those strange and sudden reverses, however, to which the favourites of kings are so subject, the duke was thrown into prison by that very sovereign who but a short while since had loaded him with titles and honours. Various misrepresentations of the duke's conduct in Scotland had reached the king's ears. He was charged with unfaithfulness to the trust reposed in him; of speaking disrespectfully of the king; and of still entertaining views upon the Scottish crown. These accusations, absurd, incredible, and contradictory to facts as they were, had been so often repeated, and so urgently pressed on the unfortunate and distracted monarch, that they at length shook his faith in his early friend. Deserted, opposed, and harassed upon all hands, he was prepared to believe in any instance of treachery that might occur; and clinging to every hope, however slender, which presented itself, was too apt to imagine that the accusation of others was a proof of friendship to himself on the part of the accuser.

The king's altered opinion regarding him having reached the ears of the duke, he instantly hastened, accompanied by his brother the Earl of Lanark, who was also involved in the accusation, to Oxford, where his majesty then was. Conscious of his

innocence, the duke, on his arrival, sought an audience of the king, that he might, at a personal interview, disabuse him of the unfavourable reports which he had heard regarding him. An order, however, had been left at the gates to stop him until the governor should have notice of his arrival. Through a mistake of the captain of the guard, the carriage which contained the duke was allowed to pass unchallenged, but was immediately followed with a command directly from the king himself, that the duke and his brother should confine themselves to their apartments. This intimation of the king's disposition towards him was soon followed by still more unequivocal indications. Next day a guard was placed on his lodgings, with orders that no one should speak with him but in presence of one of the secretaries; and finally, notwithstanding all his protestations of innocence, and earnest requests to be confronted with his accusers, he was sent a prisoner, first to Exeter, and afterwards to Pendennis Castle in Cornwall. His brother, who had also been ordered into confinement in Ludlow Castle, contrived to make his escape before his removal, and returned to Scotland; a circumstance which increased the severity with which the duke was treated. Whilst a prisoner in Pendennis Castle, the duke's gentle manners so far won upon the governor, that he not only gave him more liberty than his instructions warranted, but offered to allow him to escape. The duke, however, refused to avail himself of a kindness which would involve his generous keeper in ruin, and he remained a close prisoner till the month of April, 1646, when he was released, after an unmerited confinement of eight and twenty months, on the surrender of the place to the parliamentary forces. Feeling now that disgust with the world which the treatment he had met with was so well calculated to inspire, the duke resolved to retire from public business for ever; but the exigencies of Charles were daily multiplying, and when that unhappy monarch, driven from England, sought protection from the Scottish army at Newcastle, the Duke of Hamilton was among the first to wait upon him there, with offers of assistance and consolation. When the king and the duke first met on this occasion, both blushed; and the latter in the confusion of the moment, after saluting his majesty, was about to retire into the crowd which filled the apartment, when the king asked him "If he was afraid to come near him." The duke returned, and a long and earnest conversation ensued between them. The king apologized for his treatment of him, and concluded by requesting that he would not now leave him in the midst of his distresses. The appeal was not made in vain. The duke once more embarked with all his former zeal in the cause of his beloved master, and made every effort to retrieve his desperate fortunes. These efforts were vain, but they have secured for him who made them a lasting and an honourable fame.

When the question, whether the king, now in the hands of the Scottish malcontents, should be delivered up to his English subjects, was discussed in the Scottish parliament, the duke exerted his utmost influence to prevent its being carried in the affirmative. "Was this," he exclaimed, "the effect of their protestations of duty and affection to his majesty? Was this the keeping of their covenant, wherein they had sworn to defend the king's majesty, person, and authority? Was this a suitable return to the king's goodness, both in his consenting to all the desires of that kingdom in the year 1641, and in his late trusting his person to them? What censure would be passed upon this through the whole world?

What a stain would it be to the whole Reformed religion? What danger might be apprehended in consequence of it, both to the king's person and to Scotland from the party that was now prevalent in England?" The duke's brother, the Earl of Lanark, was not less earnest in his opposition to the disgraceful proposal, and when his vote was asked, he exclaimed with much energy, "As God shall have mercy upon my soul at the great day, I would choose rather to have my head struck off at the market-cross of Edinburgh than give my consent to this vote." These generous efforts of the noble brothers, however, as is well known, were unavailing; the measure was carried, and the unfortunate monarch was delivered into the hands of the English parliament.

Defeated in his attempts to prevent the king's being given up to his English subjects, the duke, still hoping to avert this consummation, entertained the idea of relieving him by force of arms. Encouraged by something like a reaction of public feeling, he proceeded to raise an army to march into England, where he expected to meet with an active and powerful co-operation from the royalists of that kingdom. He hastily collected a force of 10,000 foot and 4000 cavalry, and with this army, which was indifferently appointed, ill-disciplined, and unaccompanied by artillery, he marched into England. Passing Carlisle, where he was received with welcome, he continued his march by Penrith, Appleby, and Kendal, driving before him detached bodies of Cromwell's troops, and finally reached Preston on the 17th of August, where he was opposed by Cromwell in person with his veteran battalions; and notwithstanding that the duke had been reinforced since he entered England by 3000 to 4000 loyalists under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and afterwards by 2000 foot and 1000 horse, commanded by Sir George Munro, the result of various skirmishes which here took place, was the total defeat of his army. The duke himself, accompanied by a few officers and cavalry, proceeded on to Uttroter in Staffordshire, where he surrendered to General Lambert, on assurance of personal safety to himself and his followers. The unfortunate duke was now carried to Derby, thence to Ashby-de-la-Zouche, where he remained till December, when he was removed to Windsor, and placed under a strong guard. On the second night of his confinement here, while taking a turn after supper in the court-yard, a sergeant made up to him, and, with the utmost insolence of manner, ordered him to his apartment: the duke obeyed, but remarked to Lord Bargeny, who was then a prisoner also, that what had just happened was a singular instance of the mutability of worldly things—that he who, but a short while since, had the command of many thousand men, was now commanded by a common sergeant.

A few days after the duke's arrival at Windsor his ill-fated master, who was then also a prisoner there, was ordered for trials. Having learned when the king was to proceed to the tribunal, the duke prevailed upon his keepers to allow him to see his majesty as he passed. On the approach of the king he threw himself at his feet, exclaiming in an agony of sorrow, his eyes suffused with tears, "My dear master!" The king, not less affected, stooped down and embraced him, replying, with a melancholy play upon the word *dear*, "I have indeed been so to you." The guards would permit no further conversation, but, by the order of their commander, instantly hurried off the king. The duke followed his beloved master, with his eyes still swimming in tears, so long as he could see him, impressed with

the belief that they would never meet on earth again. Aware from the king's execution, which soon after took place, that a similar fate awaited himself, the duke, with the assistance of a faithful servant, effected his escape from Windsor. Two horses waited at a convenient place to carry him and his servant to London, where he hoped to conceal himself until an opportunity occurred of getting to a place of greater safety; but he was instructed not on any account to enter the city till seven o'clock in the morning, when the night patrols, who prowled about the town and suburbs, should have retired from duty. By an unaccountable fatality, the unfortunate duke neglected to attend to this most important injunction, and entered the city at four o'clock in the morning. As if everything had resolved to concur in the destruction of the unfortunate nobleman, besides the risk which he ran as a matter of course from the patrol, it happened that there was a party of horse and foot in Southwark, where the duke entered, searching for Sir Lewis Dives and another gentleman, who had also escaped from confinement the night before. By these the duke was taken while in the act of knocking at a door where he had been long seeking admittance. At first he imposed upon the soldiers by a plausible story, and as they did not know him personally, they were disposed to allow him to depart; but some suspicious circumstances attracting their notice, they searched him, and found in his pockets some papers which at once discovered him. He was now carried to St. James's, where he was kept a close prisoner till the 6th February, 1648, when he was brought to trial before the High Court of Justice, and arraigned as Earl of Cambridge, for having "traitorously invaded this nation (England) in a hostile manner, and levied war to assist the king against the kingdom and people of England," &c. The duke pleaded that he was an alien, and that his life besides was secured by the articles of his capitulation to Lambert. To the first it was replied that he always sat as a peer of England, and as such had taken the covenant and negative oath. With regard to the second objection, it was affirmed by two witnesses, Lords Grey and Lilburn, that he was taken prisoner before the treaty was signed. After a lengthened trial, in which none of his objections availed him, the unfortunate nobleman was sentenced to be beheaded on the 9th of March. The whole tenor of the duke's conduct after sentence of death was passed upon him, evinced the greatest magnanimity and resignation. He wrote to his brother in favour of his servants, and on the morning before his execution addressed a letter to his children, recommending them to the protection of their heavenly Father, now that they were about to be deprived of their earthly parent. He slept soundly on the night previous to his death, until half-past three in the morning, when he was attended by his faithful servant Cole, the person who had assisted him in his attempted escape. To him he now, with the utmost composure, gave a variety of directions to be carried to his brother. The remainder of the morning, up to nine o'clock, he spent in devotion. At this hour he was desired to prepare for the scaffold, which he soon after ascended with a cheerful countenance, attended by Dr. Sibbald. After again spending some time in secret prayer, he arose, and embracing Dr. Sibbald, said, laying his hand upon his heart, "I bless God I do not fear—I have an assurance that is grounded here;" he next embraced his servants severally, saying to each of them, "You have been very faithful to me; the Lord bless you."

Turning now to the executioner, he desired to know how he should place himself to receive the

fatal stroke. Having been satisfied regarding this, he told the executioner, that after he had placed himself in the necessary position, he would say a short prayer, and that he would extend his right hand as the signal for his doing his duty. He now stretched himself along, and placed his neck ready for the blow, prayed a short while with much appearance of fervour, then gave the fatal signal, and with one stroke his head was severed from his body.

The head of the unfortunate nobleman was received in a crimson taffeta scarf by two of his servants, who knelt beside him for the purpose of performing this last act of duty for their kind master. The duke's head and body were placed in a coffin which lay ready on the scaffold, and conveyed to a house in the Mews, and afterwards, agreeably to his own directions before his death, conveyed to Scotland, and interred in the family burying-ground.

Thus perished James Duke of Hamilton, a nobleman whose fortitude at his death gives but little countenance to the charge of timidity which has been insinuated against him, and whose zeal for, and adherence to, the royal cause, in the most desperate and trying circumstances, afford less encouragement to the accusation of infidelity to his sovereign with which he has been also assailed.

HAMILTON, JAMES, fourth Duke of Hamilton, was the eldest son of William Earl of Selkirk and Anne Duchess of Hamilton. He was born in 1657, educated in Scotland, being by the courtesy of his country entitled Earl of Arran, and after spending some time in foreign travel, repaired to the court of England, where he mixed in the gallantries of the time. As it was with a duel that his life closed, so a duel is the first remarkable circumstance to be noticed in the account of his youthful years. In consequence of a quarrel with Lord Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Peterborough, he met that nobleman on foot in Greenwich Park with sword and pistol. Arran fired first and missed; his antagonist discharged his ball in the air, but nevertheless insisted that the combat should proceed. They accordingly engaged with their swords, and Mordaunt, having first received a slight wound about the groin, pierced Arran's thigh, and broke his own sword. The earl had now in turn an opportunity to display his generosity, and sparing the life which was at his mercy, the two young noblemen parted good friends.

Arran enjoyed the favour of Charles II., who made him one of the knights of his bed-chamber, and sent him envoy-extraordinary to the court of France, to offer congratulations on the birth of Philip, Duke of Anjou, afterwards King of Spain. Whilst upon this embassy, he was one day hunting with the king, and taking offence at some part of the conduct of an ecclesiastical dignitary, who also rode in the company, he disregarded equally the profession of his opponent and the royal presence, and pulling the reverend gentleman from his horse, and grasping his sword, he was prevented from exacting a bloody vengeance only by the interposition of his majesty. The particulars of this affair are not related with that distinctness which would enable us to decide who was in the wrong; but the earl's contemporaries, provided they saw a display of spirit, did not often stop to inquire whether it were borne out by prudence; and accordingly, a writer of the time tells us his lordship came off upon this occasion, in the opinion of the world, "with high commendations of his courage and audacity."

When James II. ascended the throne, the Earl of Arran suffered no diminution of court favour. Indeed he seems to have earned it by readily yielding

to James's designs. He was one of the privy-council who, in 1687, signed the letter of the Scottish government concurring with the proclamation to repeal the laws made against Papists. In reward of his acquiescence he was installed a knight of the Thistle, when that order—which, according to the king's party, was instituted about the year of our Lord 809, by Achaius, King of Scots, and never disused till the intestine troubles which happened in the reign of Mary—was "restored to its full lustre, glory, and magnificence." The writers whose politics were different maintain that, however honourable this badge might be, it was never worn as such before. Burnet says it was "set up in Scotland in imitation of the order of the Garter in England;" and Lord Dartmouth adds that "all the pretence for antiquity is some old pictures of kings of Scotland with medals of St. Andrew hung in gold chains about their necks." Whether old or new, it was conferred as a mark of James's esteem, and in farther proof of his confidence he intrusted the Earl of Arran with the command of a regiment of horse, when the new levies took place on the descent of the Duke of Monmouth. At a period of greater disaster to James's fortunes, when Lord Churchill, afterwards the great Marlborough, went over to the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Berwick was advanced to the station he had occupied as colonel of the 3d troop of horse-guards, and in the room of his grace, Arran was made colonel of Oxford's regiment. From the course which events took, however, the earl had no opportunity of signaling his bravery in the cause of his master; but he carried his fidelity as far as any man in the kingdom, having been one of the four lords who accompanied James to Gravesend, when the fallen monarch repaired thither on his way into foreign exile. Returning to London, Arran complied with the general example, and waited on the Prince of Orange. Being one of the last that came, he offered an excuse which partook more of the bluntness of the soldier than of political or courtlike dexterity: "If the king had not withdrawn out of the country," he said, "he should not have come at all." The next day the prince intimated to him that he had bestowed his regiment upon its old colonel, the Earl of Oxford.

Nor was Arran solicitous to appease by subsequent compliance the displeasure incurred in his first interview with the prince. On the 7th January William assembled the Scottish nobles and gentlemen then in London, and told them that he wanted their advice "what was to be done for securing the Protestant religion, and restoring their laws and liberties, according to his declaration." His highness withdrew after making this request, and the Duke of Hamilton¹ was chosen to preside. The politics of his grace were quite different from those of his son; and the fact of his being selected to preside over their deliberations was an intimation of the course which the assembly intended to pursue. But Arran either did not perceive, or did not regard this circumstance; he proposed, that as the prince had desired their advice, they should move him to invite the king to return, and call a free parliament, "which, in my humble opinion," he added, "will at last be found the best way to heal all our breaches." Nobody seconded this proposal; but it seems to have astounded the deliberators a good deal: they dispersed, and did not reassemble till the second day after, when their resolution to stand by the Prince of Orange and to exclude the exiled James, having been

¹ The Earl of Selkirk bore this title in right of marriage to the duchess.

strengthened by some remarks from the Duke of Hamilton, they recommended the measures which the emergency seemed to them to require.

A short time after the settlement of the throne upon William and Mary, as the Earl of Arran was passing along the streets in a chair, about eleven at night, he was set upon by four or five people with drawn swords. He defended himself courageously, and being vigorously seconded by his footman and chairmen, came off with only a few slight hurts in the hand. This incident was charged against the new monarch, as if he had sought to rid himself by assassination of one who had so very coolly, if not resolutely, opposed his reception in England. But there was neither any disposition nor any necessity for resorting to such means for weakening the ranks of the adherents of James. The attack upon the earl is believed to have proceeded from another cause; namely, the involvement of his lordship's pecuniary affairs, and to have been the act of an exasperated creditor. The earl, however, certainly was obnoxious to government at this period. He was shortly after committed to the Tower, with Sir Robert Hamilton and two others of his countrymen; but was soon liberated upon bail; upon which he judged it prudent, both on account of the suspicion to which his political opinions exposed him, and of embarrassments in his private fortune, to retire to Scotland. There his father enjoyed the full confidence of government; his services in the convention of the states, of which he was president, having mainly contributed to the settlement of the crown upon William. Here Arran lived in retirement, the progress of affairs and the paternal authority tending to reconcile him to the Revolution. At his father's death in 1695 the Earl of Arran was not advanced in rank and not very much in fortune. The title of duke had been conferred upon its late possessor to be held during his lifetime, by consent of the heiress, whom he had married; and at his death it remained with her, together with the bulk of the estate. It was not till the marriage of Arran, in 1698, with Lord Gerrard of Bromley's daughter, that his mother consented that her eldest son should assume the honours of the family. Upon this William, willing to gratify the family, signed a patent creating him Duke of Hamilton, with precedency in the same manner as if he had succeeded to the title by the decease of his mother.

The events hitherto recorded in this nobleman's life were not of great moment: he was a young man, acting in a great measure from personal bias, and his opinions had little weight or influence beyond the sphere of the private friends with whom he associated. We now approach a period when his conduct in the legislative assembly of his country determined more than that of any other of its members the fate of the two most momentous political measures that ever were debated in it—the act of security and the act of union. The events of William's reign had been highly exasperating to the Scottish nation. Not only had commercial enterprise been repressed, but this had been done in the most base and most cruel manner. The same monarch who sanctioned the massacre of Glencoe, first granted a charter to the Darien company, and then exerted his influence with foreign nations in order to withhold from their colony the necessary supplies, and sent instructions to the governor of the English colonies to the same effect. Many perished of famine, "murdered," says Sir Walter Scott, "by King William's government, no less than if they had been shot in the snows of Glencoe." The spirit of an ancient people, never tolerant of contumely, far less of cruelties so atro-

cious as these, did not burst out into immediate and open defiance of their more powerful neighbour, but reserved itself for a period more favourable for the vindication of its insulted rights. During the rest of his life William could draw no subsidies from Scotland, nor a single recruit for his continental wars. The instability of a new reign afforded a fitting opportunity for the assertion of independence. An act had been passed in the time of King William, empowering the parliament in being at his death to continue, and take the steps necessary for securing the Protestant succession. In virtue of this act Queen Anne thought proper not to call a new parliament: but a party, at the head of whom was the Duke of Hamilton, maintained that the purposes contemplated by that provision were sufficiently satisfied by the settlement of her majesty on the throne. Accordingly, before the royal commission was read, the duke took a protest against it, and retiring with twenty-nine who adhered to him, their retreat was greeted with shouts of applause by the people assembled without. This proceeding may be considered the germ of that opposition which ripened in the two following years into the formidable act of security.

The parliament of 1703, instead of proceeding, in conformity with the wishes of government, to settle the crown of Scotland on the same person for whom that of England was destined, resolved that this was the time to obtain an equality of commercial privileges, and to rescue the country from the state of a degraded and oppressed province of England. They accordingly passed an act stipulating that the two crowns should not be held by the same monarch, unless the Scottish people were admitted by the English to the full benefit of trade and navigation: to make good the separation of the countries if it should be necessary, every man capable of bearing arms was to be regularly drilled, and all commissions, civil and military, were to lose effect at the moment of the queen's demise, in order that the states of Scotland might then appoint an entirely new set of magistrates and officers, faithful maintainers of the independence of the kingdom. The Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Tweeddale headed the country party, by whom this measure was passed. It was debated with the utmost fierceness by the speakers on both sides, with their hands on their swords. The queen's commissioner refused his assent, and was obliged to dismiss the assembly without obtaining supplies, every demand of that kind being answered with shouts of "Liberty before subsidy!"

At this time the duke was involved in the accusations of Fraser of Lovat, who detailed to the government a plot, in which he alleged that he had engaged several Scottish noblemen for the restoration of the son of James II. The parliament of England took up the matter, and passed a resolution, declaring that a dangerous conspiracy had been formed in Scotland to overthrow the Protestant succession. Hamilton, and the others named with him, defended themselves by maintaining that the whole affair was nothing but a malicious attempt of the court, in consequence of the decided part they had taken in behalf of their country's rights, to destroy their reputation, and weaken the patriotic party to which they belonged. Their countrymen were in no mood to take part against them: on the contrary, they considered the vote of the English legislature as a fresh encroachment upon their liberties, another unwarrantable interference with matters beyond their jurisdiction. When the states met in 1704, therefore, there was no alteration in their tone—the act

of security was insisted upon with the same determination; and it was now wisely acceded to.

Scotland was thus legally disjoined from England, and the military preparations provided for in the act of security were immediately commenced. This measure, however threatening it might appear, produced ultimately the most beneficial effects, having had the effect of rousing the English government to the danger of a rupture with Scotland. Should that nation make choice of a separate sovereign, it was likely to be one who had claims to the throne of England; and thus not only might the old hostilities between the two countries be rekindled, not only might a Scottish alliance be resorted to by foreign courts, to strengthen them in their designs against England; but the prince who held his court at Edinburgh would have numerous adherents in the southern part of the island, as well as in Ireland, by whose assistance long and harassing wars might be maintained, with too probable a chance of the ultimate establishment of the exiled family on the British throne.

The prospect of dangers such as these induced the English government to devote all their influence to the formation of a treaty, by which the two countries might be incorporated, and all causes of dissension, at least in a national point of view, removed. During the discussion of this measure, the details of which proved extremely unsatisfactory to the Scottish people, they looked up to the Duke of Hamilton as the political leader on whom the fate of the country entirely depended. That nobleman seems in his heart to have been hostile to the union. In the earlier stages of the proceedings he displayed considerable firmness in his opposition, and out of doors he was greeted with the most enthusiastic plaudits.

The Duke of Queensberry, who acted as royal commissioner, had his lodging in Holyrood House; so had the Duke of Hamilton. The queen's representative could only pass to his coach through lanes of armed soldiery, and be hurried home amidst volleys of stones and roars of execration; while the popular favourite was attended all the way from the Parliament Close by crowds, who encouraged him with loud huzzas to stand by the cause of national independence. A plan was devised, with the duke's consent, for interrupting the progress of this odious treaty by a general insurrection. But when the agents had arranged matters for the rising of the Cameronians in the west country, either doubting the practicability of the scheme, or reluctant to involve the country in civil war, he despatched messengers to countermand the rising, and was so far successful, that only an inconsiderable number repaired to the place of rendezvous. It was next resolved that a remonstrance should be presented by the nobles, barons, and gentry hostile to the union; and about four hundred of them assembled in Edinburgh, for the purpose of waiting upon the lord-commissioner, with this expression of the national opinion. The address was drawn up with the understanding that it should be presented by the Duke of Hamilton; but that nobleman again thwarted the measures of his party by refusing to appear, unless a clause were inserted in the address, expressive of the willingness of the subscribers to settle the crown on the house of Hanover. To this proposal the Jacobites, who formed a large portion of the opponents of the union, would not listen for a moment; and while discussions and disputes were protracted between the Dukes of Athol and Hamilton, the gentlemen who had attended their summons to swell the ranks of the remonstrants, dispersed to their homes, chagrined and disappointed.

Hamilton next assembled the leaders of the opposition, recommended that they should forget former jarings, and endeavour to repair previous mismanagement by a vigorous and united effort for the defeat of the obnoxious treaty. He proposed that a motion formerly made for settling the succession in the house of Hanover should be renewed, in conjunction with a proposal fatal to the union; and that, on its being rejected, as it was sure to be in such circumstances, a strong protest should be taken, and the whole of their party should publicly secede from parliament. The consequence of this step, he argued, must be, that the government would abandon further proceedings, as they could not pretend to carry through a measure of such importance with a mere handful of the national representatives, whose opinions were so conspicuously at variance with the wishes of the great mass of the people. The Jacobites objected to the preliminary motion, but the duke overcame their scruples by representing, that as it must necessarily be rejected, it could not entangle them in any obligation inconsistent with their principles. Finally, he assured them, that if this plan failed of its effect, and the English should still press on the union, he would join them to recall the son of James II. The purpose of the anti-unionists having come to the knowledge of the Duke of Queensberry, he sought an interview, it is said, with the leader of the popular party, and assured him that if the measure miscarried, his grace should be held accountable for its failure, and be made to suffer for it in his English estates. Whether intimidated by this threat, or that his own understanding did not approve of the course which his feelings prompted, Hamilton was the first to fail in the performance of the scheme which he had taken so much pains to persuade his coadjutors to consent to. "On the morning appointed for the execution of their plan," says Sir Walter Scott, "when the members of opposition had mustered all their forces, and were about to go to parliament, attended by great numbers of gentlemen and citizens, prepared to assist them if there should be an attempt to arrest any of their number, they learned that the Duke of Hamilton was so much afflicted with the toothache that he could not attend the house that morning. His friends hastened to his chambers, and remonstrated with him so bitterly on this conduct, that he at length came down to the house; but it was only to astonish them by asking whom they had pitched upon to present their protestation. They answered with extreme surprise that they had reckoned on his grace as the person of the first rank in Scotland, taking the lead in the measure which he had himself proposed. The duke persisted, however, in refusing to expose himself to the displeasure of the court, by being foremost in breaking their favourite measure, but offered to second any one whom the party might appoint to offer the protest. During this altercation the business of the day was so far advanced, that the vote was put and carried on the disputed article respecting the representation, and the opportunity of carrying the scheme into effect was totally lost. The members who had hitherto opposed the union, being thus three times disappointed in their measures by the unexpected conduct of the Duke of Hamilton, now felt themselves deserted and betrayed. Shortly afterwards most of them retired altogether from their attendance on parliament, and those who favoured the treaty were suffered to proceed in their own way, little encumbered either by remonstrance or opposition."

Such is the story of the Duke of Hamilton's share in these two great measures. It presents a curious

view of perseverance and firmness of purpose at one time, and of the utmost instability at another in the same person, both concurring to produce a great and important change in the feelings and interests of two nations powerful in old times from their hardihood and valour, rendered more powerful in later times by the union of these qualities with intelligence and enlightened enterprise. The conspicuous and decided manner in which the Duke of Hamilton stood forward as the advocate of the act of security carried it through a stormy opposition, and placed the kingdom in a state of declared but legalized defiance of England; while the unsteadiness of his opposition to the union paved the way for the reconciliation of the two nations. Had the Scottish people never asserted their independence with that determination which forced the English government to sanction the act of security—had the duke's resolution failed him here, the terms of equality subsequently offered by England would not have been granted:—had the states persevered in the same intractable spirit when the union was proposed to them—had the duke manifested any portion of his former firmness, the mutual interests of England and Scotland might have been barred, the two kindred people might have been thrown back into interminable hostilities, and the glory and happiness which Great Britain has attained might never have been known.

Though the consequences of the union have been so beneficial to Scotland, yet the treaty was urged forward by means which no friend of his country could approve. The body of the nation regarded it as disgraceful and ruinous; its supporters were purchased with bribes—one nobleman sold himself for the miserable sum of eleven pounds sterling; and its opponents were awed to silence by threats. No wonder that men of honourable minds were fired with indignation, and many of them prepared to resort to desperate measures to wipe away the national disgrace. The opportunity seemed favourable for a movement among the Jacobites, and an agent from France engaged a number of the nobles to join the Chevalier if he should land on the Scottish shores. Among these was the Duke of Hamilton, who, although pressed to declare himself prematurely, adhered to the letter of his agreement, and by his prudence saved his large estates from confiscation. Whilst the French ships were on the seas, with the design of an invasion, his grace was taken into custody as a disaffected person, but suffered a very short restraint. This did not prevent his being named among the sixteen Scottish peers who took their place in the first British parliament, in which he attached himself to the Tory party, and "sticked as much," to use the words of a biographer of that period, "for Dr. Sacheverell and the high-church interest, as he had done about three years before for the security of the Scottish kirk." The Whigs losing their influence in the councils of Queen Anne, the opposite party began to be received into favour; and in June, 1711, Hamilton was created Duke of Brandon. He was at that time one of the representatives of the Scottish nobility, but claimed to take his seat as a British peer. In this he was vehemently opposed, notwithstanding the precedent afforded by the admission of Queensberry in virtue of the title of Duke of Dover. After a long debate, in which a motion to take the opinion of the judges was rejected, it was decided, that since the union no Scottish peer could take his place in the British parliament in any other character than as one of the sixteen representatives. This decision so highly incensed the Scottish lords that they seceded from the house: they were appeased and prevailed on to

return, but the point was not conceded at that time, although the queen interested herself in behalf of the Duke of Hamilton. Nor was it till so late as the year 1782, when his descendant again preferred his claim, that, the judges having given an unanimous opinion in his favour, the eligibility of Scottish noblemen to the full privileges of peers of Great Britain was established.

The duke had married to his second wife, Anne, daughter of Lord Digby Gerrard, by Elizabeth, sister to the Earl of Macclesfield. Lady Gerrard was left by her husband's will guardian to her daughter, whose fortune amounted to about £60,000; and while the duke courted her, he offered to content himself with that dowry, and bound himself in a bond of £10,000 to give her mother a relief of her guardianship two days after the marriage. This engagement, however, he not only declined to perform, but sought relief of his bond in chancery, which was so highly resented by Lady Gerrard that she left all she had to her brother, and bequeathed to her child a legacy of five shillings, and a diamond necklace in case the duke should consent to give the release in question. This his grace persisted in withholding, and the Earl of Macclesfield settled his estate, to the prejudice of the Duchess of Hamilton, on another niece, who had married the Lord Mohun. The lawsuit to compel that nobleman, as executor of Lady Gerrard, to give an account of his guardianship, was continued; and the feelings of the two parties were mutually much embittered in the course of the proceedings. Mohun was a man of violent temper, and in his youth accustomed himself to the most depraved society. When he was about twenty years of age, one of his companions murdered Mountford, a comedian in Drury Lane; and, the principal having absconded, Mohun was tried by the house of peers. Fourteen voices pronounced him guilty, but sixty-nine cleared him. So far, however, was the shameful situation in which he had been placed from reclaiming him, that he plunged again into the same courses, and seven years after was arraigned at the same bar on a similar accusation. This time, indeed, it was proved that his lordship had no participation in the crime, but had used some endeavours to prevent it. Thereafter he abstained, indeed, from dissolute and lawless brawls, but he carried into the pursuits of politics no small share of the heat which marked his early career. "It is true," says a contemporary writer, who seems to have been willing to excuse his faults, "he still loved a glass of wine with his friends; but he was exemplarily temperate when he had any business of moment to attend." His quarrelsome disposition was notorious, and the duke's friends had been long apprehensive that a collision would take place, and repeatedly warned his grace to be on his guard. On the 11th of November the two noblemen had a meeting at the chambers of Mr. Orlebar, a master in chancery, in relation to the lawsuit, when everything passed off quietly. Two days after, on the examination of a person of the name of Whitworth, who had been a steward to Lady Gerrard, the duke was so provoked by the substance of his deposition, as openly to declare, "He had neither truth nor justice in him." To this Lord Mohun rejoined, "He had as much truth as his grace." No further recrimination passed; another meeting was arranged for the Saturday following, and the duke, on retiring, made a low bow to Mohun, who returned it. There were eleven persons present, and none of them suspected any ill consequence from what had just taken place. His lordship, however, immediately sent a challenge to the duke, which was accepted. On the 15th of

November, 1713, the day that had been fixed for a resumption of their amicable conference, they repaired to the ring in Hyde Park, and, being both greatly exasperated, they fought with peculiar determination and ferocity. This is attested by the number and deadliness of the wounds on both sides. Lord Mohun fell and died on the spot. He had one wound mortal, but not immediately so, entering by the right side, penetrating through the belly, and going out by the iliac bone on the left side. Another dreadful gash, in which the surgeon's hands met from opposite sides, ran from the groin on the left side down through the great vessels of the thigh. This was the cause of immediate death. There were some slighter incisions, and two or three fingers of the left hand were cut off. The duke's body suffered an equal havoc, partly inflicted, it was alleged, by foul play. A cut in the elbow of the sword-arm severed the small tendons, and occasioned so much loss of blood as to be fatal. A wound in the left breast, between the third and fourth upper ribs, pierced downwards through the midriff and caul sufficient to produce death, but not immediately. He had also a dangerous slash in the right leg. It is believed that the duke, after his right arm was disabled, being ambidexter, shifted his weapon, and killed Mohun with his left hand. The wound in his own breast was the last that was inflicted, and Colonel Hamilton gave his oath that it was the sword of General Macartney, Mohun's second, which dealt it. So strong was the presumption of the truth of this that the general absconded, and when brought to trial in the ensuing reign, the evidence upon which he was acquitted still left the matter doubtful.

The death of two men of rank in so bloody a rencounter, was in itself enough to produce a strong feeling of horror in the public mind. The unfair play by which it was believed one of them had been sacrificed filled every honourable bosom with indignation; and the agitation was increased by reports that the duke had fallen a victim to assassination instigated by political hatred. Immediately before the duel took place, he had been named ambassador extraordinary to Paris, with powers to effect an arrangement for the restoration of the exiled family on the death of the queen; and the party who were desirous of such a consummation openly alleged that his death had been conspired by the Whigs with a view to prevent it. This does not appear to have been the case, however true it may be that Mohun was a zealot in politics, and disreputable in his private character.¹ The duke's body was con-

veyed to Scotland for burial. The deplorable death of so amiable a nobleman spread a very general regret; a bill to prevent duelling was in consequence introduced into the House of Commons, but it was dropped after the first reading.

HAMILTON, REV. JAMES, D.D. In mentioning the name of this eminent minister of the Scottish church, Regent Square, London, our thoughts revert to his distinguished father, the Rev. William Hamilton, D.D., minister of Strathblane, to whom we must devote a brief notice. This worthy clergyman was born in the parish of Stonehouse, Lanarkshire, in 1780. Although born in comparatively affluent circumstances, his parents destined him for the office of the ministry, a choice that was in full accordance with his own wishes. In 1796 William Hamilton became a student of the university of Edinburgh, and such was his enlarged desire for knowledge, that in addition to the routine of study prescribed by the church, he attended the classes of anatomy, chemistry, and *materia medica*. On being licensed to preach he officiated as assistant first at Broughton, and afterwards at New Kilpatrick, until he was elected to be minister of St. Andrew's Chapel, Dundee; and although this charge was only a chapel of ease, so that it gave him no place in church courts, his popularity as a preacher and the affection of his people were more than a compensation for this inferior clerical standing. After continuing in this place for a little more than a year and a half, he was presented to Strathblane in the county of Stirling, and inducted into that parish in 1809. Here he found his permanent resting-place, and soon became distinguished by his zeal for the improvement of his people, who constituted a population of about a thousand souls. With this view he distributed religious books, visited his flock, prepared them for the sacrament by instituting weekly addresses in the church, established Sabbath-schools, and formed a parish library. He also established Bible and missionary societies, meetings for intellectual conversation, and a temperance society. All this was much for a parish minister in addition to his round of weekly clerical duty, but to these he superadded the cares of authorship, which he undertook in the first instance for the improvement of his own parishioners, but which procured him in return a greater reward than he sought—for his works were widely circulated over Scotland, and obtained for him an intellectual and literary reputation which no author can regard with indifference. His principal productions were a *Treatise on Assurance*, the *Young Communicant's Remembrancer*, and his *Mourner in Zion Comforted*. After a distinguished, useful, and well-spent life, he died in the close of March, 1835.

Of this excellent clergyman James Hamilton was the eldest son. He was born in Paisley, on the 27th of November, 1814—and it was his playful boast that his birth-place was a town of such intelligence and comfort, that Rowland Hill had called it "the paradise of Scotland." To this commendation he also added the following statement in his biography of James Wilson of Woodville:—"In the days of his [the biographer's] youth he had a venerable relative (proprietor of the oldest spinning-mill in Scotland) who used to say that, when he was young, he knew every reeking lum in Paisley, and

¹ The following anecdote is related respecting this duke. He had been one of the advisers of the king in the restoration of the ducal family, in the possession of Mr. Chancellor of Scotland.

Upon the 2nd of October, 1713, he was, at the palace of Holyrood House, invited to a banquet of the most noble order of the Friars, by James Earl of Findlater and Scotland, appointed for that day representative of King George I.

"The regalia, now after the union being locked up in the castle, they wanted the sword of state for that purpose, and, as the store went, they had recourse to the Earle of Rothes's, which was not only gifted by General M'Kerney to him, but the same night, which he should have so heavily sustained the duke his Father. And the guards, who drew up about the Earle of Findlater, as king's commissioners, chanced also to be the Scots Fuziliers, then under the command of the said M'Kerney; which occasioned the following verses:—

"Ye sons of Old Scotland, come hither and look
On Rothes's sword that knighted the duke.
Dispell all your thoughts, your cares, and your fears,
Being now guarded by your own fuziliers.

"Yet
The pious and the honour'd were in a strange bustle,
How they could install a knight of the Thistle;
For, wanting the sword and honours of state,
What shame could they get to lay on his pace?

"Some wou'd a cane and others a mace,
But true-hearted Seafield spoke thus to his grace:
My lord, upon honour, the regalia are fied,
Which were basely sold off by me and your dade,—
But—here's Rothes's sword—so down on your knee!
Now, rise up a knight and a knave lyke me."

that there was a time every morning when, passing almost any door, you were sure to hear the voice of prayer and psalms." As a zealous Scot and Presbyterian, the thoughts of Dr. Hamilton loved to dwell amidst the recollections of his country's piety in the olden time, and its devotedness in the days of the covenant—delightful visions, among the pictures of which he was apt to lose sight of modern changes under which so much of the old life has passed away. Having at an early period resolved to devote himself to the ministry, he prosecuted his studies at the university of Glasgow, and afterwards at that of Edinburgh. At the first of these colleges he was the principal connecting link of a little society of seven students who met regularly once a fortnight at his lodgings for social and intellectual exercise and conversation. Among the members of this little association were Sir William Hooker, Dr. Andrew Thomson of Broughton Place Church, Dr Campbell of Bradford, the Rev. W. Arnot, and the late James Halley; and the high place they held in the university was indicated by the fact, that on one season they carried off nearly all the college prizes. During the whole of his student life both in Glasgow and Edinburgh James Hamilton was noted for the purity of his character and his religious earnestness, qualities which were recommended to his fellow-students by his intellectual character and the variety of his attainments. Like his father, he was unwilling to be confined within the ordinary routine of those studies which the church required in its candidates for the ministry, but carried his incursions into natural science, especially chemistry and botany; and such was his love of these departments, and the attainments he secured in them, that at one time he thought of making them his profession, instead of the clerical office. But his path was marked out by a higher power, and to this he was shut up let him long and resolve as he might. These studies also were of important use to him in his sacred vocation; and his sermons were enriched with such illustrations from the vegetable kingdom, and the science of zoology, as charmed his hearers by their novelty and beauty, and made the religious lessons they conveyed all the better understood, and permanently remembered. But amidst so much hard reading that required a relaxing change—and such multifarious studies that were calculated to create new cravings of the intellectual appetite, as well as greater power of digestion—James Hamilton had never been a novel reader. The assertion will appear incredible; but enthusiastic and imaginative as he was, he had only read one novel in the whole course of his life. This confession he made to the writer of the present notice, who heard it with no little amazement. The novel in question was one of Sir Walter Scott's; and that he might obtain some idea of that wondrous power by which the modern reading world is enthralled, Hamilton ventured upon the perusal. No sooner had he entered the charmed circle than the spell of the mighty magician was upon him, and every object that had hitherto appeared commonplace and tame was invested with fresh beauty and grandeur. He saw the old world flooded with a new sunshine, and beheld its inhabitants as he had never seen them before. But when he recovered breath, which he did only at the close of the work, and found himself restored to the world of every-day life, he asked himself if all this was right, but found himself obliged to answer in the negative. His delight had resembled the intoxication of an opium dream, and was therefore sinful, and worthy of condemnation. Such was his conclusion after a close and severe retrospection, in consequence of which he never

perused another novel. It is well when an imagination so ardent can condemn itself to such total abstinence, where indulgence would be attended with more than ordinary danger. It was fortunate also for Hamilton that he had already found his own ideal world, the exuberance of which was more than sufficient for all his desires. The beauty of nature, which to his scientific eye disclosed charms unseen by the common observer, and the writings of our poets of the highest class, especially of Milton and those of the Puritan period, furnished materials for his thoughts, as well as illustrations for his speech, which mere novel-reading could not have improved, and might possibly have deteriorated.

On finishing his college studies, Mr. Hamilton commenced his clerical life as assistant minister in the small secluded parish of Abernethy, in Perthshire; but as a preacher his excellence did not at first meet with popular recognition. His popularity, instead of springing into full growth at once, at the risk of undergoing as sudden a decay, increased by progressive stages, so that its full-grown maturity was the effect of years. In 1840 he was inducted to the pastoral charge of Roxburgh Chapel, Edinburgh, but even here also he obtained little distinction as a pulpit orator. Modern Athens was the great mart of eloquent preachers, among whom a novice of modest retiring habits was not likely to attract general notice. None as yet but his personal friends and a discerning few were aware of his talents, and hopeful of his ultimate success. He was not doomed to a long obscurity in Roxburgh Chapel. The National Scotch Church in Regent Square, London, originally built for the Rev. Edward Irving, but from which he was excluded in consequence of his startling doctrines, had since that period been struggling under the disadvantage of a heavy debt and empty pews; and unless a minister could be found to fill it the edifice was likely to be brought to the hammer. In 1841 its pulpit was vacant, but the difficulty was to find a minister who would encounter the toil and the risk of collecting a congregation round it. It was then that Mr. Hamilton's friends in Scotland judged him the likeliest person to surmount the difficulty, and they persuaded the trustees of Regent Square Church to be of the same opinion, so that after the usual public trial of his qualifications as a preacher, he was appointed to the hazardous charge.

With his removal to London the public life of Mr. Hamilton properly commenced. His excellence as a preacher grew into general recognition, and brought persons to listen, while his personal worth secured the hold which his eloquence had won, and induced these casual hearers to become permanent members of his flock. In this way a handful grew into a numerous congregation. His eloquence, indeed, did not take London by storm, in which case he might have been only a nine days' wonder; but better still, it was of that progressive character which gives the best promise of stability and duration to its influence. His sermons were always pregnant with thought, and always new; and all who listened were eager to hear him again, and yet again, while their satisfaction was increased by every repetition. One great charm of his preaching was the richness and originality of his illustrations, which were drawn from the sciences he had cultivated in early life, or from the poetry of his imaginative mind and extensive reading—illustrations not usually brought into the pulpit, but in his case sanctioned by the subjects which they beautified and illustrated. Nor did these Sabbath ministrations, carefully though they were studied, form the only, or even the principal, objects of his

labours, as the following account from an obituary will testify:—"It was not alone the cares of a numerous and widely scattered congregation which fell upon him, but his prominent position in London, which brought upon him, in a measure, the care of all the churches of the English Presbyterian body. He was convener of several committees of the synod to which he belonged, and especially of that China mission scheme of the English Presbyterian church which has been blessed beyond almost any Protestant mission in Asia. It is to Dr. Hamilton also that the English Presbyterian church is indebted for the formation and successful prosecution of its most useful church-extension and debt-extinction funds, on behalf of which he traversed the whole country, to stimulate the zeal and liberality of the people. His methodical habits greatly aided him in the despatch of the multiplicity of affairs committed to him, and his business tact appeared in the facility he had of catching the general mind of a deliberative assembly, and bringing the business to a conclusion by a well-expressed resolution."¹

Successful although Dr. Hamilton was as a preacher, it was still more as an author that his reputation was diffused throughout the Christian world at large. But even in this capacity he was prevented from doing full justice to his talents in consequence of his preparations for Sabbath duties—the cares of the several religious institutions of which he was the animating spirit—and more than all, by the numerous demands upon his time, in consequence of the publicity of his character. But notwithstanding these drawbacks, his writings were numerous, and by their superior excellence have given him a higher and more permanent reputation than his pulpit popularity could achieve. A considerable number of them consisted of tracts written upon the spur of the moment, or for a passing occasion; but these became so popular that they won for him the character of the best of our religious tract writers. Of these smaller productions the following is a list:—*The Church in the House; Thankfulness; The Dew of Heaven; The Harp on the Willows, or the Captivity of the Church of Scotland; "Farewell to Egypt, or the Departure of the Free Church of Scotland out of the Erastian Establishment;" and Remembering Zion, To Strangers in London.*

Besides these writings, which were issued as small pamphlets, Dr. Hamilton published several tracts of a more ample character, and in separate volumes, of which the following are the titles:—"Life in Earnest; Six Lectures on Christian Activity and Ardour," 16mo. *The Mount of Olives, and other Lectures on Prayer*, 16mo. *A Morning beside the Lake of Galilee*, 16mo. *The Light to the Path; or the Lamp and the Lantern*, 16mo. *The Happy Home; Illustrations*, 16mo. *The Plant of Renown, and other Emblems from Eden*, 16mo. *The Mount of Olives, and a Morning beside the Lake of Galilee*, 16mo.

Of Dr. Hamilton's largest works, in which the tract form was abandoned for a higher style of writing, we give the following enumeration:—*Life of Bishop Hall*. This biography, which was prefixed to a new edition of the writings of that eminent prelate, was, as far as can be ascertained, the first attempt of Dr. Hamilton in authorship.—"*The Parable of the Prodigal Son, Expounded and Illustrated*," 8vo.—"*The Royal Preacher, being Lectures on Ecclesiastes*," 8vo.—"*Lessons from the Great Biography*," 8vo.—"*Our Christian Classics; Readings from the best Divines, with Notices Biographical and Critical*," 4 vols. 8vo.—"*Excelsior;*

Helps to Progress in Religion, Science, and Literature," 6 vols. 8vo.—"*Memoirs of the Life of James Wilson, Esq., F.R.S.E., of Woodville*," 8vo.—"*Memoirs of Lady Colquhoun of Luss*," 8vo.—"*Memoirs of Richard Williams, Surgeon, Catechist in the Mission to Patagonia, Terra-del-Fuego*," 8vo.

Independently of this numerous list, the most voluminous and scientific of all Dr. Hamilton's writings remains still to be noticed. This consisted of the numerous articles on the plants of the Bible inserted in the *Imperial Bible-Dictionary*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Fairbairn, and published by the Messrs. Blackie, Glasgow. These contributions, furnished by Dr. Hamilton on subjects so congenial to his own tastes and favourite studies, are characterized by more than his wonted ardour, eloquence, and geniality, and are prized by the scientific readers as the best and most interesting portion of that voluminous Scripture dictionary.

Although he had accomplished so much during the period of his ministry in London, Dr. Hamilton was of a delicate constitution, and the weight and multiplicity of his toils may be said to have exhausted him before the evening of his day had arrived. Towards the end of June, feeling his health impaired, he had retired to the country, and felt himself so invigorated by the change that he was encouraged to return to London; but the hopes entertained by his friends of a complete recovery proved fallacious, and he died of paralysis of the brain on the 24th of November, 1867, just three days before the completion of the fifty-third year of his age. Seldom has London and England at large so bewailed the death of a Presbyterian minister: the deep and general sensation of sorrow was an attestation more expressive than any laboured eulogium of the worth of the deceased, and his Christian catholicity of spirit, which all were equally compelled to love and admire. This was especially manifested at his funeral, where the vast concourse who attended was composed of mourners of all persuasions, and the reverend representatives of almost every Protestant communion in our island, and where every distinction was lost in the sadness of a universal bereavement. Justly did Dr. Candlish exclaim, in the funeral sermon preached on the occasion of Hamilton's death, "All Christendom laments him. You have the whole family of God's people with you in your sorrow." In the evening discourse by the Rev. Henry Allan of Islington, the same fact was thus impressively stated, "Who of us ever thought of his presbytery, or felt that he was of another section of the church than his own? In our pulpits he was seen as naturally, and loved as familiarly, if not as fully, as in his own." Of his intellectual character, and the effect of his writings, the following verses by a Congregationalist will form an appropriate end to this notice:—

"The dream-like murmur of the bee,
As low it bent the tiny flower,
The stillness of the twilight hour,
The headland brave that fronts the sea:
"All nature's sights and sounds to him
Had ever been a source of joy;
He knew her haunts, while yet a boy,
In dewy glades and woodlands dim.
"His little books, like winged seed
Blown by the winds o'er land and sea,
A blessing in the world shall be
To broken hearts that pine and bleed.
"O happy death, O holy life,
Thou hast a portion and a name
Worth more to thee than earthly fame,
And far removed from mortal strife."

HAMILTON, JOHN, a secular priest, made himself remarkable in the sixteenth century by his furious

¹ *Edinburgh Daily Review*.

zeal in behalf of the Church of Rome; leaving all the Scottish ecclesiastics of that period far behind by the boldness and energy with which he defended the tenets of the Romish church, and assailed those of the Reformed religion. There is nothing known of the earlier part of his life; but there is some ground for believing that his violence and activity rendered him obnoxious to the Scottish government, and that he was in consequence compelled to leave the kingdom. Whatever may have been the cause of his departure from Scotland, he established himself at Paris in the year 1573. Here he applied to the study of theology, and with such success, that he was soon afterwards appointed professor of philosophy in the Royal College of Navarre.

In 1576 he became tutor to the Cardinal de Bourbon, and in 1578 to Francis de Jayeuse, afterwards promoted to a similar dignity. Besides these, there were many other young persons of quality intrusted to him, in consequence of the high opinion entertained of his talents and learning. In 1581, still burning with zeal, he published a work entitled "*Une Catholique and Facile Traictaise draine out of the Halie Scriptures, treulie exposit be the Ancient Doctrines to confirm the Reall and Corporell Præsence of Christis Pretious Bodie and Blude in the Sacrament of the Altar.*" This work he dedicated to "His Sovereane Marie, the Quenis Majestie of Scotland." To this book were appended twenty-four "Orthodox and Catholic Conclusions," dedicated to James VI., whom, by the aid of some reasoning of his own, he termed King of Scotland. These "Conclusions" he prefaced with prolixity equal to the work itself, but more characteristically—"testimonies for antiquitie of religion and succession of pastors in the catholick kirk, and certane questionis to the quihikis we desire the ministers mak resolute answer at their next Generall Assemblée, and send the same imprentit to us with diligence, otherwise we protest that their pretendit religion is altogidder antichristian and repugnant to God and his halie kirk." What fortune attended this bold challenge does not appear, but his own in the meantime was steadily advancing. In 1584 he was chosen rector of the university of Paris, and in 1585, while yet a licentiate in theology, he was elected to the cure of St. Cosmus and Damian by that part of the students of the university of Paris called the German nation. His election on this occasion was disputed, but finally confirmed by a decree of parliament.

Still amongst the foremost and most violent in all religious discords, Hamilton became a furious zealot for the Catholic League of 1566, which it is well known had for its object the extermination of Protestants, without regard to the means, and figured during that celebrated era under the title of Curé de S. Cosine. In the same spirit he again distinguished himself when Henry IV. of France besieged Paris in the year 1590.

On that occasion he mustered the Parisian ecclesiastics, drew them up in battle array, and led them on against the forces of the heretics under Henry, making them halt occasionally to sing hymns as they advanced. As the King of France was compelled to abandon the blockade of Paris before he finally carried the city, by the Duke of Parma, who, despatched by Philip, King of Spain, now arrived with an army to assist the leaguers who defended it, Hamilton not only escaped the fate which would certainly have awaited him had Henry succeeded in the siege, but became more active and turbulent than ever, and soon after was one of the celebrated "council de Seize quartier," who took upon them,

with an effrontery which has no parallel in history, to dispose of the crown of France; and actually went the length of offering it to Philip II. of Spain, to be bestowed on whomsoever he thought fit. Of all the bigoted and merciless fanatics who composed the fraternity of the "Seize," Hamilton was the most bigoted and relentless; and when those wretches had resolved on the murder of Brisson, president of the parliament of Paris, together with L'Archer and Tardif, two obnoxious councillors, it was Hamilton who arrested the latter, and dragged him from a sick-bed to the scaffold; and although the Duke of Mayenne came immediately to Paris on hearing of these atrocities, and hanged four of the ringleaders of the infamous fraternity by which they had been perpetrated, yet Hamilton by some means or other contrived to escape sharing in their punishment. In 1594 his unextinguishable zeal again placed him in an extraordinary and conspicuous position. On the day on which Henry IV. entered Paris, after embracing the Catholic religion, and while Te Deum was celebrating for the restoration of peace and good government, Hamilton, with some of his frantic associates, flew to arms, with the desperate design of still expelling the king, in whose conversion they had no faith. The attempt, however, as might have been expected, was a total failure, and Hamilton was taken into custody, but was afterwards allowed to leave France without farther punishment. The parliament, however, some time after his departure, sentenced him to be broken on the wheel for the murder of Tardif, and as he was not then forthcoming in person, ordered that their decree should be carried into execution on his effigy. Hamilton in the meantime had retired to the Low Countries, and was now residing at Brussels, under the Spanish government.

In 1600 he published another work on religious matters, entitled *A Catalogue of One Hundred and Sixty-seven Heresies, Lies, and Calumnies, Teachit and Practisit be the Ministers of Calvin's Set, and Corruptions of Twenty-three Passages of the Scripture be the Ministeris Adulterate Translations thereof.* This work he dedicated to the Scottish king. In 1601 Hamilton returned to his native country, after an absence of above thirty years. He was there joined by one Edmond Hay, an eminent Jesuit, equally turbulent and factious with himself. The arrival of these two dangerous men, whose characters were well known, especially that of Hamilton, having reached the ears of the king, he immediately issued a proclamation, enjoining their instant departure from the kingdom under pain of treason, and declared all guilty of the like crime who harboured them.

Notwithstanding this edict, Hamilton contrived to find shelter in the north, and to elude for some time the vigilance of the government. Amongst others who contravened the king's proclamation on this occasion was the Lord Ogilvie, who afforded him a temporary residence at his house of Airly. At length the Scottish privy-council, determined to have possession of so dangerous a person, despatched a party of life-guards to apprehend him. When found and desired to surrender, this indomitable and factious spirit, who had bearded the King of France in his might, and treated the orders of a Scottish privy-council with contempt, endeavoured to resist them, but in vain. His life, however, was afterwards spared by the king, who, by a very slight stretch of certain laws then existing, might have deprived him of it. This clemency is said to have arisen from James' regard for Hamilton's nephew, then Sir Thomas Hamilton, afterwards Earl of

Haddington. The former, after his capture, spent the remainder of his days in the Tower, where he was sent at once for his own safety and that of the kingdom.

Amongst other peculiarities of Hamilton, it is recorded that he entertained a strong aversion to the introduction of English words into the Scottish language, a practice which was then becoming fashionable; and in the abuse which he was constantly heaping on the Protestant preachers, he frequently charges them with "knapping Suddrone" (aiming at English), and still greater enormity, with having it "imprentit at London in contempt of our native language;" and in proof at once of his abhorrence of all innovation in this particular, and of his partiality for the native unadulterated language of his own country, he always wrote in a style somewhat more uncouth than was warranted by the period in which he lived.

HAMILTON, JOHN, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the last Scottish primate of the Roman Catholic faith, was the natural son of James Earl of Arran, by a gentlewoman of Ayrshire. No nearer approximation seems to have been made to the period of his birth than that it must have happened some time during the reign of James V. The early education of a person so situated is not likely to have attracted much attention, and we may, with a pretty equal chance of arriving at the truth, either receive or reject the statement of M'Kenzie,¹ made with the laudible desire of biographers to afford complete and minute information, that he studied the belles-lettres and philosophy at Glasgow, and theology in France, where he entered into holy orders. It is, however, sufficiently ascertained, that he returned in the year 1543 from some residence or journey in France, and found himself abbot of Paisley, a situation within the limits of the extensive church patronage of his father, to which the son was nominated in 1541.² The circumstance of his journey through England in his return from France introduced this ambitious man to the commencement of his restless career. He was graciously received by Henry VIII., and either in duplicity or ignorance of the scene of action about to open to him, he entered into the views of the English monarch with regard to a matrimonial alliance with Scotland, which he was afterwards to use his best endeavours to frustrate. On his arrival in Scotland he found the path of distinction just opened to his view, by the recent advancement of his vacillating brother to the regency of the kingdom, and may have conceived those high projects which the weakness of his unhappy relative

fostered, while it interfered with their consummation. He joined Cardinal Beaton in that opposition which the primate's fears for the safety of the church prompted him to exhibit towards the matrimonial alliance with England, and the enemies of Hamilton have not been backward in attributing to him an unhesitating application to the most ungenerous and infamous means for the achievement of his ends, throughout the heart-burning and unfortunate progress of that renowned conference. The change produced in the regent's policy by the persuasion of the abbot, and the something more than persuasion of the cardinal, assisted by the insults of the English monarch, is well known, with all its calamitous consequences. The perseverance of Hamilton was rewarded by the offices of privy-seal and of high-treasurer, in which latter he succeeded Kirkcaldy of Grange. In 1545 he was further rewarded by the wealthy bishopric of Dunkeld. With unscrupulous greed he wished to retain, after his elevation, both the dignity and emolument of his abbacy, but was prompted to resign them on his brother James being nominated his successor, with the moderate reservation of the fruits of the benefice during his lifetime, and the power to re-enter, in the event of surviving his brother. On the death of Cardinal Beaton Hamilton was translated to the archbishopric of St. Andrews. Unmindful of the fate of his predecessor, he commenced his inauspicious career with blood. A man of the name of Adam Wallace was tried before him in a synod in the Blackfriars' Church of Edinburgh, and being found guilty of acting as a vagrant preacher, baptizing his own children, and of inability to discover the term "mass" in the Holy Scriptures, he was delivered over to the civil judge, and burned at the stake. But the archbishop was not one of those who welcomed the rising strength of the Reformation with fire and sword. He was a strong-thinking and acute man, with a mind conversant in the weaknesses and prejudices of men, and well adapted to hold the balance firmly and cautiously between contending parties. He was not of those spirits framed to be the scourges of the earth; but fate had cast him in evil days on an unhappy land, where men were not accustomed to scruple at the measures by which they gratified their passions or prejudices, and the minds formed in more peaceful times for better things burst the regulating power which might have restrained them in a period of less temptation.

Hamilton saw the coming enemy, and the moderation and firmness with which he defended the church protracted for a short period the fall of the crumbling fabric. He used his utmost endeavours to put to rest a fiery controversy which inflamed his district, on the subject of addressing the Lord's prayer to the saints; a heterodox English priest having maintained that it should be addressed to the Deity alone, while an orthodox friar of St. Andrews proved, by a syllogistic examination of each department of the prayer, that there were good reasons why it ought to be addressed to the saints, because there were no references in it which would not apply to their situation, excepting towards the end, where requests were made which it was entirely beyond the power of saints to grant, and in which their intercession only should be presumed to be requested. Out of the discussions on this matter arose disputes on the exact mental value of the appeal to the saints, some maintaining it to be made to the saints *materialiter*, while it was made to the Deity *formaliter*—others, that while it was addressed to the Deity *principaliter*, it came before the saints *minus princi-*

¹ M'Kenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*, iii. 102.

² The ancient authors of *The History of the Senators of the College of Justices* referred this presentation to so early a period as 1525. These authors are usually extremely minute in their references, but here the authority is omitted. We presume it to be that of Crawford, who in his *Officers of State* refers the event to the same period. The latter is certainly the more reasonable authority of the two, yet, admitting that we have not undergone the labour of an investigation among the original records which might clear up so wide a divergence, we are inclined in this instance to believe the dictum of M'Kenzie. The authors of the late work alluded to falsify the statement of M'Kenzie that Hamilton was on the Continent for some years previously to 1543, by a reference to the records of parliament, in which the abbot of Paisley is mentioned in two sederunts, that of 1534 and that of 1540. If Hamilton was not appointed till 1541, this must have been the previous abbot. If he was appointed in 1545, we can only accede to M'Kenzie's statement of his absence on the Continent on the supposition that he had taken advantage of the act 3d, James I. chap. 52, which entitled prelates, earls, &c., to appear by their procurators, on producing proof of a necessary cause of absence—a privilege which, if it was ever taken advantage of, fell soon after into disuse.

paliter: and the grades of distinction being too numerous for the consideration of the primate, who was never a casuist without having some purpose in view, he remitted them to a provincial synod, which duly attended to the interest of the saints. At this synod the archbishop performed one of those prudent acts of reconciliation by which he sought to avert the fall of his order. He had prepared a catechism containing an exposition in English of the commandments, the creed, and the Lord's prayer, which was formally approved of by the synod, and ordered to be read to the people on Sundays and holidays by the curates of the respective churches, and which was afterwards circulated through the country at such a small price as might remunerate the hawkers by whom it was vended. In the year 1551 the days of this ambitious priest appeared to be nearly ended by a stubborn asthmatic complaint, which defied the skill of the Scottish physicians, who pronounced his recovery as hopeless. The celebrated Cardan was induced, by a magnificent remuneration, to visit him, and the disease yielded either to the medicines of the empiric or to nature. M'Kenzie has taken much pains to prove that, in calling for the assistance of this singular individual, the primate did not appeal to the powers of magic, as Buchanan and others have accused him of having done; but it is much to be doubted whether, from the character of both parties, the patient did not suppose he was receiving, and the physician that he was administering, the aid of unholy powers. The influence of Hamilton's mind over that of his brother is shown by the advantage taken of his sickness. The queen-mother seized the opportunity which her own ambitious views and the instigations of her family had prepared her to use, and extracted from the feeble regent a resignation of his authority into her own hands. The archbishop on his recovery felt the indignation natural to a fierce and ambitious spirit, compelled by his situation to depend on a person whose facile mind required to be kept at its purpose by the firmness of his own. According to Sir James Melville, the convalescent priest received the intelligence with a burst of rage; "he cursed, and cried out that the governor was a very beast for quitting the government to her," bestowing an epithet not very decorous on the princess who stood between his brother and the throne. But Sir James Melville mentions the intelligence as having been received by him when abroad, and from the information of Captain Ninian Cockburn, "a busy meddler,"—and however certainly we may judge of the ambitious prospects of the archbishop, it is not likely that he would have uttered them in a situation which would have admitted their being reported to such a person. The effect of his recovery is a farther evidence of his powerful mind. The resignation not duly and formally completed was revoked, and with all the advantage of possessing the dignity, the powerful princess was compelled to submit for a time. After a protracted conference, the queen-mother, aided by the influence of those whom her polished manners had secured, and of the Protestant party in general, whom she affected to protect, seconded by the will of her daughter, no longer an infant, obtained her end; but the advantages stipulated for by the archbishop on the part of his brother were the same as those which had been held out to him as a bait at the commencement of the contract, acknowledging, as a principal article, the ex-regent's right of succession, failing the young queen, which seems to have presented to the archbishop golden views of ambition which it were difficult to fathom. Hitherto the primacy of Hamilton had been marked

by but one act of persecution, with which he was but indirectly connected; but just after the period of the last incident described, he appalled the nation by the perpetration of an act for which neither religious bigotry, opposition to the regent, nor the alleged influence of the abbot of Kilwinning, are sufficient satisfactorily to account, in a man who knew so well the advantage of moderate counsels. Walter Mill, an aged Protestant minister, was tried at St. Andrews before the archbishop, found guilty of heresy, and condemned to death by the flames. Men looked with such deep horror on the act, that an individual possessing the requisite powers could hardly be found to add the supplementary authority of the civil judge—no one would furnish a rope to bind the martyr to the stake, and the archbishop had to provide with his own sacred hands the necessary implement. The people of the country marked the spot of Mill's death by rearing over it a heap of stones, and so often as these were removed, the sullen memorial was restored by the patient and unyielding people. This was one of the marked acts which either terrify or give impulse to a slowly approaching enemy—it had the latter effect. Knox preached soon after in the pulpit of his cathedral church, and the usual destruction attended his presence. The archbishop, who, whatever he might be in politics, was no bigot in religion, strove to compromise with the arch-reformer, admitting that there were many evils in the church which should be remedied, but that "he should do wisely to retain the old policy, which had been the work of many ages, or then put a better in its place, which his new model was far from,"—but the proffer was unnoticed. He made a last and daring effort in the committee of estates in 1560, which gave the sanction of law to the doctrines and government of the Protestant faith. He there objected to his own brother, the Bishop of Argyle, and to the Bishop of Galloway being admitted as lords of the articles, to prepare the measure for the adoption of the house, according to the constitution of the parliament of Scotland, because they had embraced Presbyterianism, and were therefore disqualified by the constitution they were about to alter: and, along with the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, gave an unavailing opposition to the measures.

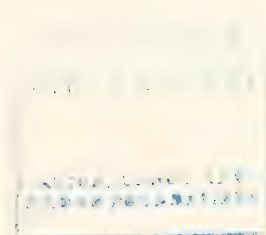
Three years after this convention he became amenable to one of its provisions, which prohibited the celebration of mass, and was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, whence he was released through the reiterated tears and intercessions of Queen Mary. Royal favour still beamed on the archbishop, but it was clouded by popular hatred. In 1566, at the imprudent request of the queen, he baptized the young prince with the ceremonies of the Church of Rome; and with still more imprudence, if not with a design of aiding the perpetration of deep wickedness, he was, on the 23d of September, of the same year, personally reinvested by the queen's signature, in the consistorial jurisdiction, of which the clergy in general had been deprived by the legislature. Whitaker, with the purposes of a special pleader before him, maintains this not to have been a revival of the jurisdiction, but the special gift of an authority which had not been discontinued. Not to argue on the improbability that a jurisdiction belonging to the body of right should be bestowed on one particular member by favour, the act of parliament which transfers to the commissaries the consistorial authority of the church, is as plain as a Scottish act usually is. The dangerous and invidious jurisdiction thus bestowed was used on one great occasion, and history has preserved no other instance of its application: he

granted a commission to judges, who severed the inconvenient bonds betwixt Earl Bothwell and his wife, which interfered in some respects with the formality of a marriage with the queen, and this act, coupled with the circumstance that the archbishop was one of those who prepared the account of the murder of Darnley, so hastily transmitted to the French court, originated in the minds of his enemies suspicions of deep guilt, the justice of which we do not pretend to judge.

The fidelity of the archbishop towards the queen, however much party spirit may account for it on ambitious grounds, is, by a charitable interpretation, a pleasing part of his character. He was the heart and head of the party which associated for her cause during her confinement in Lochleven. He aided her escape, and boldly urged on the battle, so unfortunate to the queen, which followed. He now bid a perpetual adieu to the state and pomp he had so long sustained, and seems to have for more than a year wandered through the country in search of a roof to protect him. On the capture of Dumbarton Castle, in 1571, the governor of which had bestowed on him temporary protection, he was tried on an accusation of four several acts of treason. 1st, "That he knew, and was participand or accomplice in the murdering of King Henry, the queen's husband. 2d, That he conspired against the king's person at the murdering of the first regent, intending to have surprised the castle of Stirling, and to have been master thereof at his pleasure. 3d, That he knew, or was participand in the murder of James Earl of Murray, the late regent. 4th, That he lay in wait at the wood of Calendar for the slaughter of Matthew Earl of Lennox, the present regent." With a candour which ought to weigh much with the world in the consideration of the other atrocities of which he has been accused, he confessed with contrition a participation in the third crime laid to his charge. Much confusion and mystery attend the accounts of this trial which have reached our time; but it would appear that some difficulties, either in form or evidence attending the proof of the crimes laid to his charge, prompted recourse to a fiction convenient on such occasions, and disgraceful to the law in which it found a place—an act of forefauilure *in absentia* had been passed against the archbishop in the first parliament of Regent Murray, and in terms of that act he was hanged on the common gibbet of Stirling, in his pontifical robes, on the 5th April, 1571. The ignominy gratuitously bestowed on the reverend head of their party and religion was not soon forgot by the adherents of the Hamiltons, and long after his haughty indomitable spirit had ceased to oppose the progress of the Reformation, his name, and the memory of his fate, were bonds of union to the Papists, and dreaded by the Protestants. Like that of all violent partisans, the memory of Hamilton has been coloured with much blame and with much praise. Buchanan has wasted good Latin both in prose and verse in ascribing to him all the vices of which poor human nature is susceptible—"Archiepiscopus etiam in omnium rerum licentia suis cupiditatibus obsequabatur;"—nor does he hesitate to charge him with accession to two deliberate murders, from the punishment consequent on one of which, his influence protected the principal perpetrator, the father of his mistress. His incontinence is a charge which circumstances have, to a considerable extent, justified.

HAMILTON, PATRICK, one of the first martyrs to the doctrines of the Reformed religion, was born about the year 1503. He was nephew to the Earl

of Arran by his father, and to the Duke of Albany by his mother; and was besides related to King James V. of Scotland. And by this illustrious connection there stands forth another proof of the erroneousness of the commonly received opinion, that the first Reformers were generally men of inferior birth. He was early educated for the church, with high views of preferment from his powerful connections, and, in order that he might prosecute his studies undisturbed by any cares for his present subsistence, had the abbacy of Ferme bestowed upon him. While yet but a very young man he travelled into Germany, with the view of completing those studies which he had begun at home, and to which he had applied himself with great assiduity. Attracted by the fame of the university of Württemberg, he repaired thither, and after remaining some time, removed to that of Marburg, where he was the first who introduced public disputations on theological questions. Here he formed an intimacy with the celebrated reformers Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon, who finding in Hamilton an apt scholar, and one already celebrated for superior talent, soon and successfully instructed him in the new views of religion which they themselves entertained. His rapid progress in these studies delighted his instructors, and not only they themselves, but all who were of their way of thinking, soon perceived that in their young pupil they had found one who would make a distinguished figure in propagating the new faith. Accordingly he became an object of great interest to all the disciples of Luther and Melancthon, who waited with much anxiety to see what part the youthful reformer would take in the enterprise of at once overthrowing the Church of Rome and establishing that of the true religion; a task which not only required talents of the highest order to combat the learned men who were of the opposite faith, but also the most determined courage to face the dangers which were certain to accompany their hostility. In the meantime, Hamilton had come to the resolution of beginning his perilous career in his native country, and with this view returned to Scotland, being yet little more than twenty-three years of age. The gallant young soldier of the true church had no sooner arrived, than, although he knew it was at the hazard of his life, for Huss and Jerome in Germany, and Resby and Craw in Scotland, had already perished by the flames for holding tenets opposed to those of Rome—he began publicly to expose the corruptions of the Romish church, and to point out the errors which had crept into its religion as professed in Scotland. Hamilton's gentle demeanour and powerful eloquence soon procured him many followers, and these were every day increasing in number. The Romish ecclesiastics became alarmed at this progress of heresy, and determined to put an immediate stop to it. Not choosing, however, at first to proceed openly against him, Beaton, then Archbishop of St. Andrews, under pretence of desiring a friendly conference with him on religious matters, invited him to that city, then the headquarters of the Romish church in Scotland. Deceived by the terms of the invitation, Hamilton repaired to St. Andrews. All that Beaton desired was now attained; the young Reformer was within his grasp. One Campbell, a prior of the Black Friars, was employed to confer with him, and to ascertain what his doctrines really were. This duty Campbell performed by means of the most profound treachery. He affected to be persuaded by Hamilton's reasoning, acknowledged that his objections against the Romish religion were well founded, and, in short, seemed a convert to the doctrines of his



unsuspecting victim; and thus obtained from him acknowledgments of opinions which brought him immediately under the power of the church. Campbell having from time to time reported the conversations which took place, Hamilton was at length apprehended in the middle of the night, and thrown into prison. On the day after he was brought before the archbishop and his convention, charged with entertaining sundry heretical opinions, Campbell being his accuser, and as a matter of course Hamilton being found guilty, was sentenced to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices in the church; and furthermore, to be delivered over to the secular arm for corporeal punishment, a result which soon followed. On the afternoon of the same day he was hurried to the stake, lest the king should interfere in his behalf. A quantity of timber, coals, and other combustibles having been collected into a pile in the area before the gate of St. Salvador's College, the young martyr was bound to a stake in the middle of it. A train of powder had been laid to kindle the fire, but the effect of its explosion was only to add to the victim's sufferings, for it failed to ignite the pile, but scorched his face and hands severely. In this dreadful situation he remained, praying fervently the while, and maintaining his faith with unshaken fortitude, until more powder was brought from the castle. The fire was now kindled, and the intrepid sufferer perished, recommending his soul to his God, and calling upon him to dispel the darkness which overshadowed the land.

The infamous and most active agent in his destruction, Campbell, was soon after Hamilton's death seized with a remorse of conscience for the part he had acted in bringing about that tragedy, which drove him to distraction, and he died a year after, under the most dreadful apprehensions of eternal wrath.

HAMILTON, ROBERT, LL.D., a mathematician and political economist, was born in June, 1743. He was the eighth son of Gavin Hamilton,¹ a bookseller and publisher in Edinburgh, whose father was at one time professor of divinity in, and afterwards principal of, the university of Edinburgh. In the life of a student, who has hardly ever left his books to engage even in literary controversy, there is seldom much to attract the attention of the ordinary reader: but when perusing the annals of one of the most feverish periods of the history of the world, posterity may show a wish to know something about the man who discovered the fallacy of the celebrated sinking fund, and checked a nation in the career of extravagance by displaying to it the unpalliated truth of its situation. Holding this in mind, we will be excused for giving to the world some minutæ of this remarkable man, whom neither the events of his life in general, nor his connection with the literary history of the age, would have rendered an object of much biographical interest. Like many men who have signalized themselves for the originality or abstractness of their views, Hamilton in his early years suffered much from constitutional debility, an affliction from which his many after-years were signally exempt, till his last illness his only complaint being a frequent recurrence of lumbago, which gave him a characteristic stoop in walking. He is described as having shown, in the progress of his education, an appetite

for almost every description of knowledge, and to have added to the species of information for which he has been celebrated, a minute acquaintance with classical and general philosophical subjects. A respected friend, long belonging to the circle of Hamilton's literary acquaintance, has described his mind as having less quickness in sudden apprehension of his subject, than power in grappling with all its bearings, and comprehending it thoroughly after it had been sometime submitted to his comprehension; it was exactly of that steady, strong, and trustworthy order on which teachers of sense and zeal love to bestow their labour. He was, in consequence, a general favourite with his instructors, and more especially with the celebrated Matthew Stewart, professor of mathematics in Edinburgh, who looked on the progress and prospects of his future scholar with pride and friendly satisfaction. The partiality of Mr. Hamilton for a literary life he was compelled to yield to circumstances, which rendered it expedient that he should spend some time in the banking establishment of Messrs. William Hogg & Son, as a preparatory introduction to a commercial or banking profession; but this was the less to be regretted, as, if it did not give him the first introduction to the kind of speculation in which he afterwards indulged, it must have early provided him with that practical information on the general money system of the country which his works so strikingly exhibit. Soon after this Mr. Hamilton began to form the literary acquaintance of young men of his own standing and pursuits, some of whom gathered themselves into that knot of confidential literary communication which afterwards expanded into a nursery of orators, statesmen, and philosophers of the highest grade, now well known by the name of the Speculative Society. The manner in which the young political economist became acquainted with Lord Kames, has something in it of the simplicity of that literary free-masonry which generally forms a chain of friendly intercourse between the celebrated men of any particular period, and those who are just rising to replace them in the regard and admiration of the world. His lordship's attention having been attracted by the views on one of his own works, expressed in a criticism which had been anonymously supplied by Mr. Hamilton to one of the periodicals of the day—he conveyed through the same paper a wish that the author of the critique, if already known, might become better known to him, and if a stranger, would communicate to him the pleasure of his acquaintance. The diffident critic was with difficulty prevailed on to accept the flattering offer; the elegant judge expressed considerable surprise at the youth of the writer, when compared with the justness and profundity of his views, and communicated to him, by a general invitation to his house, the advantages of an intercourse with his refined and gifted circle of visitors. In 1766 Mr. Hamilton, then only twenty-three years of age, was prevailed on by his friends to offer himself as a candidate for the mathematical chair of Marischal College in Aberdeen, then vacant by the death of Mr. Stewart, and though unsuccessful, the appointment being in favour of Mr. Trail, he left behind him a very high sense of his abilities in the minds of the judges of the competition, one of whom, in a letter to Dr. Gregory, states that “he discovered a remarkable genius for mathematics, and a justness of apprehension and perspicuity that is rarely to be met with.”—“He is,” continues the same individual, “an excellent demonstrator; always planned out his demonstration with judgment, and apprised his audience where the stress lay, so that he brought it to a conclusion in a most perspicuous manner, and in such

¹ Gavin Hamilton executed an ingenious and accurate model of Edinburgh, which cost him some years' labour, and was exhibited in a room in the Royal Infirmary in 1753 and 1754; after his death it was neglected and broken up for firewood. It represented a scheme for an access to the High Street by a sloping road from the West Church; precisely the idea subsequently acted upon in the improvement of the city.

a way that no person of common understanding could miss it." After this unsuccessful attempt to acquire a situation more congenial to his pursuits, Mr. Hamilton became a partner in the conducting of a paper-mill which had been established by his father—a concern which, in 1769, he relinquished to the care of a manager on his appointment to the rectorship of the academy at Perth. In 1771 he married Miss Anne Mitchell of Ladath, whom he had the misfortune of losing seven years afterwards. In 1779 the chair of natural philosophy in Marischal College, in the gift of the crown, was presented to Dr. Hamilton. From this chair Dr. Copeland—a gentleman whose high scientific knowledge and private worth rendered him, to all who had the means of knowing his attainments (of which he has unfortunately left behind him no specimen), as highly respected for his knowledge of natural philosophy and history as his colleague was for that of the studies he more particularly followed—had been removed to the mathematical chair in the same university. The natural inclination and studies of each led him to prefer the situation of the other to his own, and after teaching the natural philosophy class for one year, Dr. Hamilton effected an exchange with his colleague, satisfactory to both. He was not, however, formally presented to the mathematical chair till several years afterwards.

A short time previous to this period Dr. Hamilton had commenced the series of useful works which have so deservedly raised his name. In 1777 appeared the practical work so well known by the name of *Hamilton's Merchandise*; he published in 1790 a short essay on *Peace and War*, full of those benevolent doctrines which even a civilized age so seldom opposes to the progress of licensed destruction. In 1796 Dr. Hamilton published his *Arithmetic*—a work which has been frequently reprinted; and in 1800 another work of a similar elementary description, called *Heads of a Course of Mathematics*, intended for the use of his own students: but the great work so generally attached to his name did not appear till he had passed his seventieth year. *The Inquiry concerning the Reason and Progress, the Redemption and Present State of the National Debt of Great Britain* was published at Edinburgh in 1813. It created in every quarter, except that which might have best profited by the warning voice, a sudden consciousness of the folly of the system under which the national income was in many respects conducted, but it was not till his discoveries had made their silent progress through the medium of public opinion that they began gradually to affect the measures of the government. The principal part of this inquiry is devoted to the consideration of the measures which have at different periods been adopted for attempting the reduction of the national debt. The earliest attempt at a sinking fund was made in the year 1716, under the auspices of Sir Robert Walpole—a measure of which that acute minister may not improbably have seen the inutility—as in the year 1733 he applied five millions of the then sinking fund to the public exigencies. The principle always nominally existed, although it was not maintained with constant regularity and zeal, until the year 1786, when the celebrated sinking fund of Mr. Pitt was formed, by the disposal of part of the income of the nation to commissioners for the redemption of the debt—a measure which was modified in 1792 by the assignment of one per cent. annually on the nominal capital of each loan contracted during the war, as a sinking fund appropriated for the redemption of the particular loan to which it was attached. It underwent several other modifications, particularly in 1802 and 1807. The great prophet and propounder

of this system, the celebrated Dr. Price, unfolded his views on the subject in his treatise *Of Reversionary Annuities*, published in 1771. It is a general opinion that an application to studies strictly numerical will abstract the mind from the prejudice and enthusiasm of theory. Dr. Price has proved the fallacy of such a principle by supporting his tables of calculations with all the virulence and impatience of a vindicator of the authenticity of Ossian's poems or of the honour of Queen Mary. Dr. Price has given us a glowing example of his theory, the often-repeated instance of the state of a penny set aside and allowed to accumulate from the time of Christ: if allowed to remain at compound interest, it will accumulate to (we forget exactly how many million globes of gold, each the size of our own earth), if it accumulate at simple interest, the golden vision shrinks to the compass of a few shillings; and if not put out at interest at all, it will continue throughout all ages the pitiful penny it was at the commencement. The application of the principle to an easy and cheap method of liquidating the national debt was so obvious to Dr. Price, that he treated the comparative coldness with which his advice was received as a man who considered that his neighbours are deficient in comprehending the first rules of arithmetic; and it certainly is a singular instance of the indolence of the national mind, and the readiness with which government grasped at any illusive theory which showed a healing alternative to the extravagance of its measures, that no one appeared to propose the converse of the simile, and to remind the visionary financier that in applying it to national borrowing, the borrower, by allowing one of the pennies he has borrowed to accumulate in his favour at compound interest, is in just the same situation as if he had deducted the penny from the sum he borrowed, and thus prevented the penny and its compound interest from accumulating against him. The practical results of Dr. Price's theories were, the proposal of a plan by which a nation might borrow at simple interest, and accumulate at compound interest a fund for its repayment: boldly pushing his theory to its extremities, and maintaining that it is better to borrow at high than at low interest, because the debt will be more speedily repaid; and, as a corollary, that a sinking fund during war is more efficient than at any other time, and that to terminate it *then* is "the madness of giving it a mortal blow." The supposition maintained by Dr. Hamilton, in opposition to these golden visions of eternal borrowing for the purpose of increasing national riches, did not require the aid of much rhetoric for its support—it is, that if a person borrows money, and assigns a part of it to accumulate at compound interest for the repayment of the whole, he is just in the same situation as if he had deducted that part from his loan—and hence the general scope of his argument goes to prove the utter uselessness of a borrowed sinking fund, and the fallacy of continuing its operation during war, or when the expenditure of the nation overbalances the income. The absurdity of setting aside a portion of the sum borrowed for this purpose (and generally borrowed at more disadvantageous terms as the loan is to any degree increased) was partially prevented by a suggestion of Mr. Fox; but the sinking fund was strictly a borrowed one, in as far as money was laid aside for it, while the nation was obliged to borrow for the support of its expenditure. The evil of the system is found by Dr. Hamilton to consist not only in the fallacy it imposes on the public, but in its positive loss of resources. The loans are raised at a rate more disadvantageous to the borrower than that at which the creditor afterwards receives payment of them, and the management of the

system is expensive. If a man who is in debt borrows merely for the purpose of paying his debt, and transacts the business himself, he merely exposes himself to more trouble than he would have encountered by continuing debtor to his former creditor; if he employ an agent to transact the business, he is a loser by the amount of fees paid to that agent.

These truths Dr. Hamilton is not content with proving argumentatively; he has coupled them with a minute history of the various financial proceedings of the country, and tables of practical calculation, giving on the one hand historical information, and on the other showing the exact sums which the government has at different periods misapplied. Along with Mr. Pitt's system of finance he has given an account of that of Lord Henry Petty, established in 1807—a complicated scheme, the operation of which seems not to have been perceived by its inventor, and which, had it continued for any length of time, might have produced effects more ruinous than those of any system which has been devised. The summary of his proofs and discussions on the subject, as expressed in his own words, is not very flattering to the principle which has been in general followed. "The excess of revenue above expenditure is the only real sinking fund by which the public debt can be discharged. The increase of the revenue, or the diminution of expense, are the only means by which a sinking fund can be enlarged, and its operations rendered more effectual; and all schemes for discharging the national debt by sinking funds, operating by compound interest, or in any other manner, unless so far as they are founded upon this principle, are illusory." But it cannot be said that Dr. Hamilton has looked with a feeling of anything resembling enmity on the object of his attack; he has allowed the sinking fund all that its chief supporters now pretend to arrogate to it, although the admission comes more in the form of palliation than of approbation. "If the nation," he says, "impressed with a conviction of the importance of a system established by a popular minister, has, in order to adhere to it, adopted measures either of frugality in expenditure, or exertion in raising taxes, which it would not otherwise have done, the sinking fund ought not to be considered inefficient: and its effects may be of great importance."—"The sinking fund," says an illustrious commentator on Dr. Hamilton's work, in the Supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, following up the same train of reasoning, "is therefore useful as an engine of taxation;" and now that the glorious vision of the great financial dreamer has vanished, and left nothing behind it but the operation of the ordinary dull machinery by which debts are paid off through industry and economy, one can hardly suppose that the great minister who set the engine in motion was himself ignorant (however much he might have chosen others to remain so) of its real powerlessness. The discovery made by Dr. Hamilton was one of those few triumphant achievements which, founded on the indisputable ground of practical calculation, can never be controverted or doubted; and although a few individuals, from a love of system, while apparently admitting the truths demonstrated by Dr. Hamilton in attempting to vindicate the system on separate grounds, have fallen, *mutato nomine*, into the same fallacy,¹ the Edinburgh reviewers, Ricardo, Say, and all the eminent political economists of the age, have supported his doctrine, while the venerable Lord Grenville—a member of the administration which devised the sinking fund, and for some

time first lord of the treasury—has, in a pamphlet which affords a striking and noble specimen of political candour, admitted that the treatise of Dr. Hamilton opened his eyes to the fallacy of his once favourite measure.

A year after the publication of this great work the laborious services of the venerable philosopher were considered as well entitling him to leave the laborious duties of his three mathematical classes to the care of an assistant, who was at the same time appointed his future successor. The person chosen was Mr. John Cruickshank, a gentleman who, whether or not he proved fruitful in the talents which distinguished his predecessor, must be allowed to have been more successful in preserving the discipline of his class—a task for which the absent habits of Dr. Hamilton rendered him rather unfit. In 1825 Dr. Hamilton's declining years were saddened by the death of his second wife, a daughter of Mr. Morison of Elsick, whom he had married in 1782; and on the 14th day of July, 1829, he died in the bosom of his family, and in that retirement which his unobtrusive mind always courted, and which he had never for any considerable period relinquished. Dr. Hamilton left three daughters, of whom the second was married to Mr. Thomson of Banchory in Kincardineshire, and the youngest to the Rev. Robert Swan of Abercrombie in Fife. He had no family by his second wife.

Dr. Hamilton was remarkable for his absence—not that he mingled subjects with each other, and mistook what he was thinking about, the error of a weak mind—but he was frequently engaged in his mathematical studies when other persons were differently employed. As with other absent men, numberless are the anecdotes which are preserved of his abstractions—many of them doubtless unfounded, while, at the same time, it must be allowed that he frequently afforded amusement to inferior wits. He possessed a singular diffidence of manner, which in a less remarkable man might have been looked upon as humility. Taking advantage of this feeling, and of his frequent abstractions, his class gave him perpetual annoyance, and in the latter days of his tuition, the spirit of mischief and trickery, natural when it can be followed up in classes the greater portion of which consisted of mere boys, created scenes of perfect anarchy and juvenile mischief. The author of this memoir recollects distinctly his stooping shadowy figure as he glided through the rest of his colleagues in the university, with his good-humoured small round face, and his minute but keenly twinkling eyes, surrounded by a thousand wrinkles, having in his manner so little of that pedagogical importance so apt to distinguish the teachers of youth, especially in spots where the assumption of scientific knowledge is not held in curb by intercourse with an extensive body of men of learning. It is not by any means to be presumed, however, that the subject of our memoir, though retired, and occasionally abstracted in his habits, excluded himself from his due share in the business of the world. He led a generally active life. He maintained a correspondence with various British statesmen on important subjects, and with Say and Fahrenberg, the latter of whom requested permission to translate the work on the national debt into German. He frequently represented his college in the General Assembly. On the bursary funds of the university, and on the decision of a very important prize intrusted to him and his colleagues, he bestowed much time and attention; and he gave assistance in the management of the clergymen's widows' fund of Scotland, and in plans for the maintenance of the poor of Aberdeen.

It was once proposed among some influential in-

¹ Vide "A Letter to Lord Grenville on the Sinking Fund," by Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, Esq., M.P. London, 1828.

habitants of Aberdeen that a public monument should be erected to the memory of this, one of the most eminent of its citizens. Strangers have remarked, not much to the credit of that flourishing town, that while it has produced many great men, few have been so fortunate as to procure from its citizens any mark of posthumous respect. We sincerely hope the project may not be deserted, and that such a testimony of respect will yet appear to a man on whom the city of Aberdeen may with more propriety bestow such an honour than on any stranger, however illustrious.

HAMILTON, THOMAS, R.S.A. This distinguished architect, of whose professional talents some of the noblest modern buildings of Edinburgh are the abiding monuments, was the son of David Hamilton, architect, of whom a brief notice has been given in our pages. The subject of the present memoir was not merely by birth, but also innate genius, an architect; and as such his reputation in his own particular department has outstripped that of his father. He might have risen to higher eminence still, had it not been for his taciturnity and bashfulness, the result in a great measure of a constitutional deafness, which prevented him from showing what he was worth, and advocating his proper claims to general attention. A beautiful structure might rise in his imagination, which he could afterwards realize in stone; but it was like the silent rising of Solomon's temple: he could not talk of the plan in detail, point out its beauties, and refute every objection, so that men might be convinced of its superior excellence; and thus some of his noblest subjects shared the fate of castles in the air. From the same diffident silence there is nothing to record of his life, except the edifices he raised in Edinburgh, of which city he was a taciturn inhabitant.

During a long period the architectural achievements by which Mr. Thomas Hamilton co-operated in raising the homely "Auld Reekie" into the "Modern Athens," are too numerous to particularize; and to the chief of them we can only bestow a passing notice. First in order may be mentioned the High-school, that most classical of buildings on the most picturesque and appropriate of sites—externally, a noble Grecian temple worthy of the days of Pericles, and internally an academy of commodious class-rooms, upon which the eye of the stranger rests with more than ordinary admiration. Another of his works equally classical in its character, although more limited, is the façade of the Physicians' Hall, Queen Street. A third, and one not unworthy of his reputation, is the Burns' monument upon the Calton Hill. The new approaches to Edinburgh by the South, and that by George IV. Bridge, the head of Bow Street, and the Castle Road were designed by Mr. Hamilton. He also submitted a magnificent set of designs for the galleries of the Royal Scottish Academy; but these, greatly to the regret of his admirers, were set aside in favour of the building planned by the late Mr. Playfair. His taste and professional skill were also attested in those church buildings which he planned when the Disruption of the Church of Scotland created a sudden demand for such erections.

For a long period Mr. Thomas Hamilton was treasurer to the Royal Scottish Academy, of which he was one of the original founders, and on all occasions he was a vigorous supporter of the independence and dignity of national art. His knowledge of ancient and modern art was extensive, and he enjoyed the friendships of most of the leading artists both at home and abroad. At the Exhibition of the Fine

Arts in Paris in 1855, the gold medal was awarded to him, and in the Exhibition of the Scottish Academy in 1858, his drawing of the high-school, Edinburgh, fully attested how worthily that honour was bestowed. Such is the brief record of a highly-talented but silent meditative man, who died in February, 1858. The eulogy accompanying the intimation of his demise in the public print from which we have chiefly derived this sketch, is just and appropriate: "In all his works there is a bold originality of design, combined with a masterly knowledge of the elements of his art which could render his ideas most effective, and it must ever be regretted that a mind so cultivated and so original had not an opportunity of having its resources more amply developed."

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, of Bangour, a poet of considerable merit, was the second son of James Hamilton, Esq., of Bangour, advocate, and was born at Bangour in 1704. He was descended from the Hamiltons of Little Earnock in Ayrshire; his great-grandfather James Hamilton (second son of John Hamilton of Little Earnock) being the founder of the family of Bangour. On the death of his brother (who married Elizabeth Dalrymple) without issue, in 1750, the subject of this memoir succeeded to the estate. Born in elevated circumstances and in polished society, Mr. Hamilton received all the accomplishments which a liberal education, with these advantages, could afford; and although exposed, as all young persons of his rank usually are, to the light dissipations of gay life, he resisted every temptation, and in a great measure dedicated his time to the improvement of his mind. The state of his health, which was always delicate, and his natural temperament, leading him to prefer privacy and study to mixing frequently in society, he early acquired a taste for literature, and he soon obtained a thorough and extensive acquaintance with the best authors, ancient and modern. The leaning of his mind was towards poetry, and he early composed many pieces of distinguished merit. Encouraged by the approbation of his friends, as well as conscious of his own powers, he was easily induced to persevere in the cultivation of his poetic tendencies. Many of his songs breathe the true spirit of Scottish melody, especially his far-famed *Braes of Yarrow*.

Thus in calm retirement, and in the pursuit of knowledge, his life might have passed serenely, undisturbed by the calls of ambition, or the toils and alarms of war, had it not been for the ill-judged attempt of an adventurous prince to recover the throne of his ancestors. At the commencement of the insurrection of 1745 Mr. Hamilton, undeterred by the attainder and exile of his brother-in-law the Earl of Carnwath,¹ for his share in the rebellion in 1715, joined the standard of Prince Charles, and celebrated his first success at Prestonpans in the well-known Jacobite ode of *Gladsmuir*. After the battle of Culloden, so disastrous to the prince and his followers, he fled to the mountain and the glen; and there for a time endured much wandering and many hardships. Finally, however, he succeeded, with some others in the same proscribed situation, in escaping into France. But his exile was short. He had many friends and admirers among the adherents of King George, and through their intercession his pardon was speedily procured from government. He accordingly returned home, and resumed possession of his paternal estate. His health, however, at all times weak, by the hardships he had endured, as well as from his anxiety of mind, had now become

¹ The earl married, as his third wife, Margaret, the poet's sister.

doubt so, and required the benefit of a warmer climate. He therefore soon afterwards returned to the Continent, and for the latter years of his life took up his residence at Lyons, where a slow consumption carried him off on the 25th March, 1754, in the fiftieth year of his age. His corpse was brought to Scotland, and interred in the abbey church of Holyrood.

Mr. Hamilton was twice married, into families of distinction, and by his first lady, a daughter of Sir James Hall of Dunglass, baronet, he had issue one son, James, who succeeded him.

Though Mr. Hamilton's works do not place him among the highest class of Scottish poets, he is fully entitled to rank among those of a secondary order. What was much in his favour, certainly not in furtherance of his facility of composition, but as an advantage to his fame, is, that for a whole century previous to the time he began to write, few names of any consequence were known in Scottish poetry. From 1615 till 1715 no poet of any note—except only Drummond and Stirling—had appeared.

From the days of Buchanan, the only other poets we could then boast of, following the example of that leading intellect, had composed in a language utterly opposite to their own, in construction, copiousness, and facility—we mean the Latin: and inferior poets as well as inferior scholars to Hamilton, in compliment to the reigning fashion, continued to use that didactic and difficult language for the expression of their sentiments. Hamilton, therefore, had much to overcome in entering the lists as an original writer in his own language, the elegance, the purity, and the freedom, though perhaps not the force nor the energy of which he understood so well. He was convinced that the greater part, if not the whole, of those authors who preferred composing in a dead language would be utterly unknown to posterity, except perhaps to a few of the literati and the learned. But at the dawn of the eighteenth century the scholastic spell was at length broken, and Hamilton and Ramsay were among the first who gave utterance to their feelings, the one in English and the other in his native Scottish dialect; and this perhaps even to the present day constitutes the principal cause of their fame. It may safely be asserted that, in the works of Hamilton and Ramsay, there is more genuine poetry than in the works of the whole century of Latin poets who preceded them; though this may be denied by those classic readers who are still in the habit of poring into the lucubrations of those authors, the greater part of whom have long ceased to be known to the general reader, while the works of Hamilton and Ramsay are still read and admired.

Mr. Hamilton's poems were first published by Foulis at Glasgow in 1748, 12mo, and afterwards reprinted; but this volume was a pirated publication, and appeared not only without his name, but without his consent, and even without his knowledge; and, as might have been expected, it abounded in errors. He was then abroad, and it was thought the appearance of that collection would have produced from him a more perfect edition: but though on his return he corrected many errors, and considerably enlarged some of the poems, he did not live to furnish a new and complete edition. It remained therefore for his friends after his death to publish from his original manuscripts the first genuine and correct collection of his works. It appeared in one volume small 8vo, at Edinburgh in 1760, with a head by Strange, who had been a fellow-adventurer with him in the cause of Prince Charles.

This volume did not at first attract any particular notice, and his poems were rapidly fading from

public remembrance, when an attempt was made by Professor Richardson of Glasgow to direct the attention of the public to his merits. In a very able criticism from the pen of that gentleman which appeared in the *Lounger*, among other observations no less just, the following formed one of his principal remarks: "The poems of Hamilton display regular design, just sentiments, fanciful invention, pleasing sensibility, elegant diction, and smooth versification." Mr. Richardson then enters into an analysis of Hamilton's principal poem of *Contemplation*, or *The Triumph of Love*. He descants chiefly on the quality of fanciful invention as being the principal characteristic of poetical composition. He says "that Mr. Hamilton's imagination is employed among beautiful and engaging, rather than among awful and magnificent images, and even when he presents us with dignified objects he is more grave than lofty, more solemn than sublime."—"It is not asserted," continues Mr. Richardson, in illustrating the 'pleasing sensibility' he ascribes to Hamilton, "that he displays those vehement tumults and ecstasies of passion that belong to the higher kind of lyric and dramatic composition. He is not shaken with excessive rage, nor melted with overwhelming sorrow; yet when he treats of grave or affecting subjects, he expresses a plaintive and engaging softness. He is never violent and abrupt, and is more tender than pathetic. Perhaps the *Braes of Yarrow*, one of the finest ballads ever written, may put in a claim to superior distinction. But even with this exception, I should think our poet more remarkable for engaging tenderness than for deep and affecting pathos. In like manner, when he expresses the joyful sentiments, or describes scenes and objects of festivity, which he does very often, he displays good humour and easy cheerfulness, rather than the transports of mirth or the brilliancy of wit."

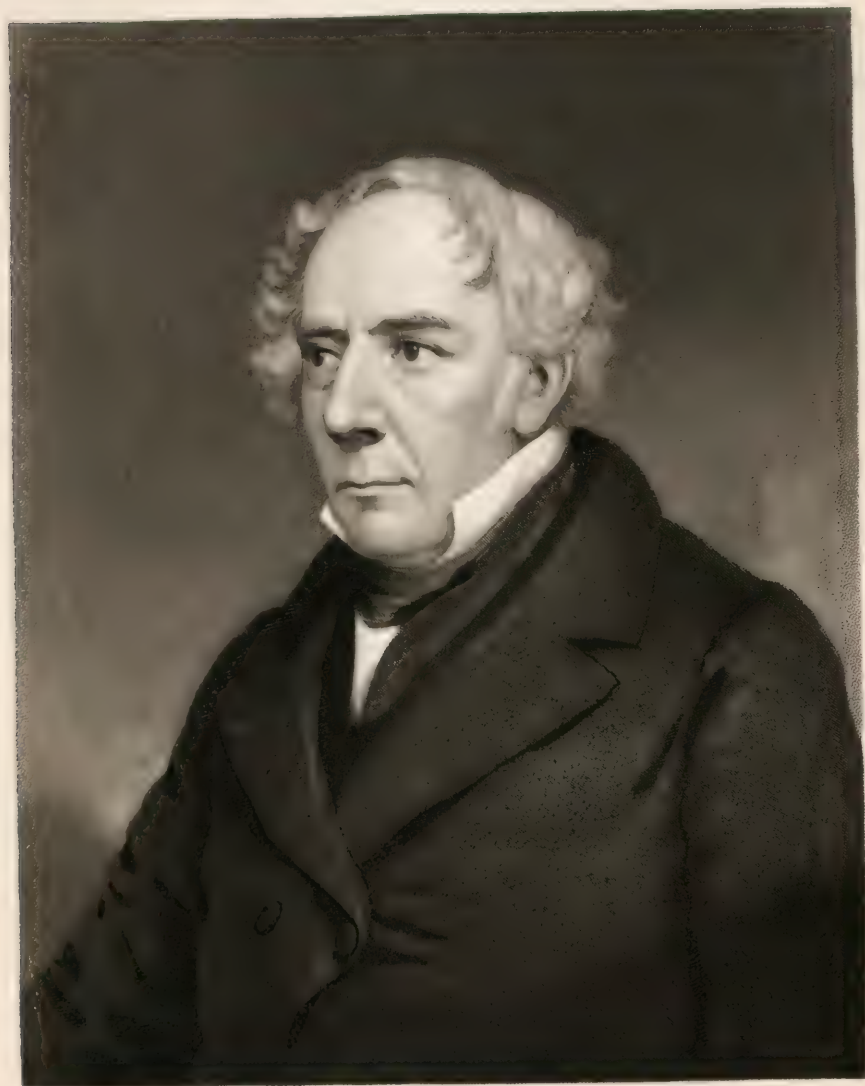
Mr. Richardson, in illustration of these characteristics, quotes some passages which convey the most favourable impression of Mr. Hamilton's poetical powers.

Mr. M'Kenzie, the ingenious editor of the *Lounger*, enforced the judgment pronounced by Mr. Richardson in a note, in which he not only fully agrees with him, but even goes farther in Mr. Hamilton's praise. Lord Woodhouselee was also among the first to acknowledge his excellence and vindicate his fame. He thus speaks of Mr. Hamilton in his life of Lord Kames, "Mr. Hamilton's mind is pictured in his verses. They are the easy and careless effusions of an elegant fancy and a chastened taste; and the sentiments they convey are the genuine feelings of a tender and susceptible heart, which perpetually owned the dominion of some favourite mistress: but whose passion generally evaporated in song, and made no serious or permanent impression. His poems had an additional charm to his contemporaries from being commonly addressed to his familiar friends of either sex by name. There are few minds insensible to the soothing flattery of a poet's record."

The only poem which Mr. Hamilton wrote in his native dialect was the *Braes of Yarrow*, which has been almost universally acknowledged to be one of the finest ballads ever written. But Mr. Pinkerton, whose opinion of the ancient ballad poetry of Scotland has always had considerable weight, has passed a different judgment on it. "It is," says he, "in very bad taste, and quite unlike the ancient Scottish manner, being even inferior to the poorest of the old ballads with this title. His repeated words and lines causing an eternal jingle, his confused narration and affected pathos, throw this piece among the rubbish of poetry." The jingle and affected pathos



We have the pleasure of sending to our readers, as an attraction and embellishment of our present number, the rare portrait of Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, the great metaphysician of Scotland. A biographical sketch of his life and mind will be found in the letter-



W. Hamilton

which he lodged in our national museum, that naturalists might be able to trace a connection betwixt these immediate productions of the volcano, and other portions of the crust of the globe. These remarks were afterwards digested and systematized, and produced, first, *Observations on Mount Vesuvius, Mount Etna, and other Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies*, published in London in 1772. The next, a more aspiring work, was published at Naples in 1776, in two folio volumes, and called "*Campi Phlegrei, Observations on the Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies*, as they have been communicated to the Royal Society of London, by Sir William Hamilton." The numerous plates in this magnificent work of art, from views taken on the spot by Mr. Valis, a British artist, are faintly engraved in little more than outline, and coloured with so much depth and truth, that they assume the appearance of original water-colour drawings of a very superior order. They are illustrative of his favourite theory, and represent those geological aspects of the country which he considered peculiarly applicable as illustrations. It is to be remarked, that neither in his communications to the Royal Society, nor in his larger works, does this author trace any complete exclusive system. He merely points out the facts on which others may work, acknowledging that he is disposed to pay more respect to the share which fire has had in the formation of the crust of the earth, than Buffon and others are disposed to admit. "By the help of drawings," he says, "in this new edition of my communications to the society, which so clearly point out the volcanic origin of this country, it is to be hoped that farther discoveries of the same nature may be made, and that subterraneous fires will be allowed to have had a greater share in the formation of mountains, islands, and even tracts of land, than has hitherto been suspected." Many men of eminence at that time visited Sir William Hamilton, and marked the progress of his discoveries, and among the rest Monsieur Saussure, professor of natural history at Geneva, who accompanied him in his investigations, and acceded to the arguments he derived from them. During the course of his communications to the Royal Society, it was the fortune of the author to have an opportunity of witnessing Vesuvius in eruption.

In October, 1767, occurred the eruption which is considered to have been the twenty-seventh from that which in the days of Titus destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii. The mountain was visited by Hamilton and a party of his friends during this interesting scene, which has afforded material for one of the most graphic of his communications. But a grander scene of devastation attracted his attention in October, 1779, when the unfortunate inhabitants of Otaiano had reason to dread the fate described by Pliny. Of this memorable eruption our author transmitted an account to Sir Joseph Banks, which he afterwards published as a supplement to his *Campi Phlegrei*.

Previously to the period of the last event we have mentioned, the subject of our memoir was connected with the preparation of another great work, for which the world has incurred to him a debt of gratitude. He had made a vast collection of Etruscan antiquities—vases, statues, and fresco paintings, partly dug from the earth, and partly purchased from the museums of the decayed nobility, among which was that great collection now deposited in the British Museum, which had belonged to the senatorial house of Porcinari. Of the most precious of these remains of antiquity, Hamilton allowed the adventurer D'Hancerville to publish illustrated plates, liberally allowing the artist to appropriate the whole profits of the

work. "Long since," he says, "Mr. Hamilton had taken pleasure in collecting those precious monuments, and had afterwards trusted them to him for publication, requiring only some elegance in the execution, and the condition that the work should appear under the auspices of his Britannic majesty." The work accordingly was published at Naples, under the title of *Antiquités Etrusques, Grecques, et Romaines*. The Abbé Winckelman mentions that two volumes of this work were published in 1765, and two others the year following. Along with the author of a notice of Sir William Hamilton's life, which appeared in *Baldwin's Literary Journal*, we have been unable to discover a copy of the two former volumes of this work, or to find any reference to them on which we can repose trust; nor do we perceive that the two latter volumes bear the marks of being a continuation, and neither of the after editions of Paris, 1787, and Florence, 1801 and 1808, which might have informed us on this subject, are at present accessible to us. The two volumes we have mentioned as having seen contain general remarks on the subjects of the plates, in English and French, which both the imaginative matter and the language show to have been translated from the latter language into the former. The plates, by far the most valuable part of the work, introduced a new spirit into the depiction of the useful remains of antiquity, which enabled the artist who wished to imitate them to have as correct an idea of the labours of the ancients as if the originals were before him. The terra-cotta vases predominate; some of these are votive offerings, others have been adapted for use. A general view of the form of each is given, with a measurement, along with which there is a distinct fac-simile of the paintings which so frequently occur on these beautiful pieces of pottery; the engraving is bold and accurate, and the colouring true to the original. This work has been the means of adding the bold genius of classic taste to modern accuracy and skill in workmanship. From the painter and statuary to the fabricator of the most grotesque drinking cup, it has afforded models to artists, and is confidently asserted to have gone far in altering and improving the general taste of the age. During the exertions we have been commemorating, Hamilton was in the year 1772 created a knight of the Bath—a circumstance which will account for our sometimes varying his designation, as the events mentioned happened previously to, or after his elevation. The retired philosophical habits of Sir William Hamilton prevented him in the earliest years of his mission from forming intimacies with persons similarly situated, and he lived a life of domestic privacy, study, and observation of nature. But fame soon forced friends on his retirement, and all the eminent persons who visited his interesting neighbourhood became his guests. One of his friends, the French ambassador at the court of Naples, has told us that he protected the arts because the arts protected him and enriched him. The motives of the characteristic may be doubted. A love of art fascinates even mercenary men into generosity, and the whole of Sir William Hamilton's conduct shows a love of art, and a carelessness of personal profit by his knowledge, not often exhibited. Duclos, secretary of the French Academy, on visiting Naples, has drawn an enthusiastic picture of the felicity then enjoyed by Sir William Hamilton—his lady and himself in the prime of life, his daughter just opening to womanhood, beauty, and accomplishments; the public respect paid to his merits, and the internal peace of his amiable family; but this state of things was doomed to be sadly reversed. In 1775 Sir William lost his

only daughter, and in 1782 he had to deplore the death of a wife who had brought him competence and domestic peace. After an absence of twenty years he revisited Britain in 1784. The purpose of this visit is whispered to have been that he might interfere with an intended marriage of his nephew, Mr. Greville, to Miss Emma Hart. If such was his view, it was fulfilled in a rather unexpected manner. It is at all times painful to make written reference to those private vices, generally suspected and seldom proved, the allusion to which usually receives the name of "scandal;" but in the case of the second Lady Hamilton they have been so unhesitatingly and amply detailed by those who have chosen to record such events, and so complacently received by the lady herself and her friends, that they must be considered matters of history, which no man will be found chivalrous enough to contradict. This second Theodosia passed the earlier part of her life in obscurity and great indigence, but soon showed that she had various ways in which she might make an independent livelihood. Some one who has written her memoirs has given testimony to the rather doubtful circumstance, that her first act of infamy was the consequence of charitable feeling, which prompted her to give her virtue in exchange for the release of a friend who had been impressed. Be this as it may, she afterwards discovered more profitable means of using her charms. At one time she was a comic actress—at another, under the protection of some generous man of fashion; but her chief source of fame and emolument seems to have been her connection with Romney and the other great artists of the day, to whom she seems to have furnished the models of more goddesses than classic poets ever invented. Mr. Greville, a man of accurate taste, had chosen her as his companion, and the same principles of correct judgment which regulated his choice probably suggested a transference of his charge to the care of Sir William Hamilton. His own good opinion of her merits, and the character she had received from his friend, prompted Sir William soon after to marry this woman, and she took the title of Lady Hamilton in 1791. At that time both returned to Britain, where Sir William attempted in vain to procure for his fair but frail bride an introduction to the British court, which might authorize, according to royal etiquette, her presentation at the court of Naples. But this latter was found not so difficult a barrier as that which it was considered necessary to surmount before attempting it. The beauty, and perhaps the engaging talents, of Lady Hamilton procured for her notoriety, and notoriety brings friends. She contrived to be essentially useful, and very agreeable, to the King and Queen of the Sicilies; and procured for herself their friendship, and for her husband additional honours. Her connection with Lord Nelson, and the manner in which she did the state service, are too well known; but justice, on passing speedily over the unwelcome subject, cannot help acknowledging that she seems here to have felt something like real attachment. The latter days of this woman restored her to the gloom and obscurity of her origin. She made ineffectual attempts after the death of her husband to procure a pension from government. Probably urged by necessity, she insulted the ashes of the great departed, by publishing her correspondence with Lord Nelson, followed by a denial of her accession to the act, which did not deceive the public. She died at Calais in February, 1815, in miserable obscurity and debt, without a friend to follow her to the grave, and those who took an interest in the youthful daughter of Nelson, with difficulty

prevented her from being seized, according to a barbarous law, for the debts of her mother.

But we return with pleasure to the more legitimate object of our details. There was one subject of importance on which some prejudices on the part of the Sicilian government prevented Sir William Hamilton from acquiring that knowledge which he thought might be interesting and useful to his country. A chamber in the royal museum of Portici had been set aside for containing the manuscripts, of which a small collection had been found in an edifice in Pompeii; and on the discovery that these calcined masses were genuine manuscripts of the days of Pliny, the greatest curiosity was manifested to acquire a knowledge of their contents. The government was assailed by strangers for the watchfulness with which these were kept from their view, and the little exertion which had been bestowed in divulging their contents: the latter accusation was perhaps scarcely just; some venerable adherents of the Church of Rome did not hesitate to spend months of their own labour in exposing to the world the sentences which an ancient Roman had taken a few minutes to compose. The public were soon made sufficiently acquainted with the subject to be disappointed at the exposure of a few sentences of the vilest of scholastic stuff; and the narrow-mindedness of which Sir William Hamilton had to complain has been since discontinued, and England has had an opportunity of showing her skill in the art of unrolling papyrus. To acquire the information, for which he found the usual means unavailing, Sir William Hamilton entered into an agreement with Father Anthony Piaggi, a Piarist monk, the most diligent of the decipherers, by which, in consideration of a salary of £100, the latter was to furnish the former with a weekly sheet of original information, which, to avoid ministerial detection, was to be written in cipher. The contract seems to have been executed to the satisfaction of both parties, and Sir William procured for Father Anthony an addition to his salary equal to the sum at which it was originally fixed; and on the death of the father in 1798 he bequeathed all his manuscripts and papers to his patron. Sir William Hamilton, on his visit to Britain in 1791, was created a privy-councillor. The circumstances which in 1798 compelled him to accompany the Sicilian court to Palermo are matter of history, and need not be here repeated. Sir William Hamilton died in April, 1803, in the seventy-second year of his age. His death deprived the world of two great works which he hoped to have lived to prepare on the subject of the museum of Portici.

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, a celebrated surgeon and lecturer on anatomy and chemistry in the university of Glasgow. This meritorious individual was unfortunately cut off from the world too early in life, and too suddenly, to be enabled to give to the world those works on his favourite science on which he might have founded his fame, and the circle of his influence and renown was hardly so extensive as to attract the attention of posterity; but a tribute to his memory in the form of a memoir of his life, and remarks on his professional acquirements, read by his friend Professor Cleghorn to the Royal Society of Edinburgh,¹ and inserted in the *Transactions* of that eminent body, justifies us in enumerating him among distinguished Scotsmen. William Hamilton was born in Glasgow on the 31st July, 1758. His father was Thomas Hamilton, a respectable surgeon in Glasgow, and professor of anatomy and botany in

¹ Vol. iv. p. 35, read 6th November, 1792.

that university; and his mother, daughter to Mr. Anderson, professor of church history in the same institution. He followed the usual course of instruction in the grammar-school and college of his native city, from which latter he took the degree of Master of Arts in 1775, at the age of seventeen. Being supposed to show an early predilection for the medical profession, he proceeded to Edinburgh, then at the height of its fame as a school for that science, where he studied under Cullen and Black, the early friends of his father. The bad health of his father recalled the young physician after two sessions spent in Edinburgh, and both proceeded on a tour to Bath, and thence to London, where the son was left to pursue his studies, with such an introduction to the notice of Dr. William Hunter as a schoolfellow acquaintanceship between his father and that distinguished man warranted. The prudence, carefulness, and regularity of the young man's conduct while surrounded by the splendour and temptation of the metropolis have been commended by his friends; these praiseworthy qualities, joined to a quick perception on professional subjects, and an anxiety to perfect himself in that branch of his profession which calls for the greatest zeal and enthusiasm on the part of the medical student, attracted the attention of his observing friend. He was requested to take up his residence in Dr. Hunter's house, and finally was trusted with the important charge of the dissecting room—a valuable and probably a delightful duty. He seems to have secured the good opinion he had gained by his performance of this arduous and important function. "I see and hear much of him," says Dr. Hunter in his correspondence with the young man's father, "and everybody regards him as sensible, diligent, sober, and of amiable dispositions."—"From being a favourite with everybody, he has commanded every opportunity for improvement which this great town afforded during his stay here; for everybody has been eager to oblige and encourage him. I can depend so much on him, in every way, that if any opportunity should offer of serving him, whatever may be in my power I shall consider as doing a real pleasure to myself." Such were the character and prospects of one who, it is to be feared, was then nourishing by too intense study the seeds of dissolution in a naturally feeble constitution. Soon after, the father's state of health imperiously requiring an assistant in his lectures, the son undertook that duty, and in 1781, on his father's final resignation, was nominated his successor—a circumstance which enabled his kind friend Dr. Hunter to fulfil his former promise by stating to the Marquis of Graham that he considered it "the interest of Glasgow to give him, rather than his to solicit, the appointment." The father died in 1782, and the son was then left the successor to his lucrative and extensive practice, in addition to the duties of the university. During the short period of his enjoyment of these desirable situations he received from the poorer people of Glasgow the character, seldom improperly conferred, of extending to them the assistance which a physician of talent can so well bestow. He kept for the purpose of his lectures, and for his own improvement, a regular note-book of cases, which he summed up in a tabular digest at the termination of each year. Of these notes he had before his death commenced such an arrangement as would enable him to form from them a system of surgery which he intended to have published. Some extracts from this collection are preserved by the biographer we have mentioned, as characteristics of the style of his composition, and the extent of his observation. In 1783 he married Miss Elizabeth Stirling, a lady

accomplished, and of good connections in Glasgow. Within a very few years after this event, the marked decay of his constitution alarmed his friends, and his knowledge as a physician enabled him to assure himself that death was steadily approaching. He died on the 13th day of March, 1790, in the thirty-second year of his age. Few, even of those who have departed in the pride of life—in the enjoyment of talents, hopes, and prosperity, seem to have caused greater regret, and it cannot be doubted that it was deserved. His style of lectureship as a public instructor is thus described by Mr. Cleghorn:—"As a lecturer, his manner was remarkably free from pomp and affectation. His language was simple and perspicuous, but so artless, that it appeared flat to those who place the beauty of language in the intricacy of arrangement, or the abundance of figures. His manner of speaking corresponded with his style, and was such as might appear uninteresting to those who think it impossible to be eloquent without violent gestures and frequent variations of tone. He used nearly the tone of ordinary conversation, as his preceptor Dr. Hunter did before him, aiming at perspicuity only, and trusting for attention to the importance of the subjects he treated."

HAMILTON, WILLIAM RICHARD, F.R.S., author of the *Ægyptiaca*,¹ an elected trustee of the British Museum, and minister at Naples from 1822 to 1825, was born in 1777. His father, the Rev. Anthony Hamilton, archdeacon of Colchester, vicar of St. Martin's, and rector of Hadham, who married a daughter of Terrick, Bishop of London, was grandson of William Hamilton of Wishaw, by his second wife, Mary Erskine, daughter of Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, and grand-daughter of John seventh Earl of Mar. He was cousin to William Gerard Hamilton, commonly known as Single-speech Hamilton, who for twenty-one years was chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland.

Mr. W. R. Hamilton was from an early age distinguished for his taste and learning, and will long be remembered for the active and zealous part which he took in the administration of affairs during a momentous period of our history. At an early age he was sent to Harrow, then in the zenith of its popularity, and was there the companion of many eminent men. An accident, which somewhat impaired his physical activity during a long life, compelled him to leave that seat of learning; for many months he was confined to his bed, but his mind was not idle; with great courage and perseverance he undertook and completed a translation of the works of the great historian of the Peloponnesian war. For a short time he was a member of each of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Mr. Hamilton commenced his public career in 1799, at the age of twenty-two, when the father of the late Lord Elgin was appointed ambassador to Constantinople. On that occasion he accompanied the noble earl as his attaché and private secretary. While filling that post he was sent by him to various places in the Levant, such as Corfu, Rhodes, Athens, Marmorice Bay, Cerigo, &c., with the view to collecting information and procuring transport and provisions for the English troops in the East, and finally, in 1801, he was sent by Lord Elgin on a diplomatic mission to the commander-in-chief of the British forces in Egypt. On the expulsion of the

¹ In the earlier edition of the *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, this work was erroneously attributed to the Right Hon. Sir William Hamilton. The mistake had evidently originated in the similarity in name, office, and literary pursuits of the two distinguished authors.

French from Alexandria in that year, he was employed in negotiating the terms of peace, by which the French agreed to surrender all the works of ancient Egyptian art which they were on the point of carrying off to France. On this occasion Mr. Hamilton rendered a signal service to the lovers of Egyptian chronology in this country, and secured to the British Museum one of its most valuable treasures. Information having been received that the French had concealed in one of their transports the very remarkable trilingual Rosetta Stone, he asked General Hutchinson for an escort of an officer and file of men, with which he went on board the ship, though the plague had broken out in her, and after many difficulties and remonstrances from General Menou, commanding the French army, he obtained and carried off that valuable prize.

After this Mr. Hamilton, accompanied by his friends Captain Leake and Major Hayes of the Royal Engineers, proceeded in the autumn of 1801 and the following year up the Nile, visiting and minutely examining the various remains of Egyptian sculpture and architecture upon its banks, extending his progress to the second cataract. The publication by him in the year 1809 of a work entitled *Ægyptiaca, or Some Account of the Ancient and Modern State of Egypt*, proved how well in the intervals of his official duties he had employed his time, having found the opportunity during his journey to collect materials for a work containing a vast amount of new information respecting the antiquities of a country at that time but little known.

From Egypt Mr. Hamilton proceeded in 1802 to Greece, where his time was devoted partly to an examination of the many places of antiquarian interest in that classic land, and partly to superintending for Lord Elgin the removal of those celebrated remains of ancient sculpture from the Parthenon and other works of Greek art, now known in the British Museum under the name of the Elgin Marbles. In 1803, while on his way to England with these sculptures, the vessel conveying them was shipwrecked on entering the port of Cerigo. In a few minutes the ship with its valuable cargo went to the bottom, the passengers and crew only just saving their lives by jumping off the bowsprit on to the rocks. Mr. Hamilton remained for several months in Cerigo, superintending the recovery of these treasures of art, and with the assistance of experienced divers, brought from various Mediterranean ports, he eventually succeeded in recovering them, and causing them to be forwarded to England.

On the 5th April, 1804, he was appointed private secretary to the late Earl of Harrowby, and on the 4th of July following, *proleis* writer to Lord Mulgrave. On the 16th October, 1809, he became permanent under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, which post he held during all the remaining years of the war, and until 22d January, 1822, including the period from 1812 to 1822, when Viscount Castlereagh, afterwards Lord Londonderry, was at the head of the foreign affairs of the country. While occupying this post he accompanied Lord Castlereagh to Paris in 1815, and it was chiefly owing to his exertions that the Bourbon government consented to restore to Italy the works of art which the French had on various occasions removed to Paris. The cordial reception which he met with on visiting Italy a few years later, proved how highly the Italians (and especially Canova, with whom he had established a footing of great intimacy and friendship) appreciated his efforts on their behalf.

Mr. Hamilton was one of the three secretaries to the lord-justices in England, during the king's visit

to Hanover in 1821. On the 29th January, 1822, he was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Naples, where he remained till the beginning of 1825.

When the destruction of the houses of parliament in 1834 rendered necessary the building of new houses, Mr. Hamilton was one of the first who energetically raised their voices in favour of a classical style of architecture, in preference to the then fashionable desire for mediæval Gothic. In three letters addressed to Lord Elgin he vigorously, but unsuccessfully, opposed the degenerate taste of the day; and whatever may be said of the intrinsic merits of the buildings which now raise their elaborately ornamented towers in Westminster, there are many persons who now sincerely regret that the opinions which he advocated did not meet with favour and success.

Mr. Hamilton's acknowledged taste in art, sound criticism, and general character and attainments, led to his being appointed, in 1838, one of the elected trustees of the British Museum; for many years he took a leading part in the deliberations and proceedings of that body, until his failing health warned him of the necessity of withdrawing himself from those active duties in which he had till then loved to indulge. He resigned the trusteeship in 1858, after twenty years' official connection with that establishment, to the great regret of his colleagues.

In 1833 Mr. Hamilton was one of those scientific and learned men who established the Royal Geographical Society, of which he was president during several years. He likewise devoted much of his time and thoughts to the Royal Institution, the Royal Society of Literature, and to the Dilettanti Society, of which last he was one of the most zealous and active members till shortly before his death. He was ever ready to afford a hearty patronage to foreign artists and scholars,—the names of Panizzi, Brönsted, and Pistrucci point out the direction of his efforts; and with regard to the last named, it is not too much to say, that without his energetic assistance the world would never have seen the completion of the dies of that work of genius, the great Waterloo medal.

In 1804 Mr. W. R. Hamilton married Juliana Udny, sister of Colonel Udny of Udny in Aberdeenshire. He died in London on the 11th of July, 1859, after an illness of four weeks, in the eighty-third year of his age.

HAMILTON, SIR WILLIAM, of Preston, Bart. This distinguished professor of logic and metaphysics, the most learned and scientific philosopher of the Scottish school, was born in Glasgow on the 8th of March, 1788. Being the head of the Hamiltons of Preston, he inherited the family baronetcy, which had been created in 1673, but had lain dormant, in consequence of Sir Robert Preston, the Covenanter and leader of the insurrection at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, having refused to take the oath of allegiance. Since that time (1688) the title had continued in abeyance, until it was resumed by the subject of the present notice. It was more congenial, however, to the future distinction of Sir William, as an eminent literary scholar and philosopher, that his father Dr. William Hamilton, and his grandfather Dr. Thomas Hamilton, held in succession the chairs of anatomy and botany in the university of Glasgow. It was at this university that Sir William was educated, and there he distinguished himself especially in the philosophical classes, and laid the foundation of those intellectual habits and acquirements which afterwards obtained for him a European reputation. It was in Balliol College, however, that

the superstructure was reared. The Snell foundation of exhibitions to that college has long been a prize fund for the most distinguished students of Glasgow; among other eminent men Adam Smith had been a Snell exhibitor, and the honour of such an appointment was not deteriorated by falling upon Sir William Hamilton. His residence at Balliol College, Oxford, he ever regarded as the most important period of his life. It was amidst the high standard of scholarship established there that he became one of the most illustrious of its classical pupils. It was there also that he prepared himself for those vast acquisitions in ancient, mediæval, and modern knowledge by which he stood so superior to his contemporaries. When he left Oxford in 1812 few students had departed from the walls of its university more completely equipped for a long course of independent self-improvement, or more resolute to follow it out to the close.

In 1813 Sir William was admitted a member of the Scottish bar. The study of law, however, with the exception of Roman law, had no interest for him, and he had no practice as an advocate except that which he was obliged to undertake in consequence of being appointed crown-solicitor of the court of teinds. The study of mental philosophy occupied him so exclusively that he had neither time nor inclination for the study of statutes and precedents. At length the death of Dr. Thomas Brown, in 1820, by which the professorship of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh became vacant, seemed a tempting opportunity to Sir William, and he became a candidate for the chair; but on this occasion the successful competitor was John Wilson. On the following year Sir William Hamilton, by the nomination of the Faculty of Advocates, in whom the appointment is vested, was elected professor of universal history in the same university; but this office, both in duties and emoluments, was little more than nominal, attendance on the class not being imperative on students, and in Sir William's case it was nothing better than a literary title. As such, however, it marked him out for college preferment when the fitting opportunity should arrive. In the meantime his studies continued without interruption. They were of a nature that required much time and thought for maturing, and these he could afford to give, for although not rich, his means were so sufficient as to place him beyond the necessity of dependence. It was not indeed until 1829, when he had arrived at the ripe age of forty, that he published anything; and this was a critique, in the *Edinburgh Review*, of Cousin's *Cours de Philosophie*, which that profound inquirer had published the preceding year, developing his doctrine of the infinite. This he only wrote at the urgent request of the editor of the *Review*, and although the subject was of too weighty a character for the general readers of periodical literature, his contribution was appreciated by those for whom it was chiefly intended, and who could estimate its merits. From the chosen few of our country its reputation extended to the Continent, where such subjects of study were better understood, and Cousin himself acknowledged that this Scottish reviewer was by far the most learned, the most intelligent and able of all his critics and antagonists, and best understood the theory he was combating. After this he continued a series of papers in the *Edinburgh Review*, which only terminated in 1839, ranging over a variety of subjects, chiefly philosophical, among which, two, on the "Philosophy of Perception," and on "Recent Publications in Logical Science," are especially celebrated. Several of the articles are also on education and university reform. The choicest of these contributions

of Sir William, besides being republished in Crosse's *Selections from the Edinburgh Review*, were republished upon the Continent, translated into French, German, and Italian. In 1852 they were all edited and republished by Sir William himself, with large notes and appendices, under the title of *Discussions in Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform*. This collection as yet forms by far the larger proportion of his published writings, and while the variety of learning, and depth and originality of thought, are signal proofs of the author's intellectual powers, this conviction of the reader is accompanied with regret that the amount of such publications from Sir William's pen has not been more ample.

While Sir William Hamilton was thus employed in writing only for the initiated, and enjoying a foreign rather than a home reputation—while he was signaled by Brandis in Germany as the great master of the Peripatetic philosophy, and by Cousin in France as the first metaphysician in Europe—an event occurred in 1836 by which he found his right place at last. The professorship of logic and metaphysics in the college of Edinburgh was vacant, and this charge he won after a hard contest in which the town-council were the judges and patrons. That a community chiefly composed of shopkeepers should have been perplexed in judging of the candidates for such an office, and that their choice should finally have been decided at haphazard, was not to be wondered at, for such might also have been the case although the tribunal had been composed of the wise and learned of the community. For Scotland had ceased to be renowned as a country of hard-headed logicians and subtle metaphysicians. When Sir William's first contribution in the *Edinburgh Review* appeared, M. Cousin had justly said that there were probably not fifty persons in the country who would be able to appreciate its value, or even to understand its meaning. And when Sir William took the chair as its representative, philosophy was at the lowest ebb in Britain. An able author, in describing the condition of the period, has thus expressed himself: "Reid was already forgotten, and the knowledge of mental science possessed, even by the best informed, was at most a polite acquaintance with Stewart, or a popular knowledge of Brown. Across the Channel, France and Germany had been recently roused to new speculative efforts, and the leading minds in both countries were full of excitement on philosophic questions; but in England the profoundest apathy prevailed, none cared for these things. If any reference to them found its way into a magazine or review, it elicited only an unexcited stare, or at most an expression of wonder as to what the writer meant. Logic and metaphysics were exploded as the worthless relics of a dark and barbarous age, mental science was obsolete, and all that remained of philosophy, in any shape, was to be found in Bridgewater treatises, essays on population and political economy, with occasional disquisitions on Jeremy Bentham and his greatest-happiness principle." It was only by extraordinary daring that Sir William attempted to break this confirmed apathy, and to recal the public mind into the path from which it had wandered. But the attempt was successful, and the Scottish intellect returned to those legitimate pursuits for which it had shown such a peculiar aptitude, and upon which its best distinctions were founded.

No sooner had Sir William Hamilton entered into office and commenced its duties, than a controversy arose between him and the patrons of the university about his mode of teaching. Logic and metaphysics, instead of being at the end, were placed at the beginning of the curriculum, and from the general youth of the students at this period of their progress, little

more than the mere elements of these sciences had been imparted. An hour a day was generally devoted to lecturing; and in the course of a single session not only these important departments, but several others, were disposed of. If the teaching of logic and metaphysics, however, was to be anything more than an empty form, a more stringent course was necessary. This Sir William had distinctly announced to the patrons, in the following words, when he offered himself as candidate for the chair:—"I have only further to say to you, that what I have formerly more articulately stated, that in the event of my appointment to this chair, I am determined to follow out my convictions of the proper mode of academical tuition; that is, I shall not only endeavour to *instruct*, by communicating on my part the requisite information, but to *educate*, by determining, through every means in my power, a vigorous and independent activity on the part of my pupils." Upon this principle he proceeded to act when he commenced the duties of his professorship. Calculating upon the juvenility of his pupils, and their unpreparedness for abstruse studies—conscious at the same time that his teaching must be something more than science in a rudimentary and diluted form—he thought it better to carry a minority along with him than advance with his whole class no farther than the gate. Instead, therefore, of a single six months' course, he extended it into two, the one comprising a course of logic, and the other of metaphysics. This in the eyes of the town-council of Edinburgh was a monstrous claim upon the time and intellects of his students, and a whimsical squabble arose with them in consequence of their demand for the good old style of teaching. Hamilton, however, in the end prevailed, and was allowed to follow his own devices.

By the course which he adopted the sessions of logic and metaphysics followed each other alternately, and his lectures on these were severely systematic, condensed, and comprehensive. This was to be expected from one who had more completely traversed the whole field of mental philosophy than any man living, and who was more capable of appreciating the comparative value of its different departments. The following brief and general sketch is given of his lectures during the two seasons over which they extended:—"If the subject were metaphysics, for example, the course began with seven or eight introductory lectures on philosophy in general—its nature, its causes, its methods, the dispositions with which it should be studied, and the parts into which it is divided; the latter point naturally leading to the special object of the course—psychology, or the science of mental facts. The nature of consciousness, as the essential ground or condition of the science, being explained, its phenomena were then developed in order from the lowest to the highest—from the simplest facts of perception on through memory, association, imagination, and understanding, up to the highest principles of the regulative faculty, reason, or common sense. In the logical course, after a similar but shorter introduction on the general divisions, in which the place of dialectic in relation to the other branches of mental science was determinately fixed, followed a special introduction, considering rapidly in order the nature, the value, the divisions, and the history of logic as the science of dianoetic laws. To the definition of the science succeeded a detailed statement and criticism of the laws of thought on which it rests; and from these the science was developed so perfectly that the presence of the fundamental laws might be easily traced and recognized in the remotest detail of their application." Of the results of these prelections another author

thus writes:—"There is not evidence indeed that his logical lectures have as yet had much effect on his personal pupils. But the metaphysical lectures excited a keen interest in philosophy among all his students who were qualified for severe abstract thinking, while they guided the thinking of not a few into channels in which it long or always continued to flow."

While Sir William Hamilton thus *instructed* his class by lecturing, he endeavoured to *educate* it by discipline, and in this way he fulfilled the promise made to the patrons when he applied for the chair. The discipline consisted of oral examinations and written exercises. The examinations were conducted on the Tuesday and Thursday of each week, when the students were ranged according to the initial letter of their names, the benches of the class-room being lettered for the purpose. Before the professor was a jar having all the letters of the alphabet from A to Z printed on rounds of millboard, and these being mixed together, Sir William put in his hand, drew out a letter at random, and holding it up to the students, asked if A, B, H, or M (as the case might be), would undertake to pass an examination. On one whose name agreed with the letter standing up, the subject was commenced where the last examination had left off, and a strict searching process of catechizing was followed up by the professor that tested the attention and capacity of the student as well as whetted his intellectual powers, and strengthened him for further progress. The written exercises of the class were short essays upon the subjects connected with the lectures, and were generally prescribed every fortnight or three weeks, while each writer was allowed five minutes, limited by a sand-glass, to read extracts from his production, subject to the critical remarks of the professor. In addition to these regular class exercises, prize-essays were also prescribed, which, like the others, were read in public before the whole class, by whose award the prize was assigned. In this manner emulation of the noblest kind was cherished, and each student made aware of the measure of his class-fellows. The reputation which Sir William had previously acquired as a universal scholar and profound original thinker, the fame of his lectures, and the superiority of his teaching as a professor, attracted students to his class not only from every part of the united empire, but from America and the Continent; and in this manner he either directly formed or indirectly influenced the master intellects of countries he had never visited, and promoted those trains of reflection and inquiry throughout the civilized world which are still in process, and of which after-years will gather the fruits.

Such was the career of Sir William Hamilton as a professor, and while occupied in public teaching: his leisure hours were employed in preparing those writings by which his philosophical opinions, instead of being confined to the class-room, were to be published to the world at large, and not only for the benefit of the present generation, but the latest posterity. It was for this desirable result that the philosophic world had been waiting, while they grudged those daily duties which delayed its realization. But in 1844 his health began to fail, and soon after a paralysis struck the right side of his body, which disabled him from head to foot. When he rallied, his mind was still as clear and vigorous, and his will as resolute for action, as ever; but he could only continue his lectures with frequent assistance, and carry on writing chiefly through an amanuensis. Such a shock was sufficient to affect the progress of the works in which he had been long employed, so that at last they were left incomplete. In 1855, while residing in a country

dwelling, his inability was confirmed by the fracture of a limb, and he died in Edinburgh on the 6th of May, 1856, leaving behind him a widow and family.

Of the published writings of Sir William, besides the articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, of which mention has already been made, his largest and most important was an edition of the works of Reid, with notes and supplementary dissertations. This work, which he had planned at the time of his appointment to the chair of logic and metaphysics, was so accordant with his own system of philosophical inquiry, that he has brought his whole heart to bear on it, and few productions there are which have been so carefully, copiously, and congenially edited. Sir William's philosophy, like that of Reid, had adopted the principle of common sense as the representative of the highest achievements of human speculation, and his editorship was a triumph of genius as well as a labour of love. This edition of the works of Dr. Thomas Reid appeared in 1846, much of it having been printed a long time previous. The latest edition of this work, continued until near his death, indicates also Sir William's long and last illness; for in the foot-notes are references to supplementary dissertations, of which not a word is yet given to us, and a dissertation asserting his own peculiar theory of the association of ideas is broken off abruptly at the end of the volume. Unfortunately also, before this work was finished, his devotedness to the Scottish school of philosophy led him to undertake an edition of the collected works of Dugald Stewart with notes; but this publication, which he commenced in 1854, was never completed, and the biography that was to precede it is wanting. Of his class lectures on logic and metaphysics extensive notes were taken by his students, and numerous copies of them transcribed from short-hand reports were in circulation. These, carefully revised and edited by Professors Mansel and Veitch, were published in four volumes, 1859-1861, but they suffer from the want of his own correcting hand, and are chiefly valuable as introductions to his more profound and elaborate expositions.

Such was Sir William Hamilton—a man of uneventful life, but of world-wide influence and reputation, and whose history cannot well be given without a full detail of those subjects in which his superiority was so strikingly evinced. Such a biography must also be a work of time, and therefore it still remains unwritten. We rejoice, however, to learn that the task has been undertaken, and that a full-length portrait will be given of the man whom the reflective of every country are bound to honour. In the meantime we close this brief account with the following merited testimony by one who could so well appreciate him. Speaking of Sir William's theory of the "conditioned" in a lecture delivered at Magdalen College a few days after Hamilton's death, Professor Mansel thus eloquently added: "But this conception of philosophy, interesting and important as it is, is fraught with painful recollections now. It reminds us that within the last few days we have had to mourn the loss of one, the labour of whose life was devoted to this very object, and whose contributions to the philosophy of the conditioned, fragmentary and incomplete as they are, contain the germ of nearly all that future research can articulately develop, and which none can hope to develop as he, if his life had been longer spared, might have done. For where now, among the philosophers of this or of any other country, shall we find such vast endowments of intellect accompanied by such a just appreciation of their limits? Where shall we find one with a tithe of his attainments who will so consistently, and with such authority, proclaim the duty

of a learned ignorance? Where shall we find one to exhaust, like him, the whole field of philosophical learning, and in the end to proclaim, as the moral and the motto of his whole teaching, 'Magna immo maxima pars sapientiæ est, quædam æquo animo nescire velle?' Above all, in these presumptuous days, when human reason aspires to strip the veil from the hidden things of God, and to proclaim its own speculations as identical with the eternal movements of the divine Mind determining itself in creation, where shall we find a philosopher of such eminence and authority, to announce, as the surest ground of belief in the truth of a philosophical system, that its doctrines are in harmony with those of revelation? It is not now the time to enter upon a fuller examination of the writings of one whose name hereafter will assuredly be reckoned among the greatest in the history of British philosophy:—

'His grave is all too young as yet
To have outgrown the sorrow that consigned
Its charge to it.'

But the place of his early education may be allowed at least a passing tribute to his memory; and if ever the time shall come when the philosophy of the conditioned shall occupy its fitting place as the handmaid and auxiliary of Christian truth, voyaging through the seas of thought with the laws of the human mind for its chart and the word of God for its polestar, among the fathers and teachers of that philosophy, most consulted and most revered, will stand the name of Sir William Hamilton."

HAMILTON, WILLIAM JOHN, Esq., of Holyfield Hall, Essex, and F.G.S. This accomplished scholar, scientific student, and traveller, who pursued knowledge in various departments with disinterested ardour, and won for himself a high name among our most distinguished men of science, was the eldest son of William R. Hamilton, Esq., F.R.S., author of *Ægyptiaca*, of whom a memoir has already been given in our pages: his mother was Juliana, daughter of John Udny, Esq., of Udny Castle, Aberdeenshire. He was born in 1805. His education was commenced at the Charterhouse, and subsequently carried on and finished at the university of Göttingen. Being destined for public service in the political department, he connected himself with diplomacy, and in that capacity was successively resident at Madrid, Paris, and Florence. At the foreign office he was *précis* writer under Lord Aberdeen; but that situation he resigned in 1841, on being elected representative of Newport, Isle of Wight, and this borough he continued to represent in the Conservative interest until 1847.

Contenting ourselves with this brief sketch of his political life, we now proceed to his scientific career. Geology was his favourite department—that science which has been so late in attracting attention, but which so richly rewards investigation, by the revelations of an ancient world which every successive inquiry is bringing more distinctly into view. In 1831 Mr. Hamilton became a member of the Geological Society, and in the following year was elected one of its honorary secretaries; and either this office or that of foreign secretary he continued to occupy with scarcely any interruption until 1854, when he was elected president of the society. His first contribution to geological knowledge was communicated in 1835, from observations he had made in the previous year, and contained proofs of recent elevation of land which he had observed on the coast of Fifeshire. As his love of the science, however, continued to expand, he naturally longed for a wider field of observation, and on this account he formed the plan

of an extensive foreign tour, for the purpose of studying the phenomena of physical geography and geology. He accordingly set off on his enterprise, but was not alone, for he had the good fortune to be accompanied by the late Mr. Hugh Strickland, whose great knowledge in several branches of natural history was of signal use to his enthusiastic fellow-traveller. It was a fortunate combination, the value of which was deeply felt, and is frequently mentioned in the writings of Mr. Hamilton. In their travels the pair commenced, in the summer of 1835, a course of investigations upon the extinct volcanic districts and old lacustrine areas of the Mount Dor and the Vivarais, preparatory to visiting those of Asia Minor; and, passing afterwards by the north of Italy, they visited Trieste, Corfu, Patras, Corinth, Athens, and reached Smyrna by the end of October. In the early part of the following year Mr. Strickland was recalled to England, and Mr. Hamilton had to continue his travels alone; but several papers, the joint observations of their scientific tour, were communicated to the Geological Society. The summer of 1836 was spent by our scientific tourist in the country to the south of the Black Sea, and in November he returned to Smyrna. Resuming his explorations in the following year, he went upon a cruise on board the *Royalist* with Mr. J. Brooke (subsequently Rajah of Sarawak) along the coast of Ionia and Caria, and afterwards he visited for the second time the Catacecaumene, a basin giving proofs of a volcanic character, of which he published a full and detailed account in the *Transactions of the Geological Society*, vol. vi. new series, p. 18. This portion of the ancient kingdom of Lydia was worthy of a repeated investigation, from its geological character, as well as from the remains of great but forgotten cities and classical antiquities which may still be found in that neglected region—and which now found a worthy and interesting exponent in the scientific knowledge and classical learning of Mr. Hamilton. Of his peculiar fitness, indeed, for the field of labour which he had chosen, there could be but one opinion. Independently of his classical scholarship, and knowledge of ancient history and antiquarianism, he was well acquainted with modern languages, French, Italian, German, and Spanish being as familiar to him as his native tongue; he was enthusiastic in research, and observant of every object that met his eye; while his good nature, kindness, and unselfish disposition were a passport that procured him a favourable admission as a traveller into the confidence of those barbarous or churlish communities from which other strangers would have been repelled. All these characteristics can be distinctly read in his "*Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*," with some Account of their Antiquities and Geology," which he published in 1842.

This work, by which he will continue to be best known, is a full record of those travels which we have so briefly enumerated, and which occupy two volumes 8vo, of considerable extent. As we have hinted already, he had frequently communicated the results of his scientific observations to the Geological Society during the course of his journeyings; but the *Transactions* of a scientific society are generally confined to its own members; and he had something else than geology to write of which the intellectual world at large would be glad to know. The result has been these *Researches*, than which we know not a more interesting account of the countries which he visited. It is also a moral and intellectual portrait of the author, and as such cannot be omitted in his memoir, where a likeness of his mind is the principal desideratum.

In reverting to the pages of that work, we have the following statement of the object of his tour:—"In the early part of 1835, while meditating an excursion to the Continent of Europe, I was induced, in preference, to direct my attention to some of the Turkish provinces in Asia, as comparatively unknown, and which could not fail to present discoveries interesting to the antiquary, the geographer, and the geologist. I accordingly arranged a plan, which at the same time promised to gratify my love of travel, and to rekindle those classic associations which are connected with our early habits." Having specified his scientific preparations for such an enterprise, and mentioned the commencement of his travels, he thus affectionately announces his fellow-tourist:—"I consider myself most fortunate in having persuaded Mr. Hugh E. Strickland, of Cracombe House, near Evesham, to accompany me: in proportion to the value of his co-operation, both as a companion and a naturalist, was my regret at our separation, when he was compelled to return to England in the beginning of 1836. The geological investigation of the country has suffered much from this last circumstance: it may be long before a geologist with such an accurate knowledge of conchology will have an opportunity of exploring many parts of the country which I visited. But, in the other branches of natural history, his loss is still more to be regretted. I had some knowledge of geology, but in ornithology, as well as in entomology, Asia Minor would have afforded him an equally abundant harvest." Thus deprived of so efficient a companion, Mr. Hamilton continues to describe his proceedings upon his own resources: "My attention was consequently directed chiefly to the comparative geography of the country, the examination of ancient ruins, and the fixing of positions by astronomical observations. The geology of the country also claimed a large portion of my time; and, considering the difficulty of transport which I had to encounter, I may deem myself fortunate in having made a large collection in rocks and minerals." As these regions in relation to Europe, and for every scientific purpose, were almost entirely *terra incognita*, Mr. Hamilton had an additional labour not always presented by countries that had been great and civilized, and of historical renown, in their day. He therefore adds, "I soon found that the maps of the country were incorrect in the highest degree; in fact, absolutely useless. I therefore spared neither time nor labour in making a careful annotation of time, distances, and directions, by which means, together with astronomical observations for latitude, I hoped to be able to construct a more correct map of those parts of the peninsula through which I had passed. With this object in view, and independently of a very detailed journal, I succeeded in keeping, with a very few exceptions, a minute itinerary of every mile of road, noting the exact time of departure, and, with my compass constantly in hand, the direction of the road, as well as every change, sometimes to the number of twenty or twenty-five in an hour, adding remarks suggested by the physical structure of the country." Of this itinerary Mr. Hamilton has given in the appendix a tabular specimen of the journey of a single day, occupying three closely-printed pages, which is so minute, and withal so exact, that every step of the way is made as familiar to us as any well-known district of our own country. Besides engravings of scenery, and buildings of chief interest, with which he illustrated his publication, it was natural that such care and exactness should be accompanied with a map of the regions he had traversed. This accordingly he constructed on his return to England from

his geographical notes, assisted by his brother, then Commander H. G. Hamilton, R.N.; and the map of Asia Minor illustrative of his journeying is by no means the least useful or interesting part of his *Researches*. After having studied the Turkish character in those provinces where it still presents its best aspects, Mr. Hamilton finds the view so dispiriting, that at the close of his work he thus sums up his experience:—

“There appears to me but one chance, and that, alas! is distant and uncertain, viz. *their conversion* to Christianity. Of this, according to human probabilities, and from what is constantly taking place before our eyes, there is scarcely a hope. The usual result in similar cases would lead us to predict, that even if the faith of the Turks could be shaken; if they could be brought to see the errors and follies with which Mahometanism is charged, and to feel its insufficiency, they would flee from it to infidelity. But why despair? With the favour of God, let us indulge the hope that in his good time he may turn the hearts of this people to himself; that the shackles of the Koran may be unloosed—the religion of Christ be established from Constantinople to the far East; and that the countries which first saw the effects of the Word will no longer be behind the Gentiles in adoring his holy name!”

The later contributions of Mr. Hamilton to geology were connected with the territory of Tuscany; and, from his careful examination of the eocene basin of Mainz, and the collection of fossils he had made there, he was enabled to give the best account of it that had yet appeared. Aware of the importance of conchology in illustrating the tertiary period, he had devoted several years to the study of this department of geological science, and formed a very large collection of shells, the forms and geographical disposition of which threw light upon the tertiary difficulties. It was also with a view of turning this knowledge to account by the aids it furnished to geology, that he joined the Geological Society in its visits to the districts of the faluns of Touraine and the crag of Antwerp. Amidst such labours the Geological Society showed their sense of his scientific services by electing him their president for the second time in 1865. In 1837 he joined the Royal Geographical Society; in 1838 became a member of council, and in 1843 received the founder's medal for his *Researches in Asia Minor*. He was elected vice-president of the same society in 1846, president in May, 1847; was again vice-president in 1849, and member of council in 1851; and till the close of his life was always an active member of the society.

Mr. Hamilton was twice married. The first marriage was in 1832 to Martin, daughter of John Trotter, Esq.; but in the following year he became a widower; his second wife, whom he married in 1838, was the Hon. Margaret, daughter of Henry thirteenth Viscount Dillon, by whom he had three sons. His own death occurred at 23 Chesham Place, S.W., in June 27th, 1867, and he was succeeded in his estates by the only son whom he had by his first wife, Lieutenant-colonel Robert William Hamilton of the Grenadier Guards.

HART, ANDREW, deserves a place in this record, as one of the most distinguished of our early typographers. He flourished in the reign of James VI. Previous to 1600 he was in the habit of importing books from abroad; he was at this time exclusively a bookseller. From a mere bookseller he seems to have gradually become a publisher: several books were printed in Holland about the years 1600 and 1601, “at his expense.” Finally, he added the

business of printing to his other dealings. The productions of his press specify that his shop was in the High Street of Edinburgh, on the north side, opposite the cross; being, by a strange chance, the identical spot from which Mr. Archibald Constable, two hundred years after, issued so many noble efforts of Scottish genius. Hart's edition of the Bible, 1610, has always been admired for its fine typography. He also published a well-known edition of Barbour's *Bruce*. In addition to all other claims upon our praise, Hart was a worthy man. He died in a good old age, December, 1621, as we learn from a notice in Boyd of Trochrig's obituary, quoted below.¹

HAY, DAVID RAMSAY. This eminent house-painter, who exalted his hitherto mechanical profession into the regions of high art, was born in Edinburgh in the year 1798. While still young his father died, leaving a widow and children in destitute circumstances; but the proprietor of the *Edinburgh Courant*, after whom David was named, caused him to be educated for the profession of a printer. The boy, however, had already acquired such a love of drawing as gave him a dislike to printing, and he not only neglected his business as a “reading boy” in the printing-office, but infected the boys of the establishment with his own tastes. His love of colours having thus precluded all inclination for the hue of printer's ink, he at the age of fourteen, and with the consent of his kind patron, apprenticed himself to Mr. Gavin Bengo, a well-known house-painter in Edinburgh, and after learning the rudiments of his future trade, he was set to work in painting, and copying pictures. One of his productions happening to attract the notice of Sir Walter Scott, the latter was so pleased with it that he employed Hay to paint a portrait of his favourite cat. This introduction to the great poet and novelist was the turning-point of Hay's life, and foundation of his future success. Sir Walter, who had often admired his skill in representing dogs and horses, but regretted his ambition of becoming a great artist, from the hardships and failure that might be likely to follow it, called the youth into his room, and expatiated like a father upon the risk of such a venture for life. “You have talents and energy,” he said to Hay, “but who can say whether you have genius? These boyish drawings can never be relied on as proofs of *that*. If you feel within you such a glow of ambition, that you would rather run a hundred chances of obscurity and penury than miss *one* of being a Wilkie—make up your mind, and take the bold plunge; but if your object is merely to raise yourself to a station of worldly comfort and independence—if you would fain look forward with tolerable assurance to the prospect of being a respectable citizen, with your own snug roof over your head, and the happy faces of a wife and children about you,—pause and reflect well.” “I think,” Sir Walter added in conclusion, “profit in Britain is, with very rare exceptions, annexed to departments of obvious and direct utility, in which the mass of the people are concerned; and it has often struck me that some clever fellow might make a good hit, if in place of enrolling himself among the future Raphaels and Vandykes of the Royal Academy, he should resolutely set himself to introducing something of a more elegant style of house-painting.” The advice thus wisely given was as wisely received and adopted, and Hay, by submitting to become the best of house-painters, may have escaped the dis-

¹ Le moy de Dec. 1621, mourut à Edin. le bon homme, Andrew Hart, imprimeur et libraire; décidé en bonne vieillesse; homme de bien et notre ancien amy.

appointment, if not the fate, of poor Haydon. Nor did Scott himself go unrewarded for his generous admonition. When in 1824 he had his halls in Abbotsford painted in such a fashion as required taste, skill, and genius for the execution of his gorgeous and original conceptions, the master limner by whom all this was realized was no other than David Ramsay Hay, who addressed himself to the task as a labour of love.

Having now commenced business on his own account, Mr. Hay soon showed not only in practice but by his publications that he was a master of the highest principles of his profession, and could make them available for all the purposes of art. The following is a list of his numerous works connected with the subject:—

In 1828, about which time he also commenced business, he published *The Law of Harmonious Colouring*, &c., a work which has gone through six editions. The last of these, which was published in 1847, was almost entirely a new work, with a section on "The Practice of House-painting." This work had the distinguished merit of opening the way to the exposition of much of the science of colour which has been prosecuted by succeeding writers. It also established his business as a house-decorator, as was shown by his rapidly increasing and extensive business, and encouraged him to prosecute his theories on colouring, in which he has made so many discoveries and improvements. In 1842 he published *The Natural Principles and Analogy of the Harmony of Form*. In 1843, *Proportion, or the Geometric Principle of Beauty Analyzed*. In 1844 he published "*An Essay on Ornamental Design*, in which its True Principles are Developed and Elucidated." In 1845 he published *The Principles of Beauty in Colouring Systematized*. In 1846 he published the second edition of *A Nomenclature of Colours*, in which he gave upwards of two hundred examples of colours, and their various hues, tints, and shades. In the same year he also issued from the press *First Principles of Symmetrical Beauty*. In 1849 appeared his work *On the Science of those Proportions by which the Human Head and Countenance, as represented in Ancient Greek Art, are distinguished from those of Ordinary Nature*. In 1851 he published *The Geometric Beauty of the Human Figure Defined*, to which was prefixed "A System of Æsthetic Proportion applicable to Architecture and other Formative Arts." In 1852 he published *The Natural Principles of Beauty as Developed in the Human Figure*. In 1853, *The Orthographic Beauty of the Parthenon referred to a Law of Nature*, to which he prefixed "A Few Observations on the Importance of Æsthetic Science as an Element in Architectural Education." In 1855, *The Harmonic Law of Nature applied to Architectural Design*. In 1856, *The Science of Beauty, as developed in Nature, and applied to Art*.

All these works were extensively illustrated, and have been most favourably received. Their number and variety are a proof of how completely his heart was absorbed in the beauty of form and colour, and how closely he had studied the principles upon which they are founded; and if not an artist in the practical sense of the term, he was at least a distinguished critic in art, and an able instructor of those who prosecuted it. Nor did he the while neglect his business as a house-painter, into which he introduced several important improvements, and the decorations of the meeting-hall of the London Society of Arts were designed and executed by him about the year 1846. Enriched by his success in a profession which he had exalted from a mechanical trade into one of the fine arts, and honoured and esteemed

by artists and men of taste, Mr. David Ramsay Hay continued his labours until they were interrupted by frequent attacks of indisposition during the latter years of his life. He died at his house, Jordan Bank, Morningside, on the 10th of September, 1866, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

HEADRICK, REV. JAMES. Of the life of this talented agriculturist and mineralogist we have very few particulars. He was born in 1758, and having studied for the ministry, was presented in 1809 to the parish of Dunnichen in Forfarshire. But although he had reached the age of fifty-one before this promotion awaited him, his previous life had not been spent in idleness. An enthusiast in natural science, he had travelled over the three kingdoms, studying agriculture and mineralogy; many large and valuable estates were planned by him, and improved under his directions; and he was author of an excellent analysis of lime published in the *Farmer's Magazine*.

These pursuits naturally drew Headrick into friendly intimacy with the Rev. David Ure, afterwards author of the *History of Rutherglen and Kilbride*, and along with Ure he was employed by Sir John Sinclair in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, for which he drew up the details relating to the county of Forfar. He also wrote a short memoir of Ure, which was published in the *Scots Magazine* for December, 1808. But a still more important work was published by Headrick in 1807, under the title of "*View of the Mineralogy, Agriculture, Manufactures, and Fisheries of the Island of Arran*, with Notices of Antiquities, and Suggestions for Improving the Agriculture and Fisheries of the Highlands and Isles of Scotland." This work, which the author dedicated to Sir Joseph Banks, was, independently of its extensive information on other subjects, the best work extant on the geology of Arran, until it was superseded by the improved science of a later date. Besides this, he published, in *Nicolson's Journal* for 1807, "Some Mineralogical and Geological Observations made in the Isle of Arran." In 1813 another work of Headrick's appeared with the title, "*General View of the Agriculture of the County of Angus or Forfarshire*, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement," 1813, 8vo.

This comprises the list of Headrick's authorship, which was probably exchanged for the cares and duties of a country minister, and we learn nothing farther of him except that he died at the manse of Dunnichen, on March 31, 1841, aged eighty-three years.

HEATHFIELD, LORD. See ELLIOT, GEORGE AUGUSTUS.

HENDERSON, ALEXANDER, one of the most eminent of the many eminent men whose names are interwoven with the annals of Scotland at probably the most interesting period of her history (the middle of the seventeenth century), was born about the year 1583. He is supposed to have been descended from the Hendersons of Fordel, "a house," says Wodrow, "of good quality in Fife." Of his early life there is little farther known than that he was distinguished for his assiduity and progress in learning, in which he greatly excelled all his school-fellows. Having been sent to the university of St. Andrews to complete his studies, he there went through the ordinary routine of learning, but with much more than ordinary reputation, a circumstance sufficiently evinced by his having been made Master of Arts, and soon after admitted regent or professor of philosophy.

As this appointment took place previous to the year 1611, when he could not be more than eight-and-twenty years of age, it is evident that Henderson was already considered a man of no common attainments. The situation of professor of philosophy he held for several years, discharging its duties with a zeal and ability which acquired him much reputation.

It is not surprising to find, that at this period of his life he was a strenuous advocate for the dominant or episcopal party in the church. His patrons hitherto were of that party. He had long associated with men who entertained its principles, and, unable to foresee the great changes which were about to take place in the civil and religious polity of the kingdom, as well as that which afterwards happened in his own private sentiments, he naturally enough, while perfectly sincere in the opinions which he then entertained on religious matters, conceived besides, that in the direction of these opinions, and in that direction alone, lay the road to preferment. Inspired by the ambition of a mind conscious of its powers, Henderson, after the lapse of a few years, becoming impatient of the circumscribed sphere to which a professorship of philosophy confined him, turned his attention to divinity, as opening a wider field for the exercise of his talents.

After preparing himself for the ministerial calling, he was appointed to the church of Leuchars, in Fife, through the patronage of Archbishop Gladstones. His appointment, however, was exceedingly unpopular: all his talents and learning could not reconcile his parishioners to a man introduced amongst them by episcopal influence, and who was known to be himself of that detested party. The consequence was, that on the day of his ordination he was received with every mark of popular dislike. The church doors were shut against him and carefully secured in the inside, to prevent all possibility of admittance. Determined, however, in despite of these very manifest tokens of public feeling, to perform the ceremony of ordination, Henderson's party entered the church by a window, and proceeded with the business of the day.

Whatever were Mr. Henderson's other merits, and these were certainly of no ordinary kind, it is known that any extraordinary anxiety about the spiritual interests of his parishioners was not amongst the number. At this period of his life, in short, although not remarkable for the reverse, he seems to have been but slightly impressed with the sacredness of his new calling, and to have taken but little farther interest in matters of religion, than abiding by the general principles in which he had been educated. This conduct, however, and these sentiments were soon to undergo a remarkable change, and that under circumstances in themselves not less remarkable. Having learned that the celebrated Mr. Bruce of Kinnaird was to assist at a communion in the neighbourhood of Leuchars, Henderson, desirous of hearing the preaching of a man who had long been conspicuous as an opponent of the court measures, and whose fame for peculiar gifts in matters of theology was widely spread, repaired to the church where he was officiating. Not choosing, however, to be recognized, he sought to conceal himself in a dark corner of the building. Bruce, nevertheless, seems to have been aware of his presence; or, if not, there was a singular coincidence in the applicability of the text which he chose to the remarkable circumstances which attended Henderson's induction to his charge. Be this as it may, the sermon which followed made such a powerful impression upon him as effected an entire change in his religious conduct

and sentiments; and from being a careless and indifferent pastor over his flock, and an upholder of a system odious in the highest degree to the people, he became a watchful and earnest minister, and a resolute champion in the cause of Presbyterianism.

In three years after his appointment to Leuchars parish, which took place some time previous to the year 1615, Mr. Henderson, though sedulous in the discharge of his ministerial duties since the period of his conversion, made no public appearance on the side of that party whose principles he had embraced. The opportunity, however, which was all that was wanting for his making such an appearance, at length presented itself. In August, 1618, the celebrated five articles of Perth, which occasioned so much clamour in Scotland, from their containing as many points of episcopal worship, which James was desirous of thrusting on the people of that kingdom, having been carried by a packed majority in an assembly held at Perth, Henderson stood among the foremost of those who opposed, though unsuccessfully, the obnoxious measure; and this too, in defiance of the king's utmost wrath, with which all who resisted the adoption of the five articles were threatened. "In case of your refusal," said the Archbishop of St. Andrews, addressing the assembled clergymen, "the whole order and estate of your church will be overthrown, some ministers will be banished, others will be deprived of their stipends and office, and all will be brought under the wrath of authority."

Not at all intimidated by this insolent and indecent threat, Henderson with several of his brethren courageously opposed the intended innovations. For this resistance, to which was added a charge of composing and publishing a book against the validity of the Perth assembly, he was with other two ministers summoned in the month of August, 1619, to appear before the court of high commission in St. Andrews. Obeying the summons, Henderson and his brethren presented themselves before the bishops, when the former conducted himself with such intrepidity, and discussed the various matters charged against him and his colleagues with such talent and force of reasoning, that his judges, though they eagerly sought it, could gain no advantage over him, and were obliged to content themselves with threatening, that if he again offended he should be more hardly dealt with. With this intimation Henderson and his friends were dismissed. From this period to the year 1637 he does not appear to have meddled much with any transactions of a public character. During this long period he lived retired, confining his exertions within the bounds of his own parish, in which he found sufficient employment from a careful and anxious discharge of his pastoral duties. Obscure and sequestered, however, as the place of his ministry was, his fame as a man of singular capacity, and as an eloquent and powerful debater, was already abroad and widely known; and when the hour of trial came, those talents were recollected, and their possessor called upon to employ them in the behalf of his religion.

Before, however, resuming the narrative of Mr. Henderson's public career, it may be necessary to give a brief sketch of the circumstances which induced him to leave his retirement and to mingle once more in the religious distractions of the times. The unfortunate Charles I., inheriting all the religious as well as political prejudices of his father James VI., had, from the moment of his accession to the throne, entertained the design of regulating church worship in Scotland by the forms observed in that of England. In this attempt he was only following out

an idea of his father's; but what the one with timorous caution had little more than contemplated, the other determined to execute. Unfortunately for Charles he found but too zealous an abettor of his dangerous and injudicious designs in his favourite counsellor in church affairs, Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Encouraged in the schemes of violence which he meditated against the religious principles of Scotland, and urged on to their execution by Laud, Charles, after a series of lesser inroads on the Presbyterian mode of worship in Scotland, finally, and with a rash hand, fired the train which he had prepared, and by which he set all Scotland in a blaze. This was the imposition of the liturgy or service-book on the Church of Scotland. This celebrated book, which was principally composed by Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, and Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and afterwards revised by Laud, and Wren, Bishop of Norwich, was grounded upon the book of common prayer used in England, but contained, besides, some parts of the Catholic ritual, such as the benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints, the use of the cross in baptism and of the ring in the celebration of marriage, the consecration of water at particular times by prayer, with many other ordinances of a similar character. Most of these observances were introduced by Laud when revising the original work. When the book was completed, the king gave instructions to the archbishops and bishops regarding its introduction; and immediately after issued a proclamation requiring his subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, to conform to the mode of worship which it enjoined, concluding with an order that every parish should be furnished with two copies, between the publication of the injunction and Easter. The book itself, a large folio, was prefaced by a charge from the king, denouncing as rebels all who refused it. To complete the measure of Charles' rashness on the subject of the service-book, it was introduced into Scotland without having been submitted to presbyteries, and without the sanction of the General Assembly.

The consequence of the introduction of the liturgy, aggravated as it was by the manner of its introduction, was, as might have been expected, in the last degree serious and important. The country rose nearly to a man against the Popish innovation. In Edinburgh the bishops who presided at the ceremony of its first introduction were mobbed and maltreated, and the ministers everywhere carefully prepared their congregations to resist the obnoxious volume. The whole land, in short, was agitated by one violent commotion, and the minds of men were roused into a state of feverish excitement, which threatened the most serious results. It was at this critical moment that Henderson came again upon the stage. In the same predicament with other clergymen, Henderson was charged to purchase two copies of the liturgy for the use of his parish within fifteen days, under the pain of rebellion. On receiving the charge, Henderson immediately proceeded to Edinburgh and presented a petition to the privy-council, representing that the service-book had not received the sanction of the General Assembly, nor was authorized by any act of parliament; that the Church of Scotland was free and independent, and ought not to be dictated to except through her own pastors, who were the proper and the best judges of what was for her benefit; that the form of worship received at the Reformation was still sanctioned by the legislature and the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, and could not be invaded excepting by the same authority; that some of the ceremonies enjoined by the book had occasioned great divisions, and were extremely

obnoxious to the people, who had been taught to hold them in abhorrence. This bold statement Henderson concluded by soliciting a suspension of the charge. What hope Henderson entertained that this supplication, or rather remonstrance, would be formally listened to by the privy-council, cannot now be ascertained. There is no reason, however, to conclude that he possessed any secret intelligence regarding the real dispositions of that body. The credit, therefore, must be awarded him of having come forward on this perilous occasion trusting to the strength of his cause alone, and fully prepared to meet the consequences, whatever they might be, of the step which he had taken. The result was more favourable than probably either Henderson or the country expected. The council granted the suspension required, until the king's further pleasure should be known; but, for the remuneration of the king's printer, ordained by an express act, as the decision in Henderson's case was of course understood to apply to the whole kingdom, that each parish should provide itself with two copies of the book, but without any injunction to make use of them. The order for reading the liturgy was also suspended, until new instructions on the subject should be received from his majesty. The king's answer, however, to the representations of the privy-council, at once overturned all hopes of concession in the matter of the liturgy. Instead of giving way to the general feeling, he repeated, in a still more peremptory manner than at first, his commands that the service-book should be read, and farther ordered that no burgh should choose a magistrate which did not conform. This uncompromising and decided conduct on the part of the king was confronted by a similar spirit on the part of the people, and the path which Henderson had first taken was soon crowded by the highest and mightiest in the land, all pushing onward with the utmost eagerness and zeal to solicit the recall of the obnoxious liturgy, and discovering on each repulse and on the appearance of each successive obstacle to their wishes, a stronger and stronger disposition to have recourse to violence to accomplish their object, if supplication should fail. On the receipt of the king's last communication on the all-engrossing subject of the service-book, the nobility, barons, ministers, and representatives of burghs presented a supplication to the privy-council, entreating that the matter might be again brought before the king. In this and in all other matters connected with it Henderson took a leading part: he suggested and directed all the proceedings of the nonconformists; drew up their memorials and petitions, and was, in short, at once the head and right hand of his party, the deviser and executor of all their measures.

The result of this second supplication to the king was as unsatisfactory as the first. The infuriated monarch, urged on by Laud, and in some measure by erroneous impressions regarding the real state of matters in Scotland, still maintained his resolutions regarding the liturgy. He, however, now so far acknowledged the appeals which had been made to him, as to have recourse to evasion, instead of direct opposition as at first, a course at all times more dangerous than its opposite; inasmuch as, while it exhibits all the hostility of the latter, it is entirely without its candour, and is destitute of that manfulness and promptitude which, if it does not reconcile, is very apt to subdue. In place of giving any direct answer to the supplication of the nobility and barons, the king instructed his privy-council in Edinburgh to intimate to the people by proclamation, that there should be nothing regarding church matters treated of in the council for some

time, and that, therefore, all persons who had come to Edinburgh on that account should repair to their homes within twenty-four hours, on pain of being denounced rebels, *put to the horn*, and all their movable goods being escheat to the king. This proclamation was immediately followed by another, announcing an intended removal of the court of session from Edinburgh to Linlithgow; and this again by a third, calling in, for the purpose of being burned, a pamphlet lately published against the service-book.

These proclamations, which but too plainly intimated that nothing would be conceded to supplication, and that there was no hope of any change in the sentiments of the king, instantly called forth the most decided expressions of popular resentment and determination. The city was at this moment filled with strangers—noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and commissioners from the different parishes, besides immense numbers of persons of inferior rank, whom curiosity or interest in the engrossing topic of the day had assembled in the metropolis from all parts of the country. The town, thus surcharged, as it were, with inflammable matter, soon became a scene of violence and insubordination. The leaders of the nonconformists again met in the midst of the storm, and in defiance of the proclamation which enjoined their departure, proceeded to deliberate upon the question of what was next to be done. The result was some farther supplications and petitions to the privy-council and to the king. These, however, being still unsuccessful, were followed up some months afterwards by a determination to appeal to the people, to unite them in one common bond, and to make the cause at once and unequivocally the cause of the whole nation. The leaders resolved to adopt a measure which should involve all in its results, be it for good or for evil; by which, in short, not a leader or leaders, nor a party, but an entire kingdom, should stand or fall, by swearing before their God to peril the alternative.

This measure was a renewal of the national covenant of 1580 and 1581, adapted, by changes and additions, to the existing circumstances. The remodelled document was drawn up by Mr. Henderson, with the assistance of the celebrated Archibald Johnstone, an advocate, and was first exhibited for signature, February 28th, 1638, in the Grayfriars' Church in Edinburgh, where an immense multitude had assembled, for the purpose of hailing the sacred document, and of testifying their zeal in the cause which it was intended to support, by subscribing it. On this occasion Henderson addressed the people with so much fervour and eloquence, that their feelings, already excited, were wound up to the highest pitch, and a degree of enthusiasm pervaded the multitude which sufficiently assured their leaders of the popularity of their cause. The instrument itself, which was now submitted for signature, was a roll of parchment four feet long and three feet eight inches broad; yet such was the general zeal for the covenant, that this immense sheet was in a short time so crowded with names on both sides throughout its whole space, that there was not room latterly for a single additional signature; even the margin was scrawled over with subscriptions, and as the document filled up, the subscribers were limited to the initial letters of their names. Copies were now sent to different parts of the kingdom, and met everywhere, excepting in three places to be afterwards named, with the same enthusiastic reception which had marked its appearance in Edinburgh, receiving thousands of signatures wherever it was exhibited. The three excepted places were Glasgow, St. Andrews, and

Aberdeen. In the two former, however, the feeling regarding the covenant amounted to little more than indifference; but in the latter city it was absolutely resisted. Anxious to have the voice of all Scotland with them, and especially desirous that there should not be so important an exception as Aberdeen, the leaders of the Covenanters despatched several noblemen and two clergymen, one of whom was Henderson, to that city, to attempt to reclaim it; and this object, chiefly through the powerful eloquence of the subject of this memoir, they accomplished to a very considerable extent, obtaining no less than 500 signatures, many of them of the highest respectability, immediately after the close of a discourse by Mr. Henderson, in which he had urged the most irresistible arguments for the subscribing of the covenant. Mr. Henderson was now universally acknowledged as the head of the nonconforming Scottish clergy. On his moderation, firmness, and talent they reposed their hopes; and to his judgment they left, with implicit confidence, the guidance and direction of their united efforts. Of this feeling towards him they were now about to afford a remarkable proof. The king, though still without any intention of yielding to the demands of the Covenanters, having consented that a General Assembly should be held, empowered his commissioner the Marquis of Hamilton to convoke it. On the second day of the meeting of this celebrated assembly, which sat down at Glasgow on the 21st November, 1638, Mr. Henderson was chosen moderator, without one single dissenting voice. To form a correct idea of the general esteem for his amiable qualities, and the appreciation of his abilities which this appointment implied, it is necessary to consider all the singular and important circumstances connected with it—circumstances which altogether rendered it one of the utmost delicacy, difficulty, and hazard. He was, at a moment of the most formidable religious distraction, called upon to preside over an assembly whose decisions were either to allay or to promote that distraction; who were to discuss points of serious difference between their sovereign and the nation; who were to decide, in short, whether the nation was to proclaim open war against their sovereign—a sovereign backed by a nation of much greater power and larger population; an assembly by whose proceedings the religious liberties of the kingdom were either to stand or fall; and one, in consequence, on which the eyes of the whole people were fixed with a gaze of the deepest and most intense interest. Important, however, and responsible as the appointment was, Henderson was found more than equal to it, for he conducted himself on this trying occasion not only with a prudence and resolution which increased the respect and admiration of his own party for his character and talents, but with a forbearance and urbanity which secured him also the esteem of those who were opposed to them. "We have now," said Henderson at the conclusion of the eloquent and impassioned address which terminated the sittings of the assembly, "we have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite:" a sentence which comprised typically all that had been done and all that would be done in the event of such an attempt being made. Episcopacy was overthrown, the king's authority put at defiance, and such an attitude of hostility to the court assumed as fell short only of a declaration of open war.

Such was the accession of popularity which Henderson's conduct procured him on this occasion, that, a day or two before the rising of the assembly, two supplications were given in from two different places

earnestly soliciting his pastoral services, the one from St. Andrews, the other from Edinburgh. Henderson himself was extremely unwilling to obey either of these calls. Strongly attached to Leuchars, the charge to which he had been first appointed, and which he had now held for many years, he could not reconcile himself to the idea of a removal, pleading in figurative but highly expressive language, that "he was now too old a plant to take root in another soil." The supplicants, however, with a flattering perseverance pressed their suits, and after a strenuous contest between the two parties who sought his ministry, he acquiesced in a removal to Edinburgh; in favour of which the competition terminated by a majority of seventy-five votes. He only stipulated, that when old age should overtake him, he should be permitted to remove again to a country charge. Soon after his removal to Edinburgh he was promoted to be, what was then called, first or king's minister. This change, however, in no way abated his zeal in the cause of the covenant; he still continued to be the oracle of his party, and still stood with undisputed and unrivalled influence at the head of the church as now once more reformed.

In the year after his translation to Edinburgh (1639) he was one of the commissioners deputed by the Scottish army, then encamped on Dunse Law, to treat with the king, who, with his forces, had taken post at the Birks, a plain on the English side of the Tweed, within three or four miles of Berwick. During the whole of the various negotiations which took place at this critical and interesting conjuncture, Henderson conducted himself with his usual ability, and moreover with a prudence and candour which did not escape the notice of the king. One of the well-known results of these conferences was the meeting in Edinburgh of the General Assembly in the following month of August. On this occasion the Earl of Traquair, who was now his majesty's commissioner, was extremely desirous that Mr. Henderson should be re-elected moderator, a sufficient proof of the estimation in which he was held by men of all parties. The idea, however, of a constant moderatorship was exceedingly unpopular, and contrary to the constitution of the church; and the suggestion of Traquair was overruled to the entire satisfaction of Mr. Henderson himself, who was one of the most strenuous opponents of the proposition. As former moderator, however, he preached to the assembly, and towards the close of his discourse addressed the Earl of Traquair—"We beseech your grace," he said, "to see that Cæsar have his own; but let him not have what is due to God, by whom kings reign. God hath exalted your grace unto many high places within these few years, and is still doing so. Be thankful, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. When the Israelites came out of Egypt they gave all the silver and gold they had carried thence for the building of the tabernacle; in like manner your grace must employ all your parts and endowments for building up the church of God in this land." He next addressed the members, urging them to persevere in the good cause, but carefully inculcating prudence and moderation in all their doings; for zeal, he said, without these was "like a ship that hath a full sail, but no rudder."

On the 31st of the same month (August) Mr. Henderson was called upon to preside, in his clerical capacity, at the opening of the parliament, and on that occasion delivered a most impressive discourse, in which he treated of the duties and utility of governors with singular ability and judgment.

A proof still more flattering, perhaps, than any he had yet received of the estimation in which his char-

acter and talents were held, was afforded him in the following year (1640). Previous to this period the college of Edinburgh was without any presiding officer to regulate its affairs, these receiving only such attention as might result from an annual visit of the town-council. As this was little more than a visit of ceremony, the system of education, and almost everything else connected with the university, was in a most deplorable condition. To remedy these evils the town-council came to the resolution of having a rector appointed, to be chosen annually, and whose duty it should be to direct all matters connected with the college, to keep an eye on the conduct of the principal and professors, and to superintend the education of the students, and the disposal of the revenues. To this honourable and highly responsible office Mr. Henderson was unanimously elected; an appointment not more indicative of the general opinion entertained of his moral qualities, than of his learning and abilities; for besides the merely legislative duties which were connected with it, the rector, by the constitution of the office, was to be invited by the preses at all solemn meetings of the college, "to go before the rest in all public disputes of philosophy and divinity."

Mr. Henderson, notwithstanding his other various and important avocations, discharged the duties of this office with an attention, ability, and judgment which soon placed the university on a very different footing from what it had hitherto been. He added to and improved its buildings and its approaches, bestowed especial care on the education of candidates for the ministry, instituted a professorship of oriental languages, a department which had previously been greatly neglected, to the serious injury, in particular, of the students of divinity, whose knowledge of the Hebrew was left to be gleaned from one short weekly lecture on that language; and, in short, he overlooked nothing which could contribute to its interests and prosperity. His own personal influence, together with the high respectability which his sagacious administration had procured for the college, was so great, that the citizens of Edinburgh, with a spirit of emulation which was very far from existing before, strove who should most contribute to the accommodation of its members. The consequence of these judicious and important services was, that Mr. Henderson was continued, by re-election, in the office of rector till his death.

From these peaceful pursuits Henderson was occasionally directed to take a share in the renewed distractions of the times. The king having refused to ratify some of the points agreed upon at the Birks, both parties again took up arms: Charles, denouncing the Covenanters as rebels, marched towards Scotland with an army; while the latter, with 23,000 or 24,000 men, penetrated into England. Some partial successes of the Scottish army on this occasion, together with some defections in his own, again brought the unfortunate monarch to pacificatory terms with the Covenanters. A conference was begun at Ripon, and afterwards, as the king's presence was required in London, transferred to that city. The commissioners who were despatched thither by the Covenanters to conclude the conference, took with them several of the most popular of the clergy, and amongst these was Mr. Henderson, on whose talents they relied for all the subsidiary efforts which were at once to bring the conference to an issue satisfactory to themselves, and to impress the English with a favourable opinion of their cause. Both of these objects they accomplished, and that in no small measure by means of the impressive eloquence and literary talents of Mr. Henderson, who, besides exerting himself in the

pulpit and elsewhere in forwarding the views of the commissioners by discourses and lectures, wrote also several able tracts and papers which attracted much attention, and produced important effects in favour of the cause which he had come to support.

During Mr. Henderson's stay in London on this occasion, he had an interview with the king, by whom he was graciously received. The conference was a private one, and although on the part of Henderson it was sought specially for the purpose of soliciting a favour for the university of Edinburgh, it is not unlikely that it embraced objects of much greater interest. On his return to Edinburgh in July, 1641, having been detained in London nine months, he was again chosen moderator of the General Assembly, then sitting at Edinburgh, and which had removed thither from St. Andrews, where it first met, for the greater conveniency of the nobles who were attending parliament, and (a striking proof of his importance) that it might at this critical period have the advantages of Mr. Henderson's services as moderator.

On this occasion Mr. Henderson delivered to the assembly a letter from a number of ministers in London, requesting the advice of their Scottish brethren on certain points of church government. In some perplexity they had written, "That almighty God having now of his infinite goodness raised up our hopes of removing the yoke of Episcopacy (under which we have so long groaned), sundry other forms of church government are by sundry sorts of men projected to be set up in the room thereof." Henderson was instructed to reply to this letter. In his answer he expressed, in the name of the assembly, the deep interest which they took in the state of what they called, by a somewhat startling association of words, the Kirk of England, and earnestly urged a uniformity in church government throughout Britain. Soon after this (14th August) the unfortunate Charles arrived in Edinburgh. Foreseeing the approaching war between himself and his English parliament, he had come down to Scotland with the humiliating view of paying court to the leaders of the Presbyterian body, and of following up, by personal concessions, the concessions by which he had already recovered, for the time at least, the favour of that party; thus hoping to secure the aid of Scotland when he should be assailed by his subjects at home—the unhappy monarch's situation thus much resembling that of a bird closely pursued by a hawk, and which, preferring a lesser to a greater evil, flies to man for protection. On this occasion the king appointed Mr. Henderson his chaplain, and by this well-judged proceeding at once gratified the people, whose favourite preacher he had long been, and not improbably also gratified his own predilection in his favour, resulting from Henderson's temper and moderation in those instances where they had been brought in contact. Henderson constantly attended the king during the time of his residence in Edinburgh, praying every morning and evening before him, and preaching to him in the chapel royal at Holyrood House every Sunday, or standing by his chair when another performed that duty. Henderson, who, although of incorruptible integrity, and a zealous Presbyterian, as the share which he took in the struggles of that party sufficiently witness, was yet a mild and humane man, could not help sympathizing with the sorrows of his unfortunate sovereign. The religion of which he was so eminent a professor taught him to entertain charitable and benevolent feelings toward all mankind, and his was not the disposition to except an humbled and unhappy prince from this universal precept, whatever were the faults

which had placed him in these melancholy circumstances. The mild and amiable disposition of the man, too, which frequent interviews must have forced upon Henderson's notice, must have in some measure obliterated in his mind the errors of the monarch. It was hard, then, that Henderson for this sympathy, for opening his heart to the best feelings of humanity, for practising one of the first and most amiable virtues which the Christian religion teaches and enjoins, should have been, as he was, subjected to the most bitter calumnies on his character and motives. These calumnies affected his pure and generous nature deeply, and in the next assembly he entered into a long and impassioned defence of those parts of his conduct which slander had assailed. His appeal touched the hearts and excited the sympathy of his brethren, who assured him of their unshaken confidence in his integrity.

This assurance restored the worthy divine to that cheerfulness of which the injurious reports which had gone abroad regarding him had for some time deprived him. If anything were wanting to establish Henderson's character for integrity besides the public testimony of his brethren, it is to be found in the opinion of one who widely differed from him regarding the measures of the day, bearing witness that "his great honesty and unparalleled abilities to serve this church and kingdom did ever remain untainted."

In 1642 Mr. Henderson conducted the correspondence with England which now took place on the subject of ecclesiastical reformation and union, and was soon after desired to hold himself in readiness with certain other commissioners to proceed to England, in the event of such a proceeding being necessary. After some delay, occasioned by the open rupture which took place between the king and the English parliament, Henderson with the other commissioners set out for the sister kingdom. While there he used every effort, but unfortunately to no purpose, to effect a reconciliation between Charles and his English subjects; he proposed to the king to send the queen to Scotland, with the view of exciting an interest in his behalf. He even went to Oxford, where the king then was, to endeavour to prevail upon him, at a personal interview, to make some advances towards a reconciliation, and at the same time to offer him the mediation of Scotland. All his efforts, however, were unavailing; the king, in place of acknowledging error, endeavoured to defend the justice of his cause, and on better grounds expressed high indignation at the interference of the Scots in the church reformation of England. Finding he could be of no further service, Henderson, together with his colleagues, returned to Edinburgh, where his conduct throughout the whole of this delicate mission was pronounced by the General Assembly to have been "faithful and wise." In 1643 he was once more chosen moderator of the General Assembly under peculiar circumstances. This was the presence in that body of the English commissioners sent down to Scotland by the parliament of England, to solicit the aid and counsel of the former in their present emergency. Mr. Henderson, with several other commissioners, was soon after sent up to London to attend the celebrated Westminster Assembly of Divines, to represent in that assembly the Church of Scotland, and to procure its assent, with that of both houses of parliament, to the solemn league and covenant; all of which important duties, with the assistance of his colleagues, he discharged with his usual ability and judgment. On this occasion he remained for three years in London, during all which time he was

unremittingly employed in assisting the assembly in preparing the public formularies of the religious union between the three kingdoms. In 1645 he was appointed to assist the commissioners of the Scottish and English parliaments to treat with the king at Uxbridge, and finally was deputed to negotiate with the latter, when his fortunes had reached a crisis, at Newcastle. Henderson arrived on his mission at Newcastle about the middle of May, 1646, and met with a cordial reception from his majesty. After some discussion on religious subjects, it was agreed that the scruples of the king should be treated of in a series of papers written alternately by his majesty and Henderson. In the last of these papers, addressed by the former to the latter, and all of which and on both sides were written with great talent, the king at once expressing his high opinion of Mr. Henderson, and his determination to adhere to the sentiments which he had all along entertained, says, "For instance, I think you the best preacher in Newcastle, yet I believe you may err, and possibly a better preacher may come, but till then must retain my opinion." Immediately after this, Henderson, whose health was now much impaired, returned to Edinburgh by sea, being unable to bear the fatigue of travelling by land. The illness with which he was afflicted rapidly gained upon him, and he at length expired on the 19th of August, 1646, in the sixty-third year of his age, not many days after his return from Newcastle. After the death of this celebrated man his memory was assailed by several absurd and unfounded calumnies. It was alleged that he died of mortification at his having been defeated in the controversy with the king; others asserted that he had been converted by the latter, and that on his death-bed he had expressed regret for the part he had acted, and had renounced Presbyterianism. All of these charges were completely refuted by the General Assembly, who, taking a becoming and zealous interest in the good name of their departed brother, established his innocence on the testimony of several clergymen, and still more decisively by that of the two who attended him on his death-bed, and who heard him in his last moments pray earnestly for a "happy conclusion to the great and wonderful work of reformation." Henderson was interred in the Grayfriars' Churchyard, where a monument was erected to his memory by his nephew Mr. George Henderson. This monument, which was in the form of an obelisk, with suitable inscriptions on its four sides, was, with others of the leading Covenanters, demolished at the Restoration, but was again replaced at the Revolution.

This sketch of one of the greatest divines that Scotland has produced, cannot be better concluded than in the following estimate of his character by Dr. Thomas M'Crie, who had intended to add a life of Henderson to his lives of Knox and Melville, but proceeded no further than the outline sketched in his miscellaneous writings:—"Alexander Henderson was enriched with an assemblage of endowments which have rarely met in one man. He possessed talents which fitted him for judging and giving advice about the political affairs of a nation, or even for taking an active share in the management of them, had he not devoted himself to the immediate service of the church, and the study of ecclesiastical business. He was not more distinguished by the abilities which he displayed in his public conduct, than by the virtues which adorned his private character. Grave, yet affable and polite—firm and independent, yet modest and condescending—he commanded the respect and conciliated the affection of all who were acquainted with him; and the more intimately his friends knew

him, they loved him the more. The power of religion he deeply felt, and he had tasted the comforts of the gospel. Its spirit, equally removed from the coldness of the mere rationalist and the irregular fervours of the enthusiast, breathed in all his words and actions. The love of liberty was in him a pure and enlightened flame; he loved his native country, but his patriotism was no narrow, illiberal passion; it opened to the welfare of neighbouring nations, and of mankind in general. . . . Called forth by the irresistible cry of his dear country, when he found her reduced to the utmost distress by the oppression of ambitious prelates, supported by an arbitrary court and corrupt statesmen, he came from that retirement which was congenial to him, and entered upon the bustle of public business at a time of life when others think of retiring from it. Though he sighed after his original solitude, and suffered from the fatigues and anxiety to which he was subjected, yet he did not relinquish his station, nor shrink from the difficult tasks imposed upon him, until his feeble and shattered constitution sunk under them, and he fell a martyr to the cause."

HENDERSON, THOMAS. This distinguished astronomer, whose name is associated with the discovery of the parallax of the fixed stars, was the son of a respectable tradesman of Dundee, and born in that town, December 28, 1798. After the ordinary education furnished by the schools of Dundee, he was apprenticed for six years to a writer, or attorney, at the end of which period, and at the age of twenty-one, he was sent to Edinburgh to complete his education for the legal profession. After occupying for some time a situation in the office of a writer to the signet, he became secretary to John Clerk, advocate, afterwards a lord of session, with the title of Lord Eldin; subsequently he was private secretary to the Earl of Lauderdale; and afterwards clerk to the lord-advocate, Jeffrey. These situations he successively occupied until the year 1831. During his residence, however, at Dundee, he had acquired a taste for practical astronomy, as well as for its history and literature, and on removing to Edinburgh he continued to devote his leisure time to the prosecution of his favourite science, using for that purpose the observatory on the Calton Hill, at that time indifferently furnished with instruments, but still valuable for the instruction of a learner. It speaks much for the perseverance of Henderson, that in spite of weak health, and especially a tendency to disorder in the eyes, a malady the most unfavourable for astronomical observations, he had already acquired reputation as an astronomer, although he had cultivated the science only at leisure hours, and as a recreation.

In 1824 Mr. Henderson's first contribution to astronomy was a paper sent to Dr. Thomas Young, the then secretary to the Board of Longitude, and superintendent of the *Nautical Almanac*, upon the method of computing an occultation of a fixed star by the moon; and this was followed during the four subsequent years by such valuable contributions, that they were published in the *Nautical Almanac*. Nor was this all, for Dr. Young at his death handed a memorandum to Professor Rigaud expressive of his opinion that no one was so well qualified to be his successor as Mr. Henderson. But the admiralty, notwithstanding this strong recommendation, appointed Mr. Pond, the astronomer-royal, to the superintendence of the *Nautical Almanac*. The latter, under a full sense of Henderson's value, offered him employment for the greater part of his time upon remunerative terms; but this offer Henderson did not accept. This was in 1829, but during the pre-

vious year Henderson had experienced another and a similar disappointment. The chair of practical astronomy in the university of Edinburgh having become vacant by the death of Dr. Blair, the recommendations were strong for the appointment of Henderson to the vacant charge; but although government held the appointment, no nomination at that time took place. Henderson however had not been idle in showing his fitness for such important scientific offices. In 1827 he sent a paper to the Royal Society of London, "On the Difference of Meridians of the Observatories of London and Paris," showing a small error that had crept into one of their observations, by which the credibility of the whole might be affected, and rendered of doubtful authority. In 1828, in conjunction with Mr. Maclear, he communicated to the Astronomical Society an ephemeris of the occultations of Aldebaran by the moon. In the following year he calculated for ten different observatories in Europe. He afterwards furnished other lists of lunar occultations computed for the meridian of Greenwich, by which the determining of longitudes was specially benefited.

On the death of Mr. Fallows in 1831, Mr. Henderson was appointed by the admiralty to succeed him in the superintendence of the observatory at the Cape of Good Hope. The observatory had been recently completed, and Henderson's chief occupation there was to determine the places of the southern stars for the aid of navigation. He arrived at the Cape in April, 1832, and from this period, as his biographers have remarked, "he must be considered as a professional astronomer." Here he vigorously commenced his duties; but at the end of little more than twelve months his health and spirits gave way. He was separated from his relatives, he was isolated from scientific associates, and being subject to heart-disease he felt that at any moment he might pass away unnoticed and unknown. He therefore resigned his charge, and returned to Scotland in 1833. But he had been no idler while in office; on the contrary, he had collected a valuable store of observations at the Cape, the reduction of which to practical account he imposed upon himself as a voluntary duty. And this he was enabled satisfactorily to perform in consequence of an agreement between the government and the Astronomical Institution of Edinburgh, the former engaging to appoint and provide for an astronomer, who was also to hold the professorship of practical astronomy in the university. On Lord Melbourne applying to the Astronomical Society of London for advice, they cordially recommended Mr. Henderson, who was accordingly appointed the first astronomer-royal who bore that office in Scotland, and also professor of practical astronomy in Edinburgh, the chair of which had remained unfilled since 1828. Thus was Henderson placed at last in a position beyond his highest hopes, and equal to his utmost wishes, and here he continued until his death, which occurred ten years afterwards. That comparatively short interval comprises the record of an active and studious life, and the list of his astronomical writings, given in the *Annual Report of the Astronomical Society for 1845*, comprises upwards of seventy communications of different degrees of bulk and importance, scattered over various scientific journals, independently of five quarto volumes of *Astronomical Observations made at the Royal Observatory of that city, between the years 1834 and 1839*, with a sixth nearly ready for publication. Nor was the reduction into systematic form of his Cape of Good Hope observations forgot; for amidst his many occupations, he gave to the Astronomical Society, in 1837, a catalogue of the declinations of 172 prin-

cipal fixed stars, chiefly in the southern hemisphere. It is to the above-mentioned *Annual Report*, and these volumes of *Astronomical Observations*, that we must refer the reader for a full idea of the nature and value of his discoveries, especially in that of the parallax of the fixed stars. Professor Henderson's death, which was sudden, occurred on the 23d of November, 1844, his wife, a daughter of Mr. Adie, optician, Edinburgh, whom he married in 1836, having died two years previously, after giving birth to an only child.

Independently of his great scientific attainments, and the discoveries with which he enriched astronomy for the improvement of navigation, Professor Henderson was beloved by his friends on account of his social qualities and private worth. Of his public character the following just estimate is given by one who evidently was able to understand and appreciate it:—"In his astronomical career he resembled his friend Mr. Bailey, in bringing to his subject the most methodical habits of business. He was well acquainted with astronomical literature, and with other branches of science; and at different times supplied the places of the professors of mathematics and of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. He formed a great attachment to the methods of the German astronomers, and his models were MM. Bessel and Struve. His determination to be well acquainted with all that was doing abroad made him collect an astronomical library, which, for a man of his very limited means, was of extraordinary extent and goodness; and those who knew him remember the ready manner in which he could produce the results of his reading. Of his writings we may say briefly that, in addition to their valuable masses of observations, they abound in all that distinguishes the astronomer, properly so called, from the noter of phenomena."¹

HENRY THE MINSTREL, more commonly styled BLIND HARRY, was a wandering poet of the fifteenth century, who wrote a well-known narrative of the life of Sir William Wallace.

The character of a wandering bard or minstrel was in early ages highly valued and honoured, although at a late period it fell into discredit. HENRY THE MINSTREL, or BLIND HARRY, had not the fortune to live during the sunshine of his profession; for in the Scottish laws of his own time we find *bards* classed with "vagabondis, fullis, and sic like idill peopill;" but the misfortune of his blindness, and the unquestionable excellence of his talents, would in all probability secure to him a degree of respect and attention which was not then generally bestowed on individuals of his class. Indeed, we learn from Major that the most exalted in the land countenanced the minstrel, and that he recited his poetical narratives before them. Major is the only writer from whom any information regarding Blind Harry is derived, and the meagreness of that information may be judged of when it is known that the whole is comprised in the following brief sentence:—*Integrum librum Gulielmi Vallacei Henricus, a natiuitate luminibus captus, mea infantie tempore cudit; et quæ vulgo dicebantur, carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit; (ego autem talibus scriptis solum in parte fidem impertior; qui historiarum recitatione coram principibus victum et vestitum quo dignus erat nactus est.*"—"Henry, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my infancy composed the whole book of William Wallace; and committed to writing in vulgar

¹ Knight's *Biographical Cyclopædia*, art. "Thomas Henderson."

² *Ilist.* lib. iv. c. 15.

poetry, in which he was well skilled, the things that were commonly related of him. For my own part, I give only partial credit to writings of this description. By the recitation of these, however, in the presence of men of the highest rank, he procured, as he indeed deserved, food and raiment."

Brief, however, as this passage is, we gather from it the principal points of Henry's life—namely, that he was born blind—that he was well skilled in vernacular poetry—that he composed the book of *William Wallace*—and that by reciting it he procured food and raiment. The passage, also, is the only source from which we can learn the date of the poem or the period when its author flourished. Major was born in the year 1469, and as he says that the book of *William Wallace* was composed in his infancy, Blind Harry must have lived about that time, and the date of this work may be placed between 1470 and 1480. More than this regarding the biography of a once popular poet, and one whose name is still familiar in the mouths of his countrymen, cannot be ascertained. Of the book itself, a few observations may be taken.

"That a man," says Mr. Ellis,¹ "*born blind* should excel in any science is extraordinary, though by no means without example: but that he should become an excellent poet is almost miraculous; because the soul of poetry is description. Perhaps, therefore, it may be easily assumed that Henry was not inferior in point of genius either to Barbour or Chaucer, nor indeed to any poet of any age or country." The question of what a man *might* have been under certain circumstances is one of assumption altogether, and is too frequently used by individuals regarding themselves as a salve for their indolence and imperfections. Neither can we admit that description is the *soul* of poetry: we consider it rather as the outward garb or frame-work of the divine art, which unless inspired by an inward spirit of contemplation, has no further charm than a chronicle or gazetteer. Milton was blind when he composed *Paradise Lost*, and although he had the advantage of Henry in that he *once* saw, yet we have often heard his calamity adduced to increase our wonder and admiration of his great work, whereas, had he retained his eyesight, *Paradise Lost* would probably never have been finished, or, if finished, might not have proved, as it has done, one of the noblest productions which a human being ever laid before his fellow-creatures. Although, however, we disapprove of assuming a possible excellence in Henry had he been blessed with vision, it would be unjust not to acknowledge the disadvantages under which his poem has come down to us. He himself could not write it; nor is there any probability that it was regularly taken down from his dictation; the incorrectness and unintelligibility of many of its passages rather prove that much of it must have been written from recollection, while editors have, in too many instances, from gross misapprehensions, succeeded in rendering absurd what was previously only obscure. With all this the poem is still of extraordinary merit—and, as a poem, is superior to Barbour's or Winton's. In a historical light, doubtless, its value can never be put in competition with the works of the above authors; it is rather a romance than a history, and is full of exaggerations and anachronisms; the narrative Henry professes to have derived from a complete history of Wallace (now lost) written in Latin, partly by John Blair and partly by Thomas Gray; and this circumstance, if true, exculpates the poet from the *invention* at least of its manifold and manifest absurdities.

His information seems to have been, for the period, respectable. In his poem he alludes to the history of Hector, of Alexander the Great, of Julius Cæsar, and of Charlemagne; but without profiting from the character which these heroes exhibited in history, of policy combined with prowess and bravery, he has in his book taken the childish or gross conception of a warrior, and held up Sir William Wallace as a mere man of muscular strength and ferocity—capable of hewing down whole squadrons with his single arm, and delighting in the most merciless scenes of blood and slaughter. It is in this point that the Minstrel is so far inferior to Barbour. He is destitute of that fine balancing of character displayed by the latter, and those broad political views which render *The Bruce* as much a philosophical history as a poem.²

HENRY, DR. ROBERT, an eminent historian, was born in the parish of St. Ninians in Stirlingshire, on the 18th of February, 1718;—his father was James Henry, a respectable farmer in Muirtown of the same parish, who had married the daughter of Mr. Galloway of Burrowmeadow in Stirlingshire. As a respectable farmer's son, young Henry enjoyed opportunities of instruction beyond the average of those who study for the church in Scotland, and he found little difficulty in indulging his inclination to become a member of a learned profession. He commenced his education under Mr. Nicholson of the parish school of St. Ninians, and having attended the grammar-school of Stirling, perfected himself in his literary and philosophical studies at the university of Edinburgh. After leaving that institution, he occupied himself in teaching, the usual resource of the expectants of the Scottish church, and became master of the grammar-school of Annan. The district in which he was so employed was soon afterwards erected into a separate presbytery, and Henry was admitted as its first licentiate, on the 27th of March, 1746. In 1748 he was ordained as clergyman of a congregation of Presbyterians at Carlisle. Here he remained for twelve years, when he was transferred to a similar dissenting congregation at Berwick-upon-Tweed. In 1763 he married Ann Balderston, daughter of Thomas Balderston, surgeon in Berwick. Little is said of this lady by Henry's biographers, except in reference to the domestic happiness she conferred on her husband. During his residence at Berwick Dr. Henry applied his active mind to the preparation of a scheme for establishing a fund to assist the widows and orphans of the dissenting clergymen in the north of England. The admirable fund which had some time previously been so firmly and successfully established for bestowing similar benefits on the families of the clergy of Scotland, formed the model of his imitation; but in assimilating the situation of a dissenting to that of an established church, he laboured under the usual difficulties of those who raise a social fabric which

² In his work entitled *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, Mr. P. F. Tytler has expressed his deliberate conviction, founded upon recent investigations, that the Minstrel holds too low a rank as a credit-worthy historian. "I am persuaded," says Mr. Tytler, "that *Wallace* is the work of an ignorant man, who was yet in possession of valuable and authentic materials. On what other supposition can we account for the fact, that whilst in one page we meet with errors which show a deplorable perversion of history, in the next we find circumstances unknown to other Scottish historians, yet corroborated by authentic documents, by contemporary English annalists, by national monuments and records only published in modern times, and to which the Minstrel cannot be supposed to have had access. The work, therefore, cannot be treated as an entire romance." The ingenious historian then adduces a number of instances in which Henry's statements are proved by lately discovered documents to have been correct.

¹ *Specimens of Early English Poets*, vol. i.



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WILLIAM PITT

the laws will not recognize and protect. The funds which, in Scotland, were supplied by the annual contribution of the clergy, enforced by act of parliament, depended, in the English institution, on the social and provident spirit of its members. The perseverance of Henry overcame many of the practical difficulties thus thrown in his way: the fund was placed on a permanent footing in the year 1762, and Henry, having for some years undertaken its management, had afterwards the satisfaction to see it flourish, and increase in stability and usefulness as he advanced in years. The design of his elaborate history, which must have gradually developed itself in the course of his early studies, is said to have been finally formed during his residence in Berwick, and he commenced a course of inquiry and reading, which he found that the resources of a provincial town, and the assistance of his literary friends in more favoured situations, were quite incapable of supplying for a subject so vast and intricate, as that of a complete history of Britain from the invasion of Julius Cæsar. In this situation Dr. Henry found a useful friend in Mr. Lawrie, provost of Edinburgh, who had married his sister. The interest of this gentleman procured for his brother-in-law, in the year 1768, an appointment to the ministry of the new Grayfriar's Church in Edinburgh, whence in 1776, he was removed to the collegiate charge of the Old Church.

In the extensive public libraries of Edinburgh Dr. Henry found means of prosecuting his researches with effect. The first volume of his history was published in quarto in the year 1771, the second appeared in 1774, the third in 1777, the fourth in 1781, and the fifth in 1785. The method of treating the subject was original and bold, and one the assumption of which left the author no excuse for ignorance on any subject which had the slightest connection with the customs, intellects, and history of our forefathers, or the constitution of the kingdom. The subject was in the first place divided into periods, which were considered separately, each period occupying a volume. The volume was divided into seven chapters, each containing a distinct subject, linked to the corresponding subject in the next volume by continuance of narrative, and to the other chapters of the same volume by identity of the period discussed. The subjects thus separated were—1st, The simple narrative of the civil and military transactions of the country—2d, The ecclesiastical history—3d, The information which is generally called constitutional, narrating and accounting for the rise of the peculiarities in the form of government, the laws, and the courts of justice—4th, The state of learning, or rather the state of literature which may be called purely scholastic, excluding the fine arts and constitutional and political information—5th, The history and state of arts and manufactures—6th, A history of commerce, including the state of shipping, coin, and the prices of commodities; and lastly, The history of the manners, customs, amusements, and costumes of the people. The writer of a book on any subject on which he is well informed will generally choose that manner of explaining his ideas best suited to his information and comprehension. It may be questioned whether the plan pursued by Henry was adapted for the highest class of historical composition, and if the other great historians who flourished along with him would have improved their works by following his complicated and elaborate system. It is true that mere narrative, uninterwoven with reflection and such information as allows us to look into the hearts of the actors, is a gift entirely divested of the qualities which make it useful; but there are

various means of qualifying the narrative—some have given their constitutional information in notes, or detached passages; others have woven it beautifully into the narrative, and presenting us with the full picture of the times broadly and truly coloured, have prevented the mind from distracting itself by searching for the motives of actions through bare narrative in one part of the work, and a variety of influencing motives to be found scattered through another. The plan which we may say was invented by Dr. Henry, has only been once closely imitated. The imitator was a Scotsman, the subject he encountered, a *History of France*, was still more extensive than that of Henry, and the ignorance the author displayed in some of its minute branches excited ridicule. This is an instance of the chief danger of the system. The acquisition of a sufficient amount of information, and regularity in the arrangement, are the matters most to be attended to; Henry's good sense taught him the latter, his perseverance accomplished the former, and the author made a complete and useful work, inferior certainly, as a great literary production, to the works of those more gifted historians who mingled reflection with the current of their narrative, but better suited to an intellect which did not soar above the trammels of such a division of subject, and which might have fallen into confusion without them. Another imitation of Henry's plan, but with several important modifications, was the *Pictorial History of England*. This work, however, was the production not of one, but of several writers, each taking the department with which he was most conversant, and all the parts harmonized into each other by a talented and competent editor. A third work, an imitation of Henry's plan, but rather in spirit than in form, is the *Comprehensive History of England*. In this, the cumbrous divisions and subdivisions are abandoned, while the more important parts of the subjects on which they treat are given in a single chapter at the close of each epoch, under the title of "The History of Society."

The circumstances of the first appearance of the earlier volumes of this useful book are interesting to the world, from their having raised against the author a storm of hostility and deadly animosity almost unmatched in the annals of literary warfare. The chief persecutor, and grand master of this inquisition on reputation, was the irascible Dr. Gilbert Stuart. The cause of his animosity against a worthy and inoffensive man can only be accounted for by those whose penetration may find its way to the depths of literary jealousy.

The letters of Stuart on the subject have been carefully collected by D'Issraeli, and published in his *Calamities of Authors*, and when coupled with such traces of the influence of the persecutor as are to be found scattered here and there among the various periodicals of the age, furnish us with the painful picture of a man of intelligence and liberality made a fiend by literary hate. Stuart commenced his dark work in the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, established under his auspices in 1773. Dr. Henry had preached before the Society (in Scotland) for Promoting Christian Knowledge a sermon, entitled *Revelation the most Effectual Means of Civilizing and Reforming Mankind*, and in pursuance of the custom on such occasions, the sermon was published. The sermon was as familiar to all others of its class as any given piece of mechanism can be to all others intended for similar purposes; but Stuart discovered audacity in the attempt, and unexpected failure in the execution; it required "the union of philosophy and political skill, of erudition and eloquence, qualities which he was sorry to observe appeared here in no eminent

degree."¹ Dr. Macqueen published a letter in an anonymous form defending the sermon, and the hidden literary assassin boldly maintained it to be the work of Dr. Henry, an accusation not withdrawn till the respectable author announced himself to the world. Dr. Henry was soon after appointed by the magistrates to the situation of morning lecturer to the Tron Church. Under the disguise of the communication of a correspondent who mildly hints that the consequence of the proceeding will be a suit against the magistrates, we find the rounded periods of Stuart denouncing the act in those terms in which indignant virtue traces the mazes of vice and deceit, as "affording a precedent from which the mortifications of the pious may be impiously prostituted to uses to which they were never intended." In token of high respect, the General Assembly had chosen Dr. Henry as their moderator, on his first return as a member of that venerable body; and being thus marked out as a leader in the affairs of the church, he took a considerable share in the proceedings of the ensuing session. Here his enemy keeps an un-sleeping eye on his motions. Whilst the speeches of others are unnoticed or reported in their native simplicity, the narrator prepares himself for the handling of a choice morsel when he approaches the historian. "The opinion of one member," he observes, "we shall lay before the reader on account of its singularity. It is that of Dr. Henry, the moderator of last assembly;"² and then he proceeds to attract the finger of scorn towards opinions as ordinary as any opinions could well be conceived. The Doctor cannot even absent himself from a meeting without the circumstance being remarked, and a cause assigned which will admit the application of a preconceived sneer. Dr. Robertson was the opponent of Dr. Henry in this assembly. The periodical writer was the enemy of both, and his ingenuity has been taxed to bestow ridicule on both parties. Stuart at length slowly approaches the head and front of his victim's offending, and fixes on it with deadly eagerness. After having attacked the other vulnerable points of the author, he rushes ravenously on his History, and attempts its demolition. He finds that the unfortunate author "neither furnishes entertainment nor instruction. Diffuse, vulgar, and ungrammatical, he strips history of all her ornaments. His concessions are evidently contradictory to his conclusions. It is thus perpetually with authors who examine subjects which they cannot comprehend. He has amassed all the refuse and lumber of the times he would record." "The mind of his readers is affected with no agreeable emotions, it is awakened only to disgust and fatigue."³ But Stuart was not content with persecution at home, he wished to add the weapons of others to his own. For this purpose he procured a worthy associate, Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, and author of the *Genuine History of the Britons*. Stuart, a vague theorist in elegant and sonorous diction, who was weak enough to believe that his servile imitations of Montesquieu raised him to a parallel with that great man, associated himself in this work of charity with a minute and pugnacious antiquary, useful to literature from the sheer labour he had encountered, but eminently subject to the prejudices to which those who confine their laborious investigations to one narrow branch of knowledge are exposed;—a person who would expend many quarto pages in discussing a flint arrow-head or a tumulus of stones, occasionally attempting with a broken wing to follow the flights of Gibbon, but

generally as flat and sterile as the plains in which he strove to trace Roman encampments. Two more uncongenial spirits hardly ever attempted to work in concert. It may easily be supposed that the minute antiquary looked with jealousy on the extended theories of his generalizing colleague; and the generalizer, though he took occasion to praise the petty investigations of the antiquary, probably regarded them in secret with a similar contempt. But Stuart found the natural malignity of Whitaker a useful commodity; and the calm good sense of Henry afforded them a common object of hatred. A few extracts will give the best display of the spirit of Stuart's communications to his friends during his machinations. "David Hume wants to review Henry: but that task is so precious, that I will undertake it myself. Moses, were he to ask it as a favour, should not have it; yea, not even the man after God's own heart. I wish I could transport myself to London to review him for the *Monthly*—a fire there, and in the *Critical*, would perfectly annihilate him. Could you do nothing in the latter? To the former I suppose David Hume has transcribed the criticism he intended for us. It is precious, and would divert you. I keep a proof of it in my cabinet, for the amusement of friends. This great philosopher begins to dote."⁴ To-morrow morning Henry sets off for London, with immense hopes of selling his history. I wish sincerely that I could enter Holborn the same hour with him. He should have a repeated fire to combat with. I entreat that you may be so kind as to let him feel some of your thunder. I shall never forget the favour. If Whitaker is in London, he could give a blow. Paterson will give him a knock. Strike by all means. The wretch will tremble, grow pale, and return with a consciousness of his debility. I have a thousand thanks to give you for your insertion of the paper in the *London Chronicle*, and for the part you propose to act in regard to Henry. I could wish that you knew for certain his being in London before you strike the first blow. An inquiry at Cadell's will give this. When you have an enemy to attack, I shall in return give my best assistance, and aim at him a mortal blow; and rush forward to his overthrow, though the flames of hell should start up to oppose me."

Henry was not in possession of the poisoned weapons which would have enabled him to retaliate, and his good sense and equanimity of mind were no permanent protection against assaults so unceasing and virulent. He felt himself the personal subject of ridicule and perversion, his expected gains denied, and the fame which he expected from years of labour and retirement snatched from his grasp by the hand

¹ D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors*, ii. 67. The author appends in a note, "The critique on Henry, in the *Monthly Review*, was written by Hume, and because the philosopher was candid, he is here said to have doted." We suspect this is erroneous, and founded on mere presumption. We have carefully read the two critiques on Henry in the *Monthly Review*, which appeared previous to Hume's death. The elegance and profundity of Hume are wanting, and in giving an opinion of the work, which is moderate and tolerably just, the reviewer compares it somewhat disparagingly with the works of Hume and Robertson, a piece of conceit and affectation which the great philosopher would not have condescended to perpetrate. That Hume prepared and published a review of Henry's book we have no doubt. In the *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1791, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the same year, a critique is quoted, the work "of one of the most eminent historians of the present age, whose history of the same periods justly possesses the highest reputation." Without the aid of such a statement, the style stamps the author, and we may have occasion to quote it in the text as the work of Hume. Where it made its first appearance, a search through the principal periodicals of the day has not enabled us to discover. It is in the first person singular, and may have been in the form of a letter to the editor of a newspaper.

¹ *Edinburgh Review and Magazine*, i. 195.

² *Ibid.* ii. 357.

³ *Ibid.* i. 266-270.

of a ruffian.¹ In the midst of these adversities Henry went to London for actual shelter, but the watchful enemy observed his motions—attacks were inserted in one print and copied into another—the influence of his persecutor is widely perceptible in the periodical literature of the age. The *Critical Review* had praised the first volume of his history. The second meets with a very different reception: "it is with pain the reviewer observes, that in proportion as his narrative and inquiries are applied to cultivated times, his diligence and labour seem to relax," and a long list of alleged inaccuracies, chiefly on minute and disputed points, follows: the style is evidently not the natural language of the pompous Stuart, but it is got up in obedience to his directions on the vulnerable points of the historian, and the minuteness hints at the hand of Whitaker. Henry answered by a moderate letter defending his opinions, and acknowledging one mistake. The reviewer returns to his work with renovated vigour, and among other things accuses the historian of wilfully perverting authority. The charge of dishonesty rouses the calm divine, and with some severity he produces the words of the authority, and the use he has made of them. The editor claims the merit of candour for printing the communication, and as there is no gainsaying the fact it contains, appends an obscure hint which seems to intimate he knows more than he chooses to tell; a mode of backing out of a mistake not uncommon in periodical works, as if the editorial dignity were of so delicate a nature as not to bear a candid and honourable confession of error. Years afterwards, it is singular to discover the *Critical Review* returning to its original tone, and lauding the presence of qualities of which it had found occasion to censure the want. Stuart associated himself with his friend Whitaker in conducting the *English Review* in 1783, and it is singular, that amidst the devastation of that irascible periodical, no blow is aimed at Henry. But Stuart did not neglect his duty in the *Political Herald*, published in 1785, an able disturber of the tranquillity of literature, of which he was the sole conductor. Here he gave his last and deepest stab; accusing the venerable historian in terms the most bitter and vituperative, of a hankering after language and ideas, unworthy of his profession; concluding with the observation that "an extreme attention to smut in a Presbyterian clergyman, who has reached the last scene of his life, is a deformity so shocking, that no language of reprobation is strong enough to chastise it."² The heartless insinuation was probably dictated by the consciousness that, whether true or false, no charge would be more acutely felt by the simple-minded divine. Stuart had, however, a very acute eye towards the real failings of Henry, and in his Protean attacks he has scarcely left one of them without a brand. It was not without reason that he said to his London correspondent, "If you would only transcribe his jests, it would make him perfectly ridiculous." Henry was fond of garnishing with a few sallies of wit his pictures of human folly; but he was unhappy in the bold attempt. They had too much pleasing simplicity and good-humoured grotesqueness for the purpose to which they were applied. More like the good-natured humour of Goldsmith than the piercing sarcasm of Voltaire, they might have served to strike the lighter foibles ex-

hibited in our daily path; but to attack the grander follies of mankind displayed in history, it may be said they did not possess sufficient venom to make formidable so light a weapon as wit.

We have been so much engrossed with the dreary details of malignity that we will scarcely find room for many other details of Henry's life; but the history of the book is the history of the author—in its fate is included all that the world need care to know of the unassuming individual who composed it. It is with pleasure, then, that we turn to the brighter side; Henry calmly weathered out the storm which assailed him, and in his green old age the world smiled upon his labours. Hume, who had so successfully trod the same field, was the first to meet Henry's book with a welcome hearty and sincere; he knew the difficulties of the task, and if he was sufficiently acute to observe that Henry was far behind himself, neither jealousy nor conceit provoked him to give utterance to such feelings. "His historical narratives," says this able judge, "are as full as those remote times seem to demand, and at the same time his inquiries of the antiquarian kind omit nothing which can be an object of doubt or curiosity. The one as well as the other is delivered with great perspicuity, and no less propriety, which are the true ornaments of this kind of writing; all superfluous embellishments are avoided; and the reader will hardly find in our language any performance that unites together so perfectly the two great points of entertainment and instruction." Dr. Henry had printed the first edition of the first five volumes of his book at his own risk, but on a demand for a new edition, he entered into a transaction with a bookseller, which returned him £3300. In the middle of its career the work secured royal attention; Lord Mansfield recommended the author to George III., and his majesty, "considering his distinguished talents and great literary merit, and the importance of the very useful and laborious work in which he was so successfully engaged as titles to his royal countenance and favour," bestowed on him a pension of £100 a year. For the honour of royal munificence it is to be hoped that the gift was the reward of labour and literary merit, and not (as the author's enemies have proclaimed) the wages of the political principles he inculcated. The insinuation is indeed not without apparent foundation. Henry, if not a perverter of history in favour of arbitrary power, is at least one of those prudent speculators who are apt to look on government as something established on fixed and permanent principles, to which all opposing interests must give way—on the government as something highly respectable—on the mass of the people as something not quite so respectable—on the community as existing for the government, and not on the government as adapted to the conveniences of the community.

Five volumes of Dr. Henry's history appeared before his death, and the ample materials he had left for the completion of the sixth were afterwards edited by Mr. Laing, and a continuation was written by Mr. Petit Andrews. The laborious author prepared the whole for the press with his own hand, notwithstanding a tremulous disorder, which compelled him to write on a book placed on his knee. In the latter years of his life he retired to Milnfield, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, where he enjoyed the company of his friend and relative, Mr. Laurie. In 1786 his constitution began visibly to decline; but he continued his labours till 1790. About that period his wife was affected with blindness from a cataract, and he accompanied her to Edinburgh, where she submitted to the usual operation, which, however, had

¹ Behold the triumph of the calumniator in the success of his labours:—"I see every day that what is written to a man's disparagement is never forgot nor forgiven. Poor Henry is on the point of death, and his friends declare that I have killed him; I received the information as a compliment, and begged they would not do me so much honour."—D'Israeli's *Calumnies*, ii. 72.

² *Political Herald*, vol. i. p. 203.

not the desired effect during her husband's lifetime. Dr. Henry died on the 24th of November, 1790, in the seventy-third year of his age. The fifth edition of the *History of Britain* was published in 1823, in twelve volumes 8vo. A French translation was published in 1789-96 by MM. Rowland and Cantwell.

HENRYSON, EDWARD, LL.D., an eminent civilian and classical scholar, and a senator of the College of Justice. The period of the birth of this eminent man is unknown; but it must have taken place early in the sixteenth century. Previously to the year 1551 we find him connecting himself, as most Scotsmen of talent and education at that period did, with the learned men on the Continent, and distinguishing himself in his knowledge of civil law, a science which, although it was the foundation of the greater part of the municipal law of Scotland, he could have no ready means of acquiring in his own country. This study he pursued at the university of Bruges under the tuition of Equinar Baro, an eminent civilian, with whom he afterwards lived on terms of intimacy and strong attachment. It is probable that he owed to this individual his introduction to a munificent patron, who afterwards watched and assisted his progress in the world. Ulric Fugger, Lord of Kirchberg and Weissenhome, a Tyrolese nobleman, who had previously distinguished himself as the patron of the eminent Scottish civilian Scrimger, extended an apparently ample literary patronage to Henryson, admitting him to reside within his castle, amidst a large assortment of valuable books and manuscripts, and bestowing on him a regular pension. Henryson afterwards dedicated his works to his patron, and the circumstance that Baro inscribed some of his commentaries on the Roman law to the same individual prompts us to think it probable that Henryson owed the notice of Fugger to the recommendation of his kind preceptor.¹ Dempster, who in his life of Henryson, as usual, refers to authors who never mention his name, and some of whom indeed wrote before he had acquired any celebrity, maintains that he translated into Latin (probably about this period, and while he resided in Fugger's castle) the *Commentarium Stoicorum Contrariorum* of Plutarch; and that he did so must be credited, as the work is mentioned in Quesnel's *Bibliotheca Thuana*; but the book appears to have dropped out of the circle of literature, and it is not now to be found in any public library we are aware of. In the year 1552 he returned to Scotland, where he appears to have practised as an advocate. The protection and hospitality he had formerly received from the Tyrolese nobleman was continued to him by Henry Sinclair, then dean of Glasgow, afterwards bishop of Ross, and president of the Court of Session—thus situated, he is said to have translated the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, and the *Commentaries* of Arrian; but the fruit of his labours was never published, and the manuscript is not known to be in existence. Again Henryson returned to the Continent, after having remained in his native country for a short period, and the hospitable mansion of Fugger was once more open for his reception. About this period Baro, whom we have mentioned as Henryson's instructor in law, published a *Tractatus on Jurisdiction*, which met an attack from the civilian Govea, which, according to the opinion expressed by Henryson as an opponent, did more honour to his talents than to his equanimity and candour. Henryson defended his master in a controversial pamphlet of some length, entering with vehemence into the

minute distinctions which at that period distracted the intellects of the most eminent jurisconsults. This work is dedicated to his patron Fugger. He was in 1554 chosen professor of the civil law at Bruges—a university in which one who wrote a century later states him to have left behind him a strong recollection of his talents and virtues. In 1555 he published another work on civil law, entitled *Commentatio in Tit. X. Libri Secundi Institutionum de Testamentis Ordinandis*. It is a sort of running commentary on the title of which it professes to treat, was dedicated to Michael D'Hospital, chancellor of France, and had the good fortune, along with his previous *Tractatus*, to be engrossed in the great *Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici* of Gerard Meerman, an honour which has attached itself to the works of few Scottish civilians. Henryson appears, soon after the publication of this work, to have resigned his professorship at Bruges, and to have returned to Scotland, where lucrative prospects were opened to his ambition.

A very noble feature in the history of the Scottish courts of law is the attention with which the legislature in early periods provided for the interests of the poor. Soon after the erection of the College of Justice, an advocate was named and paid for conducting the cases of those whose pecuniary circumstances did not permit them to conduct a lawsuit; and Henryson was in 1557 appointed to the situation of counsel for the poor as to a great public office, receiving as a salary £20 Scots, no very considerable sum even at that period, but equal to one-half of the salary allowed to the lord-advocate. When the judicial privileges which the Roman Catholic clergy had gradually engrossed from the judicature of the country, were considered no longer the indispensable duties and privileges of churchmen, but more fit for the care of temporal judges, Henryson was appointed in 1563 to the office of commissary, with a salary of 300 merks. Secretary Maitland of Lethington having in January, 1566, been appointed an *ordinary*, in place of being an *extraordinary*, lord of session, Henryson was appointed in his stead, filling a situation seldom so well bestowed, and generally, instead of being filled by a profound legal scholar, reserved for such scions of great families as the government could not easily employ otherwise. Henryson was nominated one of the commission appointed in May, 1566, "for viseing, correcting, and imprinting the laws and acts of parliament." Of the rather carelessly arranged volume of the *Acts of the Scottish Parliament*, from 1424 to 1564, which the commission produced in six months after its appointment, he was the ostensible editor, and wrote the preface; and it was probably as holding such a situation, or in reward for his services, that in June, 1566, he received an exclusive privilege and license "to imprint or cause imprint and sell, the *Laws and Acts of Parliament*; that is to say, the Bukes of Law callit *Regiam Majestatem*, and the remanent auld Lawis and Actis of Parliament, consequentlie maid be progress of time unto the dait of thir presentis, viseit, sychtit, and correctit, be the lordis commissaris speciallie deput to the said viseing, sychting, and correcting thair of, and that for the space of ten yeires next to cum."² In November, 1567, he was removed from the bench, or, in the words of a contemporary, taken "off sessions, because he was one of the king's council."³ This is the only intimation we have of his having held such an office; and it is a rather singular cause of removal, as the king's advocate was

¹ See the dedication to *Tractatus de Jurisdictione Henrysoni*, Meerman's *Thesaurus*, vol. ii.

² *Reports from the Record Commission*, i. 257.

³ Denmil MS.—Haig and Brunton's *History of the College of Justice*, 133.

then entitled to sit on the bench, and was frequently chosen from among the lords of session. Henryson was one of the procurators for the church in 1573. The period of his death is not known, but he must have been alive in 1579, as Lord Forbes at that time petitioned parliament that he might be appointed one of the commissioners for deciding the differences betwixt the Forbeses and Gordons.

Henryson has received high praise as a juriconsult by some of his brethren of the Continent, and Dempster considered him—"Solis Papinianis in juris cognitione inferior." A monument was erected to his memory in the Grayfriars' Churchyard of Edinburgh, by his son Thomas Henryson, Lord Chesters, who is said by Dempster and others to have displayed many of the legal and other qualifications of his father.

HENRYSON, or HENDERSON, ROBERT, a poet of the fifteenth century, is described as having been chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and this is almost the only particular of his life that is sufficiently ascertained. According to one writer, he was a notary public as well as a schoolmaster; and another is inclined to identify him with Henryson of Fordell, the father of James Henryson, who was king's advocate and justice-clerk, and who perished in the fatal battle of Flodden. This very dubious account seems to have originated with Sir Robert Douglas, who avers that Robert Henryson appears to have been a person of distinction in the reign of James III., and that he was the father of the king's advocate. Douglas refers to a certain charter granted by the abbot of Dunfermline in 1478, where Robert Henryson subscribes as a witness;¹ but in this charter he certainly appears without any particular distinction, as he merely attests it in the character of a notary public. A later writer is still more inaccurate when he pretends that the same witness is described as Robert Henryson of Fordell;² in this and other two charters which occur in the Chartulary of Dunfermline, he is described as a notary public, without any other addition.³ That the notary public, the schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and the proprietor of Fordell, were one and the same individual is by no means to be admitted upon such slender and defective evidence. Henryson, or, according to its more modern and less correct form, Henderson, was not at that period an uncommon surname. It is not however improbable that the schoolmaster may have exercised the profession of a notary. While the canon law prevailed in Scotland, this profession was generally exercised by ecclesiastics, and some vestiges of the ancient practice are still to be traced; every notary designates himself a *clerk* of a particular diocese; and by the act of 1584, which, under the penalty of deprivation, prohibited the clergy from following the profession of the law, they still retained the power of making testaments; so that we continue to admit the rule of the canon law, which sustains a will attested by the parish priest and two or three witnesses.⁴ If, therefore, Henryson was a notary, it is highly probable that he was also an ecclesiastic, and if he was an ecclesiastic, he could not well leave any legitimate offspring. The poet, in one of his works, describes himself as

"ane man of age;" and from Sir Francis Kinaston we learn that, "being very old, he died of a diarrhæ or fluxe." With respect to the period of his decease, it is at least certain that he died before Dunbar, who in his *Lament*, printed in the year 1508, commemorates him among other departed poets:—

"In Dunfermling he hes tane Broun,
With gude Mr. Robert Henrysoun."

The compositions of Henryson evince a poetical fancy, and for the period when he lived, an elegant simplicity of taste. He has carefully avoided that cumbrous and vitiated diction which began to prevail among the Scottish as well as the English poets. To his power of poetical conception he unites no inconsiderable skill in versification: his lines, if divested of their uncouth orthography, might often be mistaken for those of a much more modern poet. His principal work is the collection of *Fables*, thirteen in number, which are written in a pleasing manner, and are frequently distinguished by their arch simplicity; but in compositions of this nature brevity is a quality which may be considered as almost indispensable, nor can it be denied that those of Henryson sometimes extend to too great a length. The collection is introduced by a prologue, and another is prefixed to the fable of the lion and the mouse.

The tale of *Vpoulunds Mouse* and the *Burgesses Mouse* may be regarded as one of his happiest efforts in this department. The same tale, which is borrowed from Æsop, has been told by many other poets, ancient as well as modern. Babrias has despatched the story of the two mice in a few verses, but Henryson has extended it over a surface of several pages. Henryson's *Tale of Sir Chauntecleire and the Foxe* is evidently borrowed from Chaucer's *Nonnes Preestes Tale*. From these apologies some curious fragments of information may be gleaned. That of the *Sheepe and the Dog* contains all the particulars of an action before the consistory court, and probably as complete an exposure of such transactions as the author could prudently hazard. The proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts seem about this period to have been felt as a common grievance.

Another conspicuous production of Henryson is the *Testament of Cresseid*,⁵ which is the sequel to Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresseide*, and is commonly printed among the works of that poet. It evidently rises above the ordinary standard of that period, and on some occasions evinces no mean felicity of conception. The silent interview between Troilus and Cresseid is skillfully delineated; and the entire passage has been described as beautiful by a very com-

⁵ "The *Testament of Cresseid*, compylit be Mr. Robert Henrysone, sculemaister in Dunfermling. Imprentit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris, 1593, 4to."—"For the author of this supplement," says Sir Francis Kinaston, "called the *Testament of Cresseid*, which may passe for the sixt and last booke of this story, I have very sufficiently bin informed by Sir Tho. Ereskin, late Earle of Kelly, and divers aged scholars of the Scottish nation, that it was made and written by one Mr. Robert Henderson, sometime chiefe schoole-master in Dunfermling, much about the time that Chaucer was first printed and dedicated to King Henry the 8th by Mr. Thinne, which was neere the end of his raigne. This Mr. Henderson wittily observing that Chaucer in his 5th booke had related the death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Cresseid, he learnedly takes upon him, in a fine poetical way, to expresse the punishment and end due to a false unconstant whore, which commonly terminates in extreme misery." See the "*Loves of Troilus and Cresseid*, written by Chaucer; with a commentary by Sir Francis Kinaston, p. xxix. Lond. 1796, 8vo." Kinaston had translated into Latin rhyme two books of Chaucer's poem, and had published them under the title of *Amorum Troili et Cresseida libri duo priores Anglo-Latini*, Oxoniae, 1635, 4to. He completed his version of the poem, together with a commentary; and his manuscript at length came into the possession of Mr. Waldron, who announced his intention of committing it to the press, but did not find encouragement to proceed beyond a short specimen.

¹ Douglas' *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 518.

² Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. i. p. 83.

³ Chartulary of Dunfermline, f. 64 a.—Robert Henryson is a witness to other two charters which occur in the same record, f. 63, a. b. His only mark of distinction is that of being designated *Magister*, while the names of several other witnesses appear without this title. He had perhaps taken the degree of Master of Arts.

⁴ Decretal. Gregorii IX. lib. iii. tit. xxvi. cap. x.

petent judge of old poetry.¹ It is unnecessary to remark that for "the tale of Troy divine," neither Chaucer nor Henryson had recourse to the classical sources; this, like some other subjects of ancient history, had been invested with all the characteristics of modern romance; nor could the Scottish poet be expected to deviate from the models which delighted his contemporaries. Sir Troilus is commended for his knightly piety; a temple is converted into a *kirk*; Mercury is elected speaker of the parliament; and Cresseid, on being afflicted with a leprosy, is consigned to a spittal-house, in order to beg with cup and clapper. The personages are ancient, but the institutions and manners are all modern.

Henryson's tale of *Orpheus* is not free from similar incongruities, and possesses fewer attractions; it is indeed somewhat languid and feeble, and may have been a lucubration of the author's old age. Sir Orpheus is represented as a king of Thrace, and is first despatched to heaven in search of the lost Eurydice.

Orpheus en lit was the sangis lament able,

He tuke his harp, that on his breast can hyng,

Syne passit to the hevin, as sais the fable,

To seke his wyf, bot that availit no thing:

By Wadlyng strete² he went bot taryng,

Syne come doun throu the spere of Saturn ald,

Quhilk fader is of all thir sternis cald.

Having searched the sun and planets without success, he directs his course towards the earth, and in his passage is regaled with the music of the spheres. His subsequent adventures are circumstantially but not very poetically detailed. In enumerating the various characters whom he finds in the domains of Pluto, the poet is guilty of a glaring anachronism: here Orpheus finds Julius Cesar, Nero, and even popes and cardinals; and it is likewise to be remarked that the heathen and Christian notions of hell are blended together. But such anachronisms are very frequently to be found in the writers of the middle ages. Mr. Warton remarks that Chaucer has been guilty of a very diverting, and what may be termed a double anachronism, by representing Cresseid and two of her female companions as reading the *Thebaid* of Statius.³ Like the fables of Henryson, his tale of *Orpheus* is followed by a long moral; and here he professes to have derived his materials from Boethius and one of his commentators.

The *Bludy Serk* is an allegorical poem of considerable ingenuity. The poet represents the fair daughter of an ancient and worthy king as having been carried away by a hideous giant, and cast into a dungeon, where she was doomed to linger until some valiant knight should achieve her deliverance. A worthy prince at length appeared as her champion, vanquished the giant, and thrust him into his own loathsome dungeon. Having restored the damsel to her father, he felt that he had received a mortal wound: he requested her to retain his bloody shirt, and to contemplate it whenever a new lover should

present himself. It is unnecessary to add that the interpretation of this allegory involves the high mysteries of the Christian faith.

The *Abbey Walk* is of a solemn character, and is not altogether incapable of impressing the imagination. Its object is to inculcate submission to the various dispensations of Providence, and this theme is managed with some degree of skill. But the most beautiful of Henryson's productions is *Robene and Makyne*, the earliest specimen of pastoral poetry in the Scottish language. I consider it as superior in many respects to the similar attempts of Spenser and Browne; it is free from the glaring improprieties which sometimes appear in the pastorals of those more recent writers, and it exhibits many genuine strokes of poetical delineation. The shepherd's indifference is indeed too suddenly converted into love; but this is almost the only instance in which the operations of nature are not faithfully represented. The story is skilfully conducted, the sentiments and manners are truly pastoral, and the diction possesses wonderful terseness and suavity.

The *Fables* of Henryson were reprinted in 1832, for the Bannatyne Club,⁴ from the edition of Andrew Hart; of which the only copy known to exist had been recently added to that great repository of Scottish literature—the Advocates' Library.

HEPBURN, JAMES BONAVENTURA, of the order of the Minims, said to have been an extensive linguist, lexicographer, grammarian, and biblical commentator; but, notwithstanding the renown of his vast learning, the particulars of his life are scanty and unsatisfactory. James Bonaventura Hepburn was son to Thomas Hepburn, rector of Oldhamstocks in Lothian. M'Kenzie states that he was born on the 14th day of July, 1573, and that we may not discredit the assertion, presents us with a register kept by the rector of Oldhamstocks, of the respective periods of birth of his nine sons. He received his university education at St. Andrews, where, after his philosophical studies, he distinguished himself in the acquisition of the oriental languages. Although educated in the principles of the Protestant religion, he was induced to become a convert to the Church of Rome. After this change in his faith he visited the Continent, residing in France and Italy, and thence passing through "Turkey, Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, and most of the eastern countries," gathering languages as he went, until he became so perfect a linguist, "that he could have travelled over the whole earth, and spoke to each nation in their own language." On returning from these laborious travels he entered the monastery of the Minims at Avignon, an order so called from its members choosing in humility to denominate themselves "Minimi Fratres Eremitæ," as being more humble still than the Minores or Franciscans. He afterwards resided in the French monastery of the Holy Trinity at Rome. Here his eminent qualities attracted a ferment of attention from the learned world, and Pope Paul V. invaded his retirement

¹ Scott's notes to *Sir Tristrem*, p. 362.

² Wadlyng-street is a name given to one of the great Roman ways in Britain. Hensley's *Roman Antiquities of Britain*, p. 387. Lond. 1732, fol.) This passage, which to some persons may appear so unintelligible, will be best explained by a quotation from Chaucer's *House of Fame*, b. ii.

Lo, quod he, caste vp thyne eye,
Se yonder, lo, the Galaxye,
The whiche men clepe the Milky Way,
For it is whyte; and some perflay
Callen it Wadlyng strete.

³ In Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, says Mr. Douce, "Hector quotes Aristotle, Ulysses speaks of the bull-bearing Milo, and Pandarus of a man born in April. Friday and Sunday, and even minced-pies with dates in them, are introduced." — *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, vol. ii. p. 291.

⁴ From the accurate memoir prefixed to this volume we have abridged the above article. In the *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, Mr. P. F. Tytler has entered at considerable length into the merits of Henryson's poetry, of which he gives copious extracts. He says: "Of the works of this remarkable man it is difficult, when we consider the period in which they were written, to speak in terms of too warm encomium. In strength, and sometimes even in sublimity of painting, in pathos and sweetness, in the variety and beauty of his pictures of natural scenery, in the vein of quiet and playful humour which runs through many of his pieces, and in that fine natural taste, which, rejecting the faults of his age, has dared to think for itself—he is altogether excellent."

by appointing him librarian of the oriental books and manuscripts of the Vatican.¹

We shall now take the liberty of enumerating a few of the many weighty productions of our author's pen, chiefly, it is to be presumed, written during the six years in which he was librarian of the Vatican. *Dictionarium Hebraicum—Dictionarium Chaldaicum—Peter Malcuti, seu Gloria vel Deus Israelis* [continet cent. Homilias sive Conciones]—*Epitomen Chroniconum Romanorum—Gesta Regum Israelis—Grammatica Arabica* (said to have been published at Rome in 1591, 4to.) He translated *Commentarii Rabbi Kimchi in Psalterium—Rabbi Abraham Aben Ezra Librum de Mysticis numeris—Ejusdem Librum alium de Septemplexi Modo interpretandi Sacram Scripturam*.

Hepburn dabbled in the doctrines of the Cabala, but whether in vindication or attack, the oracular observations of his biographers hardly enable us to ascertain. He died at Venice in October, 1620.

HEPBURNE, JAMES, EARL OF BOTHWELL.

Little is known of the early career of this man, who holds so unenviable a place in the annals of Scotland. A considerable portion of his youth appears to have been spent in France, where he not only acquired the accomplishments, but learned those profligate habits, by which the French court was distinguished. Fatally, indeed, was the nature of this training afterwards illustrated! His first return from that country to Scotland was in 1560, at which time he is thus characterized by Throckmorton in a letter to Queen Elizabeth:—"He is a glorious, rash, and hazardous young man, and therefore it were meet his adversaries should both have an eye to him, and also keep him short." Six years afterwards, when he stood more distinctly out to public notice, Cecil wrote of him:—"I assure you Bothwell is as naughty a man as liveth, and much given to the detestable vice." After events showed but too well that this was neither the language of prejudice nor malignity. It is probable that he was now about the age of thirty. He does not appear to have been distinguished for personal beauty, having, on the contrary, rather an ill-favoured countenance; but his ingratiating arts and showy manners were more than enough to counterbalance any defects of personal appearance. The outbreak that ended in the Chace-about-raid, which was so unfortunate to the Earl of Murray and his party, was of the utmost benefit to his enemy, the Earl of Bothwell; he was called to court, restored to his hereditary office of lord high-admiral of Scotland, and appointed lieutenant of the west and middle marches. He was not long idle, for we find him in the field with the queen about three weeks after, when Murray's dispirited troops fled before her and took refuge in England. When the assassination of David Rizzio occurred, Bothwell, who was in the palace of Holyrood at the commencement of the uproar, and heard the distant outcries that accompanied the deed, put himself, with the Earl of Huntly, at the head of the menials, who had snatched up whatever kitchen weapons came first to hand, and hurried to the rescue; but this motley band was easily dispersed by the armed retainers of the Earl of Morton, who were stationed at the inner court.

On this occasion Bothwell and Huntly, finding themselves prisoners in the palace, and fearing that their own death was to follow the assassination of Rizzio, descended from the back windows by a cord, and made their escape through the fields. After this event it soon appeared that Bothwell was to enter into the place, and enjoy the envied favour, which the unfortunate Italian had held, let the termination be what it might. He was called to the queen's counsels, and every day he rose in her esteem, while her contempt of Darnley increased. It was easy, indeed, for a woman's eye—and such a woman as Mary—to distinguish between the shallow-minded poltroon whom she had placed by her side on the throne, and the bold, gay, chivalrous courtier who added to the graces of his continental manners and education the unscrupulous ambition of the Frenchman and the daring courage of the Scot. Unfortunate it was for Mary that her education, and the examples by which her youth had been surrounded, had little qualified her either to regulate such feelings or check them at the commencement, and her admiration was soon followed by a culpable affection, which at last she was unable to conceal, even from the most unsuspecting of her subjects. At the beginning of October (1566) she had resolved to make a justiciary progress to Jedburgh, in consequence of the rebellious conduct of the border chieftains on the south-eastern frontier; and, as a preparative, she sent Bothwell thither, two days previous, with the title and authority of lord-lieutenant of the border. But on reaching his destination he was so severely wounded by a desperate freebooter, whom he endeavoured to apprehend with his own hand, that he was obliged to be carried to the neighbouring castle of Hermitage. Mary, who was then at the castle of Borthwick, no sooner heard of his disaster than, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, the danger of such a journey, and the smallness of her train, she hurried with all speed to Jedburgh, and from thence to Hermitage, to visit him. A dangerous fever was the consequence of this violent exertion, under which she was insensible for several days at Jedburgh; and on recovering her consciousness she was so impressed with the thought that death was at hand, that she requested the nobles who were present to pray for her, commended her son to the guardianship of Queen Elizabeth, and sent for her neglected husband, who arrived two days after the crisis had passed. But now that the danger was over, she received him with her wonted aversion, and treated him with such discourtesy as made him glad, on the following day, to set off to Stirling. But very different was the reception of Bothwell, whom she caused to be brought to her own temporary residence until he was fully recovered. The same marked difference in the conduct of the queen towards her husband and her paramour was equally apparent in the baptism of her son, afterwards James VI. of Scotland and I. of England. On such an important occasion the father of the child, whatever might have been his faults, should have been a prominent personage in the ceremonial. But no. Bothwell was placed in his room as master of the arrangements, while poor Darnley, though living under the same roof (the castle of Stirling), was required to confine himself to his apartments, on the plea that his apparel was not good enough to appear among the lordly throng at the baptismal font. And this was not all, for the ambassadors assembled there were forbid to hold conference with him, and the nobility to wait on him or escort him. Even James Melvil, who had compassionated the poor fallen consort, and presented him with a spongel, was rated

¹ It is singular that a person in the 17th century, living in Italy, professing so many languages in a country where linguists were rare, a librarian of the Vatican, and one whose eminent parts had divulged his fame through the whole city—should have entirely escaped the vast researches of Andre in general literature, Fraoschi's *Ample Investigation of Italian Literature*, the minute *Ecclesiastical Bibliographies* of Dupin and Labbe, and other works of the same description.

by the queen for so doing, declaring that she could no longer trust him, as he had made a present to one for whom she entertained no affection.

Bothwell was not a man to bear these honours meekly, or content himself with the love of the queen without sharing in her power. Already, also, he knew too well her wishes on the subject. She would have divorced Darnley to make room for his rival, but besides the difficulty of procuring a divorce, the legitimacy of her son would thereby have been called in question. No remedy remained but the death of Darnley, let it occur as it might. Upon this hint Bothwell was now in action. He sounded the principal nobles upon the expediency of removing him, alleging the queen's consent to that effect, and besought their co-operation. He spoke to those whose minds were already familiar with the idea of assassination, and whose power, when banded together, could brave discovery when it ensued, while so many concurred in his design that he thought he might now prosecute it without scruple. As for the poor victim of these machinations, he had left Stirling; the queen, at his departure, causing his silver plate to be taken away, and paltry tin vessels to be substituted in their stead. He had fallen sick when he was scarcely a mile on his journey, and on reaching Glasgow eruptions resembling the small-pox broke out over his whole body, and confined him to a sick-bed. But, in the meantime, the plot against his life was so fully matured that nothing more remained than to bring him within reach of his murderer. Mary repaired to Glasgow to persuade him to return with her, and take up his abode in the castle of Craigmillar, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, where his recovery would be more speedy; and Darnley, allured by her kind words and relenting endearments, assented to all her wishes. He had received, indeed, some obscure intimations of a conspiracy formed against his life, and been warned that the queen had spoken harshly of him previous to her journey; but while she sat beside his bed, and addressed him so tenderly, all his first love returned, so that he treated these reports as idle tales. As for Mary, on retiring from his company she wrote a full account of the whole interview to Bothwell; and so completely was the after-tragedy settled between them, that she alluded to his contemplated divorce from Lady Jane Gordon and marriage with herself, and besought him neither to be moved from his purpose by his wife's tears nor her brother's threats. Soon after Darnley, not yet recovered, was removed in a litter from Glasgow to Edinburgh, not, however, to be accommodated in the princely castle of Craigmillar, but an obscure habitation called Kirk of Field, belonging to one of Bothwell's creatures; a place sufficiently within reach of Edinburgh, but lonely enough for the perpetration of a deed of murder.

So fully was the plan already matured, that Bothwell had false keys made of the house, and sent to Dunbar for a barrel of gunpowder, that was to be placed under Darnley's apartment. Matters now began to look so mysterious, that some of the king's servants, under that vague inexplicable terror which often precedes some terrible tragic deed, withdrew their attendance. Not so, however, the queen, who continued to lavish upon him every assurance of endearment, and spent two nights in an apartment adjoining his own. On Sunday night Darnley was to be no more; and while she was spending the evening with him in his room upstairs, the preparations were silently going on in the apartment below; and at ten o'clock the gunpowder was strewed in heaps upon the floor, and all put in readiness for

the explosion, after which Bothwell's servant Paris, a chief actor in the deed, entered the room above, where the pair were conversing. Mary, only the night before, had caused a bed of new velvet to be removed from the room, and also a rich coverlet of fur; and it was now full time that she should remove herself also. She then called to mind that she had promised to be at a masquerade in Holyrood House, that was to be given in honour of the marriage of her servant Bastian, with Margaret Carwood, a favourite female attendant, and passed onward to Holyrood with torch-light. When she was gone, an hour intervened before Darnley retired to bed, during which he entertained his servants, in the full overflow of his gladness, with an account of the queen's gracious speeches before they parted, and the hopes of his return to favour and influence. But one part of the interview still strangely haunted him, and marred his triumph. Why had the queen reminded him that, just at the same time a twelvemonth back, David Rizzio had been assassinated—that deed of which his conscience told him he had been the chief promoter? Ill at ease with the past, and having a gloomy anticipation about the future, he turned to the Bible for consolation, and read the 55th psalm, after which he went to bed, and was soon overtaken by his last sleep.

In the meantime, the return of Mary to Holyrood was a signal to Bothwell that all was in readiness. After lingering in the hall until about midnight, when the most wakeful in Edinburgh were usually asleep, he exchanged his rich gala dress for a common suit, in which he could not easily be recognized, stole out of the back of the palace through the garden, and accompanied by four of his servants, went through the gate of the Nether Bow, giving to the sentinel's question of "Who goes there?" the answer of "Friends of Lord Bothwell." Between the hours of two and three a terrible explosion shook the houses nearest the Kirk of Field, and roused the townsmen from their slumbers, while the assassins ran back to the city, and re-entered Holyrood as stealthily as they had left it. A crowd of citizens, whom the din had alarmed, repaired to the spot, and found the house a heap of ruin, and the bodies of the king and the page of his chamber lying dead in a neighbouring orchard. But it was remarked that neither the corpses nor their night-clothes were scorched with powder, and that they were too far from the house to have been thrown there by the explosion; it was evident that other and surer agencies had been at work, and that gunpowder had been resorted to merely to mislead inquiry, or make the deed appear the work of accident. The full particulars that afterwards came out on trial justified these surmises. Darnley had been strangled, and as it was asserted, by the hands of Bothwell himself; the page had undergone the same fate; and the bodies being afterwards removed into the orchard, the match had been lighted that communicated with the gunpowder. While the crowd were still gazing upon the ruins, and bewildering themselves in speculation, Bothwell himself arrived among them at the head of a party of soldiers. On returning to Holyrood he had gone to bed, that he might receive the expected tidings like an innocent man; and when, half an hour afterwards, a hasty messenger knocked at his door, and told him what had happened, he shouted, "Treason!" repaired with the Earl of Huntly to the queen to advise her of the misfortune, and afterwards passed on to the spot, as if anxious to hold inquest upon the fact, and discover the authors of the deed. But he only dispersed the crowd, whose sharp curiosity he must have felt unpleasant, and caused the bodies to

be removed to a neighbouring house, where no one was permitted to see them. That of Darnley was soon after carried to the palace; and, instead of an honourable funeral, such as was befitting a king-consort, it was carried at night by pioneers, and interred without solemnity beside the grave of David Rizzio.

As soon as tidings of the murder had reached her, Mary shut herself up in her apartment, where she would admit no one to see her but Bothwell, or hold intercourse with any of her servants but through himself. According to the custom of the country, forty days should have been spent in seclusion and mourning, with closed doors and windows; but on the fourth day the windows were unshaded, and before the twelfth she repaired with Bothwell to Seton Castle, where they mingled in the gay amusements of the place, shot at the butts in trials of archery with Huntly and Seton, and crowned their victory with the forfeit of the losers, which was a dinner at Tranent. In the meantime, was any diligence, or even show of diligence, given to apprehend the murderers? Strange to tell, it was not until three days after the deed that such a step was taken; and on Wednesday, the 12th of February, a proclamation was made, offering a reward of £2000 (Scotch?) for the detection of the criminals. No sooner was this done than every tongue was ready to name the name of Bothwell. But the bold bad man was too powerful to be accused, as well as too unscrupulous to be provoked, and no one was found so hardy as to step forth to criminate him. Still it was impossible for the general suspicion to remain wholly silent, and while voices were heard in the darkness of midnight through the streets proclaiming Bothwell to be the king's murderer, placards and pictures were affixed on the public places to the same effect. It was then only that judicial activity, which had hitherto slumbered, was roused to detect the libellers; and such of the citizens as could write a fair hand, or limn a sketch, were submitted to a sharp examination, while an edict was published denouncing the punishment of death not only to the writers, but the readers of these libels. Bothwell, also, alarmed at these indications of public feeling, rode into Edinburgh with fifty armed men at his back, publicly threatening that he would wash his hands in the blood of these traducers, and clutching the hilt of his dagger in guilty suspicion when he spoke to any one of whose good-will he was not certain. At length a movement was made to convict him, and from the proper quarter, by the Earl of Lennox, father of the murdered king. On the 20th of February he wrote to the queen, entreating that a public assize should immediately be held on the subject of his son's assassination; but to this most reasonable request Mary sent for answer, that the parliament had already been summoned, and that its first business on meeting should be an inquiry into the deed. Now, be it observed, that this meeting of parliament was not to take place till Easter; and during the interval that elapsed most of the persons implicated in the charge were quietly allowed to depart, some to France, and others to the English border. And all this Mary did notwithstanding the suspicions of her subjects, who made no scruple to charge her as an accomplice in her husband's murder; notwithstanding the astonishment of foreign courts, that could not comprehend her wonderful remissness; and notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Queen Elizabeth, who adjured her to act on this occasion "like a noble princess and a loyal wife." In the meantime she seemed to have no thought but for Bothwell, and, notwithstanding the general odium, she conferred upon him the com-

mand of the castle of Edinburgh, and soon after that of the castles of Blackness and the Inch, and the superiority of Leith, as if eager to arm him against every accuser, and make him too powerful to be punished.

As the cry still waxed louder for a public trial, it was thought that this might now be safely granted; and so late as the 12th of April, the Earl of Lennox was ordered to compare in Edinburgh, and adduce his charges against Bothwell. But the accomplices in the crime had been suffered to escape; the other evidences had been destroyed; even the smith who had made the false keys by which the murderers obtained access to the king's lodging, and who had anonymously offered to come forward and reveal the name of his employer, if his safety should be guaranteed for so doing, had obtained no such promise, and therefore could not appear. Under such circumstances, and after so long a delay, the invitation to the Earl of Lennox was the most cruel of mockeries. The trial was arranged by Bothwell himself; the tribunal was occupied by one of his friends, and fenced with 200 of his hacbutters; 4000 armed men, devoted to Bothwell, occupied the streets of Edinburgh, and the castle was under his command. Thus prepared, the accusing party was wholly at his mercy, for Lennox was required to enter the city with not more than six in his company. To come under such circumstances would have been to enter into the shambles, where all was in readiness for the slaughter, and Lennox refused to appear. But Bothwell himself rode to trial, mounted on the late king's horse, and surrounded by a guard, and fearlessly advanced before a tribunal where he had taken order that none should accuse him. The trial that followed was a farce, in which the criminal had nothing to do but to plead "Not guilty," and the judges to absolve him, which was done unanimously. To wind up the whole proceeding in the fashion of the age, Bothwell then offered the trial of combat to any one of his degree who should charge him with the late king's murder, but the challenge was nothing more than the idle blast of a trumpet, for he was not likely to find an opponent where he had met with no accuser.

After this mock trial new honours were heaped upon Bothwell by the queen; the lordship and castle of Dunbar were conferred upon him, his powers as high-admiral were extended, and on the assembling of parliament, two days after the assize, he carried "the honours," that is, the crown and sceptre, before her in procession at the opening of the house. He was now the most powerful nobleman in Scotland, and only one step more remained to which all this aggrandizement had been but a preparative. He must be king-consort in the room of Darnley, whom he had murdered. True, he had been but lately married to Lady Jane Gordon, and her brother, the Earl of Huntly, was not a man to be lightly offended; but even these difficulties had been already calculated, and the plan of their removal devised. The marriage tie was to be loosed by a divorce, and the brother appeared by the restitution of the Huntly estates, which had been forfeited to the crown. But to win the consent of the nobility at large, whose united opposition could have checked him at any moment, or crushed him even when the eminence was attained, was the principal difficulty; and this Bothwell resolved to surmount by the same unscrupulous daring that had hitherto borne him onward. Accordingly, on the 19th of April, the day on which the sittings of parliament terminated, he invited the chief nobles to supper in a tavern; they assembled accordingly, and when their hearts were warmed with wine, Both-

well presented to them a bond for signature, in which they recommended him as a suitable husband for the queen, and engaged to maintain his pretensions to her hand against all who should oppose them. Confusion and remonstrance followed, but the house was surrounded by 200 hacbutters, so that escape was hopeless, and remonstrance unavailing. The revellers therefore complied with the demand, and the signatures of eight earls, three lords, and seven bishops were adhibited to the bond.

And now nothing but the master-stroke remained. The marriage must be accomplished without delay, before a recoil of public feeling occurred. But Mary had been little more than two months a widow; and if she should thus hastily throw aside her weeds, and enter into a new union, the whole world would cry "shame" upon such indecency! Even this difficulty had been already provided for, and that, too, seven days before Bothwell's trial occurred. Certain beforehand of his acquittal, he had devised, and Mary consented, that he should carry her off by force, and thus save her the odium of a free deliberate choice. Even the time and place of abduction were also contrived between them. Accordingly, on the 21st of April the queen repaired to Stirling Castle to visit her infant son, then under the guardianship of the Earl of Mar; but the earl, who seems to have had strange misgivings, would only admit her with two of her ladies, while the armed train were obliged to remain without. Three days afterwards she returned, and had reached Almond Bridge, near Edinburgh, when she and her escort were suddenly beset by Bothwell and 600 armed horsemen, who conducted her to the castle of Dunbar. And now events went on with accelerated speed. The earl's divorce from his wife was hurried through the courts with scandalous haste, the lady being obliged to accuse him of adultery and incest for the purpose. And on the same day Bothwell and the queen returned to Edinburgh at the head of a numerous cavalcade, the earl leading her horse by the bridle, and his followers throwing away their spears, to show that she was unconstrained; and in this fashion they rode up to the castle of Edinburgh. As soon as tidings of her seizure had arrived, her friends offered to arm for her rescue; but to this she answered, that though taken against her will, and compelled to spend several days in the castle of Dunbar with Bothwell, she had found no cause of complaint. This was not all; for she now presented herself before the nobles, expressed her satisfaction with Bothwell's conduct, and declared that, high as she had raised him, she meant to promote him higher still. Accordingly, on the 12th of May, seven days after her return to Edinburgh, she created him Duke of Orkney, and placed the coronet on his head with her own hands; two days afterwards she signed the contract of marriage, and on the succeeding day the marriage ceremony was performed in Holyrood, at four o'clock in the morning. And this after three short months of widowhood! Well might the people shudder, especially when they remembered the disgusting mixture of tragedy and farce with which it had been preceded. And still the nobles were silent under a deed that soiled, nay, besmeared the escutcheons of Scottish knighthood and nobleness with a universal reproach, which all the rivers of their land could not wash away. Only one man, and he too a minister of peace, had courage to speak out. This was John Craig, pastor of the High Church of Edinburgh, and colleague of John Knox, who was now absent. On being commanded to proclaim the banns between the queen and Bothwell, he steadfastly refused until he had been allowed to confront the parties in presence of

the privy-council; and when this was granted, he there charged the Duke of Orkney with the crimes of rape, adultery, and murder. This being done, he proclaimed the banns, as he was bound to do, but not without a stern remonstrance. "I take heaven and earth to witness," he exclaimed before the congregation in the High Church, "that I abhor and detest this marriage as odious and slanderous to the world; and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly that a union against all reason and good conscience may yet be overruled by God, to the comfort of this unhappy realm."

Bothwell had now attained an elevation at which himself might well have been astounded. Sprung from no higher origin than that of the house of Hailes, and but the fourth of his line who had worn the title of earl, he was now the highest of Scotland's nobles, and, what was more, the sovereign of its sovereign. She to whom he was united had been Queen of France, the most powerful of kingdoms, and was the unquestioned heir to England, the richest of sovereignties. She who had been sought in vain by the proudest princes of Europe had come at his call, and co-operated in humble compliance to his exaltation, and submitted to be his leman before she became his bride. And yet even this did not satisfy him; for on the very day after their marriage she was heard to scream in her closet, while he was beside her, and threaten to stab or drown herself. He persisted from day to day in arrogant conduct, more befitting a sated voluptuary or merciless taskmaster than a newly mated bridegroom; and Mary, otherwise so proud and impatient, submitted with spaniel-like docility, while her affection seemed only to increase in proportion to the growth of his brutality. Strange love of woman's heart! and strange requital of a love so misplaced! She was all the while writing to France, to Rome, and England, announcing her marriage, describing her happiness in having such a husband, and craving the favour of these courts in his behalf. She even declared before several persons that "she cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for him, and would go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat before she would leave him."

This *fata morgana* had now reached its brightest, and it was time that it should melt away. The nobles of Scotland awoke as from a dream, and prepared themselves for instant action. It was indeed not more than necessary; for, independently of the foul dishonour that had accumulated upon the nation and themselves through the late transactions, Bothwell was now aiming at obtaining the guardianship of the young prince; and under such a custody the royal infant would soon have been laid beside his murdered father, that a new dynasty might be planted upon the Scottish throne. In the meantime the queen and Bothwell were at Borthwick Castle, unconscious of the gathering storm, until the associated lords, at the head of 2000 men, advanced and invested the stronghold. As resistance was hopeless, Bothwell, at the first tidings of their coming, stole away, and soon after was joined by Mary, booted and spurred, and in the disguise of a page. They rode through the night at full speed to Dunbar, and there exerted themselves with such activity, that in two days they were at the head of 2500 armed followers, with whom they returned to the encounter. The lords, whose forces now amounted to 3000 men, advanced to meet them mid-way, and the two armies soon confronted each other at Carberry Hill, six miles from Edinburgh. But very different was the spirit that animated them, for while the insurgent army was eager to revenge the death of the late king,

and preserve his son from the murderer, the troops of Bothwell wavered, and talked of negotiation and compromise. It was necessary to restore their courage by an example of personal daring, and accordingly he sent a herald to the opposite host, offering the trial of single combat in proof of his innocence. Instantly, James Murray of Tullibardin started forward as an opponent, but was rejected by Bothwell as not being his equal in rank. Murray's elder brother, William, the laird of Tullibardin, then offered himself, alleging that he was of an older house than that of his adversary; but him also Bothwell refused, claimed an earl for his opponent, and specified in particular the Earl of Morton, the leader of the insurgents. Morton, as fearless a Douglas as any of his ancestors, accepted the challenge, and prepared for a combat at *outrance* on foot, and with two-handed swords. But before he could step forth to the affray, Lord Lindsay, the Ajax of the Scottish Reformation, interposed, with the entreaty that he should be allowed to meet the challenger, as being the kinsman of the unfortunate Darnley. Morton assented, and armed him with the two-handed sword of that Douglas who was called Bell-the-cat. But here Mary interfered: she had no wish to expose her husband to a meeting with such a redoubted champion, and Bothwell yielded to her entreaties. His repeated hesitations, when he should at once have drawn his weapon and marched to the encounter, had so confirmed the timidity of his followers, that already most of them had disbanded, leaving none with him but sixty gentlemen and a band of hacbutters, while the opposite army were surrounding the hill, and cutting off the means of retreat. In this emergency nothing remained for Bothwell but flight, which the queen earnestly counselled: she would surrender to the lords, and win them back to their allegiance; after which his recal would be easy and their future course a happy one. After assuring him of her fidelity, which she would keep to the last, and giving her hand upon the promise, Bothwell rode from the field, accompanied by a few attendants, and Mary surrendered to her subjects. She, indeed, continued to love him to the last; but they never met again.

Brief though the rest of Bothwell's history is, it reads the most solemn of warnings to princes and politicians. One month only he had held the empty title of king, for which he had sinned so deeply; and now, not even the poor shelter of the monk's cell or anchorite's cave over the whole wide land was ready to receive him. Almost alone, he hastened to his sea-girt castle of Dunbar, intending there to await the change of events, which he hoped would end in his restoration; but Mary, no longer a queen, was a helpless prisoner in the hands of those who were busy in framing a new government, while a price was set upon his own head. Thus, finding that at any hour he might be plucked from his place of strength, he fled with three ships to the Orkneys; but such was the barrenness of these islands, that he was obliged to have recourse to piracy for the subsistence of himself and his followers. And even this miserable shift soon failed, for a naval squadron was sent against him, under the command of Kirkcaldy of Grange, who captured two of the vessels, and obliged the third, with the pirate-king on board, to take to flight. But his ship, one of the largest in the Scottish navy, struck upon a sandbank; and when he took to shelter in a pinnace, he was driven by a storm to the coast of Norway, and there taken by a Danish man-of-war. He was asked for his papers, but having none, he was arrested as a pirate, and carried to Denmark. There it was not long before he was recognized as the notorious Bothwell of Scotland; upon

which Frederic II., the Danish king, instead of surrendering him to the Scottish regency or Elizabeth of England, threw him into close prison in the castle of Malmoe, where he languished ten years in misery and privation, mingled with attacks of insanity, until death at last threw open the gate of his dungeon. Never was the avenging Nemesis of the Greek drama more terribly realized, or poetical justice more completely fulfilled.

HEPBURN, ROBERT, of Bearford, a fugitive writer, who at a very early age distinguished himself by the exhibition of strong talents and an original genius, which the briefness of his life did not permit to rise to maturity, was born about 1690 or 1691. He studied civil law in Holland, with the intention of becoming a member of the legal profession in his native country. He returned home in 1711, and in his twenty-first year attempted to imitate in Scotland the fugitive literature which the *Tatler* had introduced to England. Hepburn's work was an avowed imitation of that periodical. He named it "*The Tatler*," by Donald Macstaff of the North." This work was carried through thirty weekly numbers; it is, we believe, extremely rare, and we have been unable to obtain a perusal of it. Lord Woodhouselee, who appears to have been acquainted with it, says, in his *Life of Kames*, "These papers are evidently the production of a man of vigorous native powers, and of a mind not meanly stored with ancient learning, and familiar with the best writings of the moderns. The author might have shone in the treatment of general topics of moral discussion, or of criticism; but from a propensity not unnatural, where talents are combined with an ardent temperament and sarcastic turn of mind, his compositions were fitted to give much offence by the description of known characters, and by the personal satire which he employed, with no gentle or delicate hand, on some men of note, both in the ecclesiastical and civil departments, among his countrymen." In 1712 Mr. Hepburn became a member of the Faculty of Advocates; but death quenched his fiery and ambitious spirit before he had an opportunity of exercising his professional talents. He left behind him two opuscula, *Demonstratio quod Deus sit*, published at Edinburgh in 1714, and *Dissertatio de Scriptis Pilearnianis*, 1715. In the concluding number of the *Tatler* he announced for publication a translation of Sir George M'Kenzie's curious tract, *Idea Eloquentiæ Forensis*; a project he appears to have been prevented from fulfilling. There is extant a curious pamphlet, *A Discourse concerning the Character of a Man of Genius*, by Mr. Hepburn, Edinburgh, 1715. We have no doubt that this is from the hand of Mr. Hepburn of Bearford; it is the production of no ordinary mind. This small work is divided into sections, each of which contains a condensed moral precept, or aphorism: the quotation of one or two of these will give the best idea of the author's talents which can be now furnished. The reader will be surprised to find in our extracts reflections which have now become commonplace, but which strikingly resemble many of those on which some of the moral and polite philosophers of the last century raised their renown.

Sec. 7. "I don't know by what fate it happens that some men have the fortune to be counted *wits* only for jesting a little out of the common road, and for endeavouring, in opposition to all the reason and sense of mankind, to turn into ridicule those things which are, in their own nature, the most sacred and venerable. But as a man is not infamous for being defamed, so it is no disparagement to any person or thing to be laughed at, but to deserve to

be so. It was a wise answer of Diogenes, which we find mentioned by Plutarch, when some of his friends told him that his enemies were laughing at him; 'but I,' replied he, 'am not derided.'

Sec. 9. "A man of genius ought not, in my opinion, to think even his dress below his notice, as the world is but too apt to judge by appearance."

Sec. 15. "A man discovers the extent of his genius, if, upon all occasions, he handsomely acts his part, and behaves with a good grace in every scene and circumstance of human life. The care of doing nothing unbecoming has accompanied the greatest minds to their last moments: they avoided an indecent posture, even in the very article of death."

HERD, DAVID, an ingenious and useful inquirer into our national antiquities, was born in the parish of St. Cyrus, Kincardineshire, about the year 1732. Of his education and early life in general nothing has been ascertained. He probably served an apprenticeship under a country writer, and then, like many young men in his circumstances, sought a situation of better promise in the capital. Throughout a long life he appears to have lived unambitiously, and a bachelor, in Edinburgh, never rising above the character of a *writer's clerk*. He was for many years clerk to Mr. David Russel, accountant. A decided taste for antiquities, and literary antiquities in particular, led Mr. Herd to spend a great part of his savings on books: and although the volumes which he preferred were then much cheaper than now, his library eventually brought the sum of £254. 19s. 10d. The same taste brought him into association with the principal authors and artists of his own time: Runciman the painter was one of his intimate friends, and with Ruddiman, Gilbert Stuart, Fergusson, and Robert Burns he was well acquainted. His information regarding Scottish history and biography was extensive. Many of his remarks appeared in the periodical works of his time, and the notes appended to several popular works were enriched by notes of his collecting. Sir Walter Scott, for instance, was much indebted in his *Border Minstrelsy* to a manuscript of Mr. Herd's, which is frequently quoted by the editor, both for ballads and for information respecting them. Mr. Herd was himself editor of what Scott calls "the first classical collection" of Scottish songs, which first appeared in one volume in 1769, and secondly in two volumes in 1772. At his demise, which took place June 25, 1810, he was understood to have left considerable property, which fell to a gentleman in England, supposed to have been his natural son, and who is said to have died a major in the army.

HERIOT, GEORGE, founder of the excellent hospital in Edinburgh which bears his name, and jeweller to King James VI., was descended from the Heriots of Trabroun in East Lothian. This respectable family was connected with some of the most distinguished names in Scottish history. The mother of the illustrious Buchanan was a daughter of the family, and it was through the patronage of James Heriot of Trabroun, his maternal uncle, that the future poet and statesman was sent to prosecute his studies at the university of Paris. Elizabeth, daughter of James Heriot of Trabroun, was the mother of Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, first Earl of Haddington, president of the Court of Session, and secretary and prime minister to James VI. But the family may, with more reason, boast of their connection with the subject of this memoir, who, though filling only the undistinguished rank of a

tradesman, has been the means of drawing forth from obscurity *some* persons of high talent, and *many* who have moved in the middle ranks with the greatest honour to themselves and benefit to society.

George Heriot, senior, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh, and a person of wealth and consideration. He filled some of the most responsible civic situations in the Scottish metropolis: his name often occurs in the rolls of the Scottish parliament as a commissioner for Edinburgh in the parliaments and conventions of estates, and he was frequently appointed a commissioner by parliament for the consideration of important questions.¹

George, his eldest son (the subject of our inquiry), is supposed to have been born in June, 1563. He was destined to follow his father's profession, at that time one of the most lucrative and honourable among the burghesses. The goldsmiths of Edinburgh were in ancient times classed with the hammermen; at what time they were separated seems uncertain. They received in August, 1581, a charter of incorporation from the magistrates, in which many privileges—amounting in fact to a monopoly of their trade—were granted to them, and these were afterwards (1586) confirmed by a charter from James VI. They were, besides, for a long period the only money-lenders; and the high rate of interest, with their frequent command over the resources of the court and the nobility, rendered them persons at once of wealth and power.

At the age of twenty-three George Heriot entered into a contract of marriage with Christian Marjoribanks, daughter of Simon Marjoribanks, a substantial burgess of Edinburgh. On this occasion his father presented him with 1000 merks "to be ane beginning and pak to him," and 500 more to purchase the implements of his trade and to fit out his shop. By his wife he received 1075 merks, which appear to have been lent out at ten per cent. interest, the usual rate of that period. Their union does not appear to have been of long duration, although the date of this lady's death is unknown; it is even doubtful if she had any children—if she had, none of them survived her.

Master Heriot was admitted a member of the incorporation of goldsmiths on the 28th of May, 1588. In 1597 he was appointed goldsmith to the queen by a charter from James VI., and this (to use the expression of a contemporary chronicler, Birrel) "was intimat at the crosse be opin proclamatione and sound of trumpet; and ane Clei, the French man, dischargit, quha was the queen's goldsmith befor." Heriot was soon after constituted goldsmith and jeweller to the king, with all the emoluments attached to that lucrative office. It would appear that he had already amassed a considerable fortune from his transactions with the court, but no notice of his work occurs in the treasurer's books till September, 1599, when we have the following:

"Payit at his majesties special command, with advyis of the lords of secret counsal, to George Heriot, younger, goldsmith, for a copburd propnyit to Monsieur Vetonu, Frenche ambassadour, contening the peces following, viz.: twa basingis, twa laweris effeiring thairto, twa flaconis, twa chandilleris, sex couppis with coveris, twa couppis without coveris, ane lawer for water, ane saltfalk with ane cover; all chissellit wark, and dowbill owirgilt, weyand twa stane 14 pund and 5 uncas at aucht mark the unce, £4160. Item, for graving of 28 almessis upon the said copburd, £14, Scots money.

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, folio edition, iv. 181, 370.

No other notice of him appears between this period and that of the removal of the court to England, whither he soon followed it.

Heriot was now possessed of large fortune, and determined upon forming a marriage connection with a family of good rank. The object of his choice was Alison Primrose, eldest daughter of James Primrose, clerk to the Scottish privy-council—a gentleman whose industry and talents had raised him to that honourable office, and who was the grandfather of the first Earl of Roseberry. Heriot was also destined to survive this lady, who died, without leaving issue, on the 16th of April, 1612. "The loss of a young, beautiful, and amiable partner, at a period so interesting," Sir Walter Scott conjectures, "was the probable reason of her husband devoting his fortune to a charitable institution." She was interred in the south aisle of the choir of Saint Gregory's Church, where her sorrowing husband erected a handsome monument, bearing a Latin inscription, to her memory.

From the period of Heriot's settlement at London little is known of his history. Many of the accounts of jewels furnished by him to the queen have been preserved, and several are printed by Mr. Constable in his memoir of Heriot. These accounts, from 1605 to 1615, amount to many thousand pounds sterling, but there does not appear to have been the same liberality towards all the members of the royal family. We find the Duke (then Marquis) of Buckingham, writing to his "dere dad, gossip and steward," the king, from the Spanish court in the following manner relative to the prince: "Hitherto you have beine so sparing [of jewels] that whereas you thought to have sent him sufficiently for his one [own] wearing, to present to his mistris, who, I am sure, shall shortlie now louse that title, and to lend me, that I to the contrarie have bene forced to lend him." About the same period Charles writes the following letter from Madrid to his royal father:

"I confess that ye have sent mor jewells then (at my departure) I thought to had use of; but, since my cumming, seeing manie jewells worne here, and that my braverie can consist of nothing else, besydes that sume of them which ye have appointed me to give to the Infanta, in Steenie's oppinion and myne are not fitt to be given to her; therefore I have taken this boldness to entreate your majesty to send more for my own wearing, and for giving to my mistris, in which I think your majesty shall not doe amiss to take Carlyle's advice."¹ It is said that Heriot furnished these jewels, and that they were never paid for by James, but that their price was deducted from the purchase-money of the barony of Broughton when bought by the trustees of the hospital.² If this is the case, it is the last transaction in which we have found Heriot engaged. He died at London on the 12th of February, 1624, and was buried at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on the 20th of the same month.

Of Heriot's private character little unfortunately is known. He seems to have possessed those strict business-like habits of accuracy for which he is so distinguished in the novel of the *Fortunes of Nigel*. With his relations he must have lived on amicable terms, for besides the munificent provision made in

his will for the establishment of an hospital, he left considerable sums to many of his relations. Of these the nearest were two natural daughters.

By his will (dated 20th January, 1623) he left the whole of his fortune, after deducting the legacies to his relations, servants, &c., to "the provost, bailiffs, ministers, and ordinary council, for the time being, of the said town of Edinburgh, for and towards the founding and erecting of an hospital within the said town of Edinburgh, in perpetuity; and for and towards purchasing of certain lands in perpetuity to belong unto the said hospital, to be employed for the maintenance, relief, bringing up, and education of so many poor fatherless boys, freemen's sons of the town of Edinburgh, as the means which I give, and the yearly value of the lands purchased by the provost, bailiffs, ministers, and council of the said town shall amount or come to." The education of the boys is superintended by able masters, and they are not only taught to read, write, and cast accounts (to which the statutes of the hospital originally confined the trustees), but Latin, Greek, mathematics, &c. If the boys choose a learned profession they are sent to the university for four years, with an annual allowance of thirty pounds. The greater number are bound apprentices to tradesmen in the city, and are allowed the annual sum of ten pounds for five years; at the end of their apprenticeship they receive five pounds to purchase a suit of clothes, upon producing a certificate of good conduct from their master.

The foundation of the present magnificent structure (designed by the celebrated architect Inigo Jones) was laid on the 1st of July, 1628, but from the disturbed state of the country continued unfinished till April, 1659. From the rise in the value of their property, the yearly revenue at the disposal of the trustees has very greatly increased, especially during the last half century. A body of statutes, by which the institution is governed, was drawn up by Dr. Balcanquhal, Dean of Rochester, the well-known author of a *Declaration concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland*, 1639, published in name of King Charles I.

HERIOT, JOHN. This talented and industrious writer in miscellaneous literature was the son of the sheriff-clerk in East Lothian, and was born at Haddington, on the 22d of April, 1760. He belonged to a literary family, his elder brother George having been the author of a poem on the *West Indies*, and *Travels in Canada*. At the age of twelve the subject of this memoir was sent to the high-school of Edinburgh, from which, after having studied the usual course, he was transferred to the university of Edinburgh. But whatever might have been the profession for which he was educated, the plan was frustrated by domestic misfortune, and the consequent dispersion of his father's family. This event obliged him, in 1778, to repair to London, and afterwards to betake himself to the naval service, by enlisting in the marines. In this capacity he first served in the *Vengeance*, afterwards in the *Preston*, and finally in the *Elizabeth*. During these changes his experience of a nautical life was chiefly confined to cruises upon the coast of Africa and the West Indies; but in the *Elizabeth*, commanded by Captain Maitland, he saw more active service, both at Port Royal, and in the engagement of the British fleet, commanded by Sir George B. Rodney, and that of France under De Guichen, of the 17th of April, 1780. On this occasion the action was indecisive; for although the French line was broken, many of the British captains hung back, from their political

¹ Stark's *Picture of Edinburgh*, p. 232.

² Ellis's *Lectures Illustrative of English History* (first series), iii. 145, 6. Buckingham adds the following postscript in his usual style: "I your doge [dog] sayes you have manie jewells neither fitt for your one [own], your sones, nor your daughters, wearing, but very fitt to bestow on those here who must necessarily have presents; and this way will be least chargeable to your majesty in my poure opinion."

dislike to Rodney, because he was a Tory, so that he was fully seconded by only five or six ships. Of these the *Elizabeth*, in which Heriot served as a subaltern officer of marines, was one; and in the unequal contest, in which his ship bore up against two of the enemy, he was among the wounded. During the same year, having exchanged into the *Brune* frigate of thirty-two guns, he was exposed off the coast of Barbadoes to that tremendous hurricane of the 10th of October, 1780, by which the island was so fearfully devastated, and nearly reduced to ruin. So imminent was the danger to which the *Brune* was exposed on this occasion, that Heriot ever afterwards commemorated the return of that day as one of solemn festival and devout gratitude. After continuing in the service till the peace of 1783, Mr. Heriot, in consequence of the general reduction, retired with the rank and half-pay of a first lieutenant, after he had been afloat five years.

On coming ashore Heriot found that his life was to be commenced anew. Upon this occasion his first proceeding was one of such filial piety as to insure him both long life and success in whatever career he might select; he mortgaged his half-pay that he might assist his parents in their reduced circumstances, although he thereby left himself wholly destitute. Having learned no regular occupation before he went to sea, and having now neither time nor means for such a purpose, he proceeded to turn such scholarship and experience as he had acquired to their best account, by becoming author; and for several years his life was that precarious scramble to which authorship is often doomed before it attains its proper footing. Among his attempts in this way he wrote a poem entitled *Sorrows of the Heart*, and two novels, one of which, entitled the *Half-pay Officer*, contained an account of several adventures in which he had been personally engaged; and from the profits of these works he contrived to subsist nearly two years. His next occupation was that of journalism, and he was employed in the *Oracle*, until a misunderstanding with the proprietor occurred, when he removed his services into the *World*, of which he became sole editor. This *World*, however, was so completely a falling one, that no literary Atlas could have propped it up; and in a short time he was glad to escape from the burden. Still it was fortunate that while journalism was now obtaining that ascendancy which the keen and public discussion of great political questions had occasioned, Heriot, by practice, had become an able journalist. His support was therefore worth having; and being a staunch Conservative, and opposed to the over-liberal opinions which the French revolution had engendered in Britain, it was natural that the officers of government should secure the services of such an efficient advocate. Accordingly, one of the secretaries of the treasury, who admired his talents, proposed that he should start a daily paper, while two other influential government functionaries engaged to support it with funds from their own pockets. Thus assisted, Mr. Heriot, on the 1st of October, 1792, issued the first number of the *Sun*, a daily paper that soon outstripped its contemporaries in the rapidity and wideness of its circulation. Animated by this success, he also started, on the 1st of January, 1793, a daily morning paper called the *True Briton*, and continued to edit both journals with great success until 1806, when he was relieved from this oppressive double labour by being appointed a commissioner of the lottery. Even while employed in superintending his two daily newspapers, he gave, in 1798, a proof of his indefatigable industry and application, by publishing an interesting account

of the battle of the Nile, drawn up from the minutes of an officer of rank in the squadron, which passed through several editions.

After this the career of Mr. Heriot was one of honour, profit, and comfort. In 1809 he was appointed deputy-paymaster to the troops in the Windward and Leeward Islands, where he resided till 1816, and discharged the duties of the office so much to the satisfaction of the Duke of York, that at his return to England he was appointed comptroller of Chelsea Hospital. In this tranquil situation he remained till his death, which occurred on the 29th of July, 1833.

HERON, ROBERT, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the town of New Galloway, on the 6th November, 1764. His father, John Heron, was a weaver, generally respected for his persevering industry and exemplary piety. By his grandmother, Margaret Murray, aunt of Dr. Alexander Murray, he claimed no very distant relationship to that profound philologist. He was early instructed in his letters under the careful eye of a fond parent, and was not sent to the school of the parish until he had reached his ninth year. He soon became remarkable for the love he showed for learning, and the unwearied anxiety with which he pursued his inquiries after every point connected with his studies. This being early perceived by his parents, they resolved to give him the benefit of a liberal education as far as their means would allow. He had scarcely remained two years at school when, at the age of eleven, he contrived to maintain and educate himself by mingling with his studies the labour of teaching and writing. From his own savings out of a very limited income, and a small assistance from his parents, he was enabled to remove to the university of Edinburgh at the end of the year 1780.

His hopes of preferment at that time being centered in the church, he first applied himself to the course of study which that profession requires. While attending the college he was still obliged to devote a considerable portion of his time to private teaching, as well as writing occasional essays for newspapers and magazines, in order to provide for his subsistence. To quote his own words, "he taught and assisted young persons at all periods in the course of education, from the alphabet to the highest branches of science and literature." Being well grounded in a knowledge of the French language, he found constant employment from booksellers in translating foreign works. His first literary production published with his name appeared in 1789, *A Critique on the Genius and Writings of Thomson*, prefixed to a small edition of the *Seasons*. It was highly spoken of, and reflected much credit on the judgment and taste of the author. His next work was a version of *Fourcroy's Chemistry*, from the French, followed by *Savary's Travels in Greece*, *Dumouvier's Letters*, *Gesner's Idyls* in part, an abstract of *Zimmerman on Solitude*, and several abridgments of *Oriental Tales*.

In 1790-1 he says he "read lectures on the law of nature, the law of nations—the Jewish, Grecian, Roman, feudal, and canon law—and then on the several forms of municipal jurisprudence established in modern Europe;"—these lectures, he says, were to assist gentlemen who did not study professionally in the *understanding of history*. Though he devoted much time and study to prepare these lectures, he was afterwards unfortunate in not being able to obtain a sufficient audience to repay him for their composition—they were consequently soon discontinued. A syllabus of the entire course was afterwards published. Still the sums of money he continued to

receive from his publishers were amply sufficient to maintain him in a respectable manner, if managed with prudence and discretion; but his unfortunate peculiarity of temper, and extravagant desire of supporting a style of living which nothing but a liberal and certain income would admit of, frequently reduced him to distress, and finally to the jail. He might have long remained in confinement but that some worthy friends interceded; and, on their suggestion, he engaged himself to write a *History of Scotland*, for which Messrs. Morrisons of Perth were to pay him at the rate of three guineas a sheet; his creditors, at the same time, agreeing to release him for fifteen shillings in the pound, to be secured on two-thirds of the copyright. Before this arrangement was fully concluded, melancholy to relate, nearly the whole of the first volume of the *History of Scotland* was written in jail. It appeared in 1793, and one volume of the work was published every year successively, until the whole six were completed. During that period he went on a tour through the western parts of Scotland, and from notes taken on the road he compiled a work in two volumes octavo, called *A Journey through the Western Parts of Scotland*. He also gave to the world, *A Topographical Account of Scotland, A New and Complete System of Universal Geography, A Memoir of Robert Burns*, besides many contributions to magazines and other periodical works. He was also engaged by Sir John Sinclair to superintend the publication of his *Statistical Account of Scotland*. By this time he had acquired great facility in the use of his pen, and being extremely vain of the versatility of his genius, he flattered himself there was no range in literature, however high, that was not within the scope of his powers. Impressed with these ideas, he made an attempt at dramatic composition, and having some influence with the manager of the theatre, he contrived to get introduced on the stage an after-piece, written, as he says, in great haste, called *St. Kilda in Edinburgh; or, News from Camperdown*;—but as if to verify the adage, “Things done in a haste are never done well,” so it turned out with *St. Kilda*. Being devoid of everything like interest, and violating in many parts the common rules of decency, it was justly condemned before it reached the second act.

Our author's vanity must have on this occasion received a deep wound, being present in the house at the time;—overwhelmed with disappointment, he flew to his lodgings and confined himself to bed for several days. Still blinded by vanity in the midst of his mental sufferings, he imputed the failure of his play to the machinations of his enemies. He therefore determined on “shaming the fools” by printing it. It is needless to say, it neither sold nor was talked of. The most amusing part of this affair was the mode in which he persisted in forcing his production on the public. We shall present our readers with an extract from his highly inflated preface. It commences with a quotation from Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. “The learned Bishop Hall tells us in one of his decades, at the end of his *Divine Meditations*, that it is an abominable thing for a man to commend himself, and verily I think so; and yet, on the other hand, when a thing is executed in a masterly kind of fashion, which thing is not likely to be found out, I think it is fully as abominable that a man should lose the honour of it. This is exactly my situation.” In the following he quotes Swift:—“When a true genius appears in the world, you may know him by his sign—that the dunces are all in confederacy against him.” Yet, though blinded by folly and weighed down by distress, still his filial affections were alive,

and, although he could not afford his parents any permanent support, he seemed anxious to promote the education of their family; which the following extracts from his letters will sufficiently prove:—

“I hope by living more pious and carefully, by managing my income frugally, and appropriating a part of it to the service of you and my sisters, and by living with you in future at least a third part of the year, to reconcile your affections more entirely to me, and give you more comfort than I have yet done. Oh forget and forgive my follies; look on me as a son who will anxiously strive to comfort and please you, and, after all your misfortunes, to render the evening of your days as happy as possible.” And again—“We will endeavour,” says he, “to settle our dear Grace comfortably in life, and to educate our dear little Betty and Mary aright.” He brought his eldest brother, John, to Edinburgh, to study at the university, with the view of his entering the church; he was a youth of promising abilities, but of weak constitution, and sank into an early grave in 1790. As the other children increased in years, faithful to his promise, he brought his favourite sister, Mary, to live with him in Edinburgh to complete her education. His irregularities, and consequent embarrassments, made her situation in town anything but an enviable one. Her mortifications, however, in this life were not of long duration, as she died at his lodgings in 1798. To a mind of his quick sensibility this was a dreadful shock. Almost frantic with grief at the loss he experienced, he gave himself up to the wildest despair: every unkind action or word he made use of towards her rushed to his distracted memory, until life itself was almost insupportable. Neither the sympathy of friends, nor the consolations of religion, could mitigate his woes. At the same time his means of subsistence became every day more precarious; his literary labours were ceasing to pay, so that, added to his other misfortunes, starvation and a jail were hourly staring him in the face. Shunning as much as possible all his former companions, he might now be seen wandering about the suburbs of the city, with wasted cheek and sunken eye, a miserable victim of want and care. By degrees, however, he was recalled to a better state of mind, when, finding his views not likely to succeed any longer in Scotland, he was induced to go to London in 1799. For the first few years of his residence there, it appears he found good employment, and his application to study being very great, his profits and prospects were alike cheering. In a letter written to his father about the time we are speaking of, he says—

“My whole income, earned by full sixteen hours a day of close application to reading, writing, observation, and study, is but very little more than three hundred pounds a year. But this is sufficient to my wants, and is earned in a manner which I know to be the most useful and honourable—that is, by teaching beneficial truths, and discountenancing vice and folly more effectually and more extensively than I could in any other way. This I am here always sure to earn while I can give the necessary application; and if I were able to execute more literary labour I might readily obtain more money.”

He for a time pursued his literary vocations with an unwearied industry, and there was scarcely a publication then in London of any note but contained some of his fugitive writings. He realized in consequence a good income, but unfortunately for no great length of time. His former bad habits returned, and while money continued to flow in, he indulged in the wildest extravagance. Wishing to be thought an independent man of fortune, he would carry his

folly so far as at times to keep a pair of horses, with a groom in livery. All this time his pen was laid aside; and until warned of his fate by the appearance of his last shilling, he seemed altogether devoid of reflection. Then he would betake himself to his work, as an enthusiast in everything, confining himself for weeks to his chamber, dressed only in his shirt and morning-gown, and commonly with a green veil over his eyes, which were weak and inflamed by such fits of ill-regulated study.

In 1806 he addressed a letter to Mr. Wilberforce on the *Justice and Expediency of the Slave-trade*. He wrote a short system of chemistry, and a few months previous to his death he published a small work called the *Comforts of Life*, which it appears met with a ready sale.

The last years of his life were spent in the deepest misery. His friends and associates by degrees deserted him; some offended at his total want of steadiness, others worn out by constant importunities, and not a few disgusted at the vanity and envy he displayed on too many occasions; added to all this, his employers found they could place no dependence on his promises, as he would only resume his pen when urged to it by stern necessity, so that he found at last it was with great difficulty he could procure even a scanty subsistence. Deep in debt, and harassed by his creditors, who were all exasperated at his constant want of faith, he was at last consigned to the jail of Newgate, where he dragged on a miserable existence for many months. From that prison he wrote the following appeal to the Literary Fund, which we derive from a most appropriate source, D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors*—

"Ever since I was eleven years of age I have mingled with my studies the labour of teaching or writing to support and educate myself. During about twenty years, while I was in constant and occasional attendance at the university of Edinburgh, I taught and assisted young persons at all periods in the course of education, from the alphabet to the highest branches of science and literature. I read lectures on the law of nature, the law of nations, the Jewish, the Grecian, the Roman, and the canon law, and then on the feudal law, and on the several forms of municipal jurisprudence established in modern Europe. I printed a syllabus of these lectures, which was approved; they were as introductory to the professional study of law, and to assist gentlemen who did not study it professionally in the understanding of history. I translated *Fourcroy's Chemistry twice*, *Savary's Travels in Greece*, *Dumourier's Letters*, *Gesner's Idyls* in part, an abstract of *Zimmerman on Solitude*, and a great diversity of smaller pieces. I wrote *A Journey through the Western Parts of Scotland*, which has passed through two editions; a *History of Scotland* in six volumes 8vo; *A Topographical Account of Scotland*, which has been several times reprinted; a number of communications in the *Edinburgh Magazine*; many prefaces and critiques. *A Memoir of the Life of Burns*, which suggested and promoted the subscription for his family, has been reprinted, and formed the basis of Dr. Currie's life of him, as I learned by a letter from the doctor to one of his friends; a variety of *jeux d'esprit*, in verse and prose, and many abridgments of large works. In the beginning of 1799 I was encouraged to come to London. Here I have written a great multiplicity of articles in almost every branch of literature, my education in Edinburgh having comprehended them all. The *London Review*, the *Agricultural Magazine*, the *Universal Magazine*, the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, the *Public Characters*, the *Annual Necrology*, with several other periodical works, contain many

of my communications. In such of these publications as have been reviewed, I can show that my anonymous pieces have been distinguished with very high praise. I have written also a short system of *Chemistry*, and I published a few weeks since a small work called the *Comforts of Life*, of which the first edition was sold in one week, and the second edition is now in rapid sale. In the newspapers—the *Oracle*, the *Porcupine*, when it existed, the *General Evening Post*, the *Morning Post*, the *British Press*, the *Courier*, &c.—I have published my reports of the debates in parliament, and I believe a greater variety of fugitive pieces than I know to have been written by any one person. I have written also a great variety of compositions in Latin and French, in favour of which I have been honoured with the testimonials of liberal approbation.

"I have invariably written to serve the cause of religion and morality, pious Christian education, and good order in the most direct manner. I have considered what I have written as mere trifles, and I have incessantly studied to qualify myself for something better. I can prove that I have for many years read and written one day with another from twelve to sixteen hours a day. As a human being I have not been free from follies and errors; but the tenor of my life has been temperate, laborious, humble, quiet, and, to the utmost of my power, beneficent. I can prove the general tenor of my writings to be candid, and ever adapted to exhibit the most favourable views of the abilities, dispositions, and exertions of others. For the last ten months I have been brought to the very extremity of bodily and pecuniary distress.

"I shudder at the thoughts of perishing in a jail.

"92 CHANCERY LANE, Feb. 2d, 1807.

(In confinement.)"

His life was now fast drawing to a close. With a mind bowed down by want and despair, and a body emaciated from increasing disease, he was incapable of farther exertion; and being removed to an hospital as his last and only hope, in one week after his entrance there he breathed his last, on the 13th of April, 1807, without a friend to console or assist him. Thus perished Robert Heron in the prime of life, with talents and acquirements of a very rare description, which, if governed by prudence, were eminently calculated to gain for him an honourable independence in the world. It is difficult to estimate the true depth of his genius by his miscellaneous publications in prose; his style was of a mixed description—sometimes pompous and declamatory, at other times chaste and elegant. But it must be considered he was seldom allowed the choice of a subject, being all his life under the dictates of a publisher. He composed with great rapidity, and seldom made any corrections but in his proof-sheets. His appearance was at most times impressive and dignified: his figure, above the middle size, stately and erect, and his countenance had a benevolent expression, though pale and careworn from study and confinement.

With all his faults he had still many redeeming virtues; and above all a strong sense of the respect which is due to religion and morality. In a diary of his life, kept at various times, which contains a free confession of his sentiments, he has recorded that, in whatever manner he spent the day, he never closed his eyes at night without humbling himself in prayer before the throne of the Most High.

The brief memoir of this accomplished scholar affords another striking instance of the impossibility of shielding genius from poverty and disgrace when blinded by passion or perverted by eccentricity.

HEUGH, Rev. HUGH, D.D. This estimable divine was born at Stirling, on the 12th of August, 1782. He was the ninth child of the Rev. John Heugh, minister of a Secession congregation in Stirling. In his education he was so fortunate as to have for his teacher Dr. Doig, who presided over the grammar-school of Stirling, and was one of the most accomplished scholars of his day. After having made considerable proficiency in classical learning under this able preceptor, Mr. Heugh, who, from his earliest years, had selected the ministerial office as his future destination, repaired at the age of fifteen to the university of Edinburgh, and after undergoing the prescribed course of study, was licensed as a preacher by the General Associate or Antiburgher Presbytery of Stirling, on the 22d of February, 1804. His youth and timidity at the outset, on one occasion at least, had nearly marred his prospects. Having preached in a church at Leslie, at that time unprovided with a minister, and being obliged to deliver his discourse *memoriter*, without which compliance he would not have been allowed to enter the pulpit, his recollection suddenly failed; he was at once brought to a dead stop, and no remedy remained but to give out a psalm, while he refreshed his memory during the interval of singing. This disaster sealed his fate so far as that vacancy was concerned; and though his father, fifty years before, had received a call to the same church, the son was rejected. Two years of preaching overcame this timidity, and made him so acceptable to his auditories, that three different congregations presented calls to him to be their minister. Of these calls, that from Stirling, where he was invited to become the colleague of his aged father, was preferred; and accordingly he was ordained to this charge by the General Associate Presbytery of Stirling, on the 14th of August, 1806.

The life of a country minister is seldom one of public interest. Let him be as talented as he may, he is confined within a particular locality, and fixed to a particular routine of duty; and thus it often happens, that the very men from whom society receives its prevailing impress live unnoticed and die without record. Such was the case of Mr. Heugh while labouring at Stirling; and to the common eye he was nothing more than a diligent, pains-taking dissenting minister, instant in his daily occupations, and anxious for the spiritual interests of his flock. But in his diary there is ample evidence to be found that his exertions and struggles were to the full as heroic as those which insure distinction to the best men of everyday life. His twofold aim, of which he never lost sight, was self-improvement, and the improvement of his people, the former closely connected with and stimulated by the latter; and the result was his own advance in wisdom, eloquence, efficiency, and spiritual-mindedness, accompanied with the increasing attachment of his people, and their growth in religious wisdom and piety. While thus employed, he was married, in 1809, to Isabella Clarkson, only daughter of a minister of his own religious denomination; and in the following year his father died, leaving him sole minister of the congregation. The important charge which had thus devolved upon him only doubled his diligence, and increased his acceptability among his flock; while his diary at this period is filled with notices of his daily and hourly labours, and his earnest desire to be continually doing good. In this way the life of Mr. Heugh went onward for years, alternated by two visits to London upon ministerial duties, in which he showed himself a sharp observer of public characters and the signs of the times, and by his earnest labours to

promote that union between the two bodies of the Secession which was afterwards happily accomplished.

As Mr. Heugh had now attained a distinction that placed him in the foremost rank of the religious community to which he belonged, the town of Stirling, venerable though it be from its ancient historical remembrances, was thought too limited a sphere for his exertions; and accordingly, in 1819, an attempt was made to secure his services for the populous and growing city of Glasgow. This was done by a call from the newly-formed congregation of Regent Street, Glasgow. But this call, and another from the same congregation, which followed soon after, was refused; his people in Stirling had become so endeared to his affections that he could not reconcile himself to the pain of parting, or the uncertainties of a new career. Bent, however, upon what they considered a point of most vital interest, by securing him for their minister, the congregation of Regent Street made a third call; and the Secession Synod, overcome by this determined perseverance, agreed, though with reluctance, to transfer their valued brother to the great mercantile metropolis of Scotland. Accordingly, he was inducted into his new charge on the 9th of October, 1821. But how to part from his old congregation, among whom he had officiated so long—among whom indeed he had been born! “The feelings of tenderness,” he said in his farewell discourse from the pulpit, “which this crisis awakens, I dare not attempt to express; but these may well be allowed to give place to this most solemn and paramount consideration—the responsibilities incurred both by you and by me for the opportunities which are now over. Eight hundred Sabbaths have well nigh elapsed since my ministry in this place began. What have you and I been doing on so many days of the Son of Man?” His personal adieus from house to house were also of the most painful description. “I enter no house,” he writes, “connected with the congregation, in which tears are not shed; and the looks, and language, and grasp of the hand—of some of the poor especially—altogether overcome me. . . . It is, indeed, a sort of living death.” “Never,” he added a few days afterwards, “have I passed through such a scene, and I often start and ask myself, Is it real? But I must yield myself to the necessity. I have now no control over arrangements which were made without any agency of mine. Over these arrangements the Lord of the church has presided, and his grace is sufficient for me, and his strength can be made perfect in my weakness.” In these feelings he tore himself from Stirling, and commenced his labours in a new field.

The transition of this affectionate-hearted pastor from Stirling to Glasgow was, in the first instance at least, anything but a change to greater ease and comfort; and at the commencement, Mr. Heugh had large demands upon his secular prudence as well as Christian liberality. In the communion to which he belonged, there still lingered in Glasgow some of those old prejudices which had disappeared from other parts of the country. It was not allowed, for instance, for a family to pass from one pastoral superintendence to another, unless they removed their residence within an imaginary boundary line belonging to that other congregation, which had been fixed by the church courts. Then, too, in public worship there were certain trifles insisted upon as stiffly and keenly as if they had formed part of the creed or the decalogue. Thus, a gown and bands, however becoming in the eyes of the younger portion of the congregation, as proper clerical distinctions in the per-

formance of the duties of the pulpit, were, in the judgment of the older members, an utter abomination, as the badges of Erastianism, Prelacy, or even downright Popery. Psalmody also had of late been somewhat attended to (and verily there was need !); and not only was the slavish practice of reading the psalm line by line, while singing, beginning to be discontinued, but new tunes were introduced, in which the last line, or part of the line, of each verse, was repeated. This was astounding to the orthodox: it was like the introduction of the liturgy itself in the days of Charles I.; and although no joint-stools flew on the occasion, it was only perhaps because such modes of church controversy could no longer be available. These prejudices, so silly, and worse than silly, were even tolerated and connived at by not a few of the Secession ministers, who were afraid, by a more manly course of action, to thin their congregations and lessen their influence. Such was one of the inevitable consequences of the voluntary system, by which Dissenterism will be hampered to the end. It speaks not a little for the intrepid disinterestedness of Mr. Heugh, that in spite of these obstacles he held onward in his own course, both in gown-wearing and psalmody, as well as in the more important dogma of territorial distinction, to which some of the most distinguished leaders of his own party were obstinately wedded. Another duty in which he was worthy of the highest commendation, consisted in the faithful diligence of his pulpit preparations. On being transferred from one charge to another, it is natural for a minister to draw upon his old stock of sermons, while few think of blaming him for such a convenient substitution. But Mr. Heugh could not be thus satisfied. Although he brought with him to Glasgow about 2000 discourses, which he had written during the fifteen years of his past ministry, scarcely more than twenty of these were delivered during the quarter of a century over which the rest of his labours extended. Combined with all this diligence, he possessed the true spirit of an orator, in never rising to address an audience without a certain degree of anxious diffidence and tremor. "I scarcely ever enter a pulpit," he said, "without a temporary hectic." Such a preacher can never be dull or uninteresting; independently of feeling the sacred nature of his message, he is keenly sensitive to the propriety and effectiveness of its delivery. Accordingly, his hearers were in the habit of remarking the singular *equality* of his pulpit labours, where every sermon was essentially a good one. All this was nothing more than the result of that careful preparation that would not permit him either to trust to extemporaneous oratory, or delay the study of his subject to the last. In 1831 he enjoyed one of the earlier drops of that thunder-shower of doctors' caps which has lately crossed the Atlantic, and descended upon our island—whether to fertilize or impoverish our literary spirit, time will reveal. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the college of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Such distinctions he seems to have estimated at their real worth—and nothing more. "Considering all things," he said, "they are of vastly little value; a mere tinsel shoulder-knot—neither helmet, sword, nor shield, much less brawny arm, or valorous soul."

Such was the character and such were the labours of Dr. Heugh in Glasgow—an earnest, diligent, painstaking minister, and eloquent instructor in the truths of the gospel, while every year added to the affection of his flock and the esteem of the public at large. Of his share in the ecclesiastical controversies of the day, and his visits to England and the Continent, important though they were to himself, it is unneces-

sary to speak in a short biographical sketch. He died at Glasgow, on the 10th of June, 1846, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

HILL, DR. GEORGE, an eminent leader of the Church of Scotland, and principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, was born in that city in the month of June, 1750. His father, the Rev. John Hill, was one of the ministers of St. Andrews; and he went through his whole course of education in the university there. The elements of education he received very early, after which he was sent to the grammar-school, then taught by Mr. Dick, who afterwards obtained a chair in the university. While he continued at school he made a rapid progress, and was generally at the head of his class. At the age of nine years he exhibited so much precocity of talent as to compose a sermon, superior, in his father's opinion, to many sermons he had heard from the pulpit: and the Countess of Buchan was so much pleased with it, that she requested it might be dedicated to her, and carried it to London with her, intending to have it printed. The intention, however, without any loss to the world we presume, was never brought into act. He entered upon his academical course in the eleventh year of his age, and in all the different classes maintained a decided superiority. His tasks he performed always with ease; and he was highly respected by all the professors under whom he studied. At fourteen years of age he had completed his philosophical course, and was made a Master of Arts; and having determined to devote himself to the church, entered upon the study of theology in his fifteenth year. During his second session of theology, the Earl of Kinnoul, having been appointed chancellor of the university of St. Andrews, gave, for the encouragement of learners, a number of prizes, to be bestowed on the most deserving in the various classes. These prizes his lordship distributed to the successful candidates with his own hand; and young Hill, having gained one of them, though he had to contend with many that were greatly his seniors, attracted the particular notice of his lordship, who, from that moment, took a warm interest in his success in life, giving him directions for his conduct, and aid for the prosecution of his schemes, with the warmth of a parent rather than the cold and stately formality of a patron. During his college vacations, he was in the habit of visiting frequently at Temple his uncle, Dr. M'Cormick, the biographer of Carstairs, by whom he was introduced to the metropolitan of the Scottish church, Principal Robertson, and by the principal he was recommended as tutor to the eldest son of Pryce Campbell, M.P., and at that time one of the lords of the treasury. In consequence of this appointment he repaired to London in November, 1767, not having completed his seventeenth year. Such a series of fortunate incidents occurs in the lives of few individuals. "Educated," says his biographer, "in the genuine principles of Whiggism, he considered the great design of government to be the promotion of the liberty and the happiness of the people;" but in the close of the very same paragraph this writer introduces the subject of his panegyric saying to his mother, "As I have seen nothing but mobbing and the bad effects of faction since I came to England, I am very moderate, and think it the duty of an honest man to support almost any ministry." Mr. Hill was, indeed, a Whig of a somewhat odd kind; the man whom he most admired was Lord North, and the objects of his aversion and his vituperation were the American colonists, Messrs. Beckford, Wilkes, and the other members of the opposition in the House of Commons.

Mr. Hill, while at St. Andrews, had been an ambitious member of those associations generally formed at colleges for the purpose of exercising the talent of oratory, and he was not long in London till he found his way into the Robin Hood Debating Society, where he even then consulted his interest by defending the measures of administration. His account of this society gives no very high idea of its members. "Last night I went to the Robin Hood Society, and was very highly entertained there. We had speakers of all kinds: shoemakers, weavers, and Quakers, whose constant topic was the dearth of provisions. There were one or two who spoke very comically, and with a great deal of humour. But what surprised me much, I heard one of the easiest and most masterly speakers that ever I heard in my life. His dress was rather shabby, but he is a constant attendant, and by long practice has greatly improved. I spoke once or twice, and had the honour of being listened to with great attention, which is a compliment in a society of this kind, which is made up of people of all descriptions. It sits on Mondays from eight to ten. A ticket costs sixpence, for which you get a well-lighted room and as much porter and lemonade as you choose to drink. There is a subject fixed, and if that fail the president gives another. I shall be a constant attendant, not only as it is one of the highest entertainments, but as the best substitute for the select clubs which I have left."—"I carried," he says in another letter to his mother, "my pupil to the Robin Hood Society, along with Mr. Brodie. Mr. Campbell's parochial clergyman at Calder, who was on a visit to London. I made a splendid oration, which had the honour of a loud clap, and was very much approved by Mr. Brodie. It is a fine exercise for oratorical talents." On another occasion Mr. Hill thus expresses himself:—"I am obliged to you for your observations on the knowledge of mankind. The true secret, certainly, for passing through life with comfort, and especially to a person in my situation, is to study the tempers of those about him, and to accommodate himself to them. I don't know whether I am possessed of this secret, or whether there is something remarkable in the persons with whom I converse, but I have found everybody with whom I have had any connection since I came to England or Wales, exceedingly agreeable. From all I have met with politeness and attention, and from many particular marks of favour and kindness. I may be defective in penetration and sagacity, and in judging of character, but I am sure I am pliable enough, more than I think sometimes quite right. I can laugh or be grave, talk nonsense, or politics, or philosophy, just as it suits my company, and can submit to any mortification to please those with whom I converse. I cannot flatter; but I can listen with attention, and seem pleased with everything that anybody says. By arts like these, which have perhaps a little meanness in them, but are so convenient that one does not choose to lay them aside, I have had the good luck to be a favourite in most places." This at eighteen, except perhaps in Scotland, will be looked upon as an amazing instance of precocious worldly sense. In the scramble for the good things of this world, had such a man failed, who could ever hope to succeed?

In a subsequent letter to his mother, referring to the circumstance of a younger brother entering upon his education, he observes, "What is the learning of any one language, but throwing away so much time in getting by heart a parcel of words in one language, and another parcel corresponding to the first in another? It is an odd thing that some more rational and useful employment cannot be found out for boys

of his age, and that we should still throw away eight or ten years in learning dead languages, after we have sponged out of them all that is to be found. God certainly never intended that so much of our time should be spent in learning Greek and Latin. The period allotted to us for action is so short that we cannot too soon begin to fit ourselves for appearing upon the stage. Mr. Campbell cannot read Greek, and he is a bad Latin scholar; yet he is a philosopher, a divine, and a statesman, because he has improved his natural parts by reading a great deal of English. I am, and perhaps all my life shall continue, a close student; but I hate learning. I have no more than is absolutely necessary, and as soon as I can I shall throw that little away." Whatever was his Latinity, Mr. Campbell's interest was good and promised still to be better, in consequence of which Mr. Hill's friends were instant with him to go into the Church of England, where, through the attention of Mr. Campbell, he might be much better provided for than he could be in the Church of Scotland, to which notwithstanding he still professed not only adherence, but a high degree of veneration.

From this temptation he was delivered by the death of Mr. Pryce Campbell, who was cut off in the prime of his days and in the midst of his expectations. Mr. Hill, however, was still continued with his pupil, who was now under the protection of his grandfather; and as great part of his estates lay in Scotland, that his education might be corresponding to the duties which, on that account, he might have to perform, young Campbell was sent for two sessions to the university of Edinburgh, and that he might be under the eye of Principal Robertson, he was, along with his tutor, boarded in the house of Mrs. Syme, the principal's sister. During these two sessions Mr. Hill attended the divinity class and the meetings of the Speculative Society, where he acquired considerable *éclat* from a speech in praise of the aristocracy. He also waited on the General Assembly, in the debates of which he took so much interest as to express his wish to be returned to it as an elder. With Dr. Robertson his intercourse was uninterrupted, and by him he was introduced to the notice of the principal men in and about Edinburgh. By his uncle, Dr. M'Cormick, he was introduced at Arniston House, and in that family (Dundas) latterly found his most efficient patrons. While he was thus swelling the train of rank and fashion, it was his fortune to meet for the first time, dining at General Abercrombie's, with the celebrated David Hume, of whom he thus wrote immediately after: "I was very glad to be in company with a man about whom the world has talked so much; but I was greatly surprised with his appearance. I never saw a man whose language is more vulgar, or whose manners are more awkward. It is no affectation of rudeness as being a philosopher, but mere clownishness, which is very surprising in one who has been so much in high life, and many of whose writings display so much elegance." During all this time the progress of his pupil was not commensurate to the expectations of his friends, and the expenses it occasioned; and with the approbation of his patron, Lord Kinnoul, Mr. Hill resigned his charge. Mr. Morton, professor of Greek in the university of St. Andrews, at this time wishing to retire on account of the infirmities of age, Mr. Hill became a candidate, was elected after some little opposition, and on the 21st of May, 1772, was admitted joint-professor of Greek, being yet only in the twenty-second year of his age. He now went to London with his former pupil, and visited Cambridge, where Mr. Campbell was to finish his studies; and, having received from Lord Kinnoul and Dr.

Robertson ample testimonials to the ability and faithfulness with which he had discharged his duty while residing in Edinburgh, the family parted with him, expressing their thankfulness, their respect, and regret. Returning to Scotland, he spent some time with his uncle preparing for meeting with his class, which he did in the end of the year 1772. The duties of this charge did not prevent him from various other pursuits. In the year 1774 Mr. Campbell, in order to make the most of his parliamentary interest in the shire of Nairn, gave to a number of his friends votes upon life-rent superiorities, and among others conferred one upon Mr. Hill, who, while at Nairn performing his friendly office as one of Mr. Campbell's voters, nearly lost his life by sleeping in a room that had been newly plastered. His groans, however, happened to be heard, and a physician being in the house to give immediate assistance, he was soon recovered. The year following he formed the resolution of entering the church, and having made application to the presbytery of Haddington, with which, through his brother-in-law, Mr. Murray of North Berwick, he considered himself in some sort connected, he was by that reverend court licensed to preach the gospel on the 3d of May, 1775. He was immediately after this employed as assistant to Principal Tullidolph in the parochial church of St. Leonard's, which has always been united with the principality of the college. In this situation he continued till the death of Principal Tullidolph in the year 1777. The same year he was offered the parish of Coldstream by the Earl of Haddington; but he did not think it worth accepting. The following year, on the death of Dr. Baillie, professor of theology in the college of Glasgow, Principal Robertson desired him to stand candidate for that chair; but he seems to have taken no steps for that purpose, probably from the circumstance of his being only a preacher, which might have operated against him in case of a well-supported candidate coming forward. The same year, probably to be ready in case of a similar emergency, he again applied to the presbytery of Haddington, and was by them ordained to the holy ministry. In the year 1779, through the interest of Principal Robertson and his uncle, Dr. M'Cormick, he was offered one of the churches of Edinburgh, with the prospect of a chair in the university in a short time. This also he declined with a view to some contemplated arrangements of Lord Kinnoul. In consequence of the death of Principal Morrison, Dr. Gillespie was shortly after removed from the first charge in the city to the principality of the new college. Dr. Adamson, the second minister, was promoted to Dr. Gillespie's benefice, and Mr. Hill was elected by the town-council successor to Dr. Adamson. In consequence of his holding the professorship of Greek, Mr. Hill's induction was protested against by a member of the presbytery of St. Andrews, and the case was brought before the General Assembly in the year 1780, which dismissed it without ceremony, as it did also overtures on the subject from the synods of Fife, Perth, and Stirling. Mr. Hill was accordingly, with the full concurrence of the congregation, admitted to the church in which his father had officiated, on the 22d day of June, 1780. Since his settlement at St. Andrews as a professor of Greek, he had sat in the General Assembly as an elder; he now appeared in the more weighty character of a minister, and on the retirement of Dr. Robertson became the most important member of the house, and confessedly the leader of the moderates.

We have already noticed his acceptance of a life-rent superiority, by which he became a freeholder in

the county of Nairn in the year 1774. He continued to stand on the roll of freeholders for that county till the winter of 1784, when a new election came on; but Mr. Campbell, from being on the side of the ministry, was now violent on the side of the opposition. In this case, for Mr. Hill to have given his vote to Mr. Campbell's candidate would have been considered by the ministry as open rebellion against their claims on the church, for which they might have selected another leader, and have at the same time withdrawn every mark of their favour from him. They might also have prosecuted him before the judiciary on a charge of perjury, as they had already done some others in similar circumstances. Under this complication of difficulties Mr. Hill as usual had recourse to the Earl of Kinnoul, and to his brother-in-law, Mr. Murray of North Berwick. Lord Kinnoul most ingeniously gave him back his own views; did not, as chancellor of the university, think he was warranted to allow him to desert his professional duties for the purpose merely of giving a political vote; and stated, that though he himself could have greatly extended his interest by such votes as Mr. Hill possessed, he had never granted one of them. A charge of perjury, he admitted, might be brought against any person who received them, and whether it might be well founded or not, it was a charge to which, in his opinion, no minister of the gospel should expose himself. The judgment of his lordship we cannot but approve, though it is probable that if the candidate had been a ministerial one, the Greek class might have been allowed a few holidays without the smallest impropriety. Mr. Murray, while he regretted (though he no doubt knew it from the first) that his friend should ever have accepted such a vote, applauded his purpose of relinquishing it, and of refusing, under all circumstances, to comply with the requisition to attend the election. Mr. Hill's biographer labours hard to clear him from any degree of blame in this affair, but without effect: it carries its character full in its face, and holds up a most important lesson to all clergymen to beware of intermeddling in political intrigues of any kind.

In 1787 Mr. Hill was honoured by the university with the title of D.D., and in 1788 was appointed to succeed Dr. Spens as professor of divinity in St. Mary's College. He had been the previous year appointed dean to the order of the Thistle, a place that had been first created to gratify Dr. Jardine for his services in support of Dr. Robertson, but with no stated salary; the dean only claiming a perquisite of fifty guineas on the installation of every new knight. During Dr. Hill's incumbency no instalment took place, and he of course derived no pecuniary benefit from the situation. He had been little more than three years in the divinity chair when the situation of principal became vacant by the death of Dr. Gillespie, and it was by Lord Melville bestowed on Dr. Hill. This appointment in his letter of thanks he considered as peculiarly valuable as being the best proof that Lord Melville approved the mode in which he had discharged the duties of the divinity professorship. "I will not attempt," he continues, "to express by words the gratitude which I feel; but it shall be the study of my life to persevere as a clergyman in that line of conduct upon which you have generously conferred repeated marks of your approbation." This was the termination of his university preferment; but he was shortly afterwards nominated one of his majesty's chaplains for Scotland, with a salary annexed; and on the death of his uncle Dr. M'Cormick he succeeded him as one of the deans of the chapel royal. The deanery of the Thistle already noticed was unproductive; but the above two situa-





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tions, while they added nothing to his labours, increased his income in a material degree. In his management of the General Assembly Dr. Hill copied closely after Dr. Robertson; except that the entire satisfaction of himself and his party with the law of patronage as it then stood, was marked by withdrawing from the yearly instructions to the commission the accustomed order to embrace every opportunity of having it removed, and by still bolder attempts to do away with the form of moderating calls for presentees, and to induct them solely upon the footing of presentations. In his progress Dr. Hill certainly encountered a more formidable opposition than Dr. Robertson latterly had to contend with. In one case, and in one only, he was completely defeated. This was an overture from the presbytery of Jedburgh concerning the imposition of the test upon members of the Established Church of Scotland, which, it was contended, was an infringement of the rights of Scotsmen, and a gross violation of the privileges and independence of the Scottish church. In opposition to the overture it was maintained by the moderates of the assembly that the test act was a fundamental article of the treaty of union; and Dr. Hill, in particular, remarked that there were no complaints on the subject except from one single presbytery, nor was there any ground to complain; for to a liberal and enlightened mind it could be no hardship to partake of the Lord's supper according to the mode sanctioned by a church whose views of the nature and design of that ordinance were the same with his own. For once the popular party gained a triumph, and the accomplished and ingenious leader was left in a minority. A series of resolutions moved by Sir Henry Moncrieff were adopted, and by the unanimous voice of the assembly a committee was appointed to follow out the spirit and purpose of these resolutions. Care, however, was taken to render the committee of no avail, and nearly thirty years elapsed without anything further being done. We cannot enlarge on Dr. Hill's administration of the affairs of the church, and it is the less necessary that no particular change was effected under him. Matters generally went on as usual, and the influence of political men in biasing her decisions were perhaps fully more conspicuous than under his predecessor. Of his expertness in business and general powers of management the very highest sense was entertained by the public, though differences of opinion latterly threatened to divide his supporters.

In 1807 Dr. Hill had a severe attack, from which it was apprehended he would not recover; contrary to all expectation he did recover, and the following year, on the death of Dr. Adamson, he was presented to the first ecclesiastical charge in the city of St. Andrews. Eight years after, namely, in 1816, we find him as active in the General Assembly as at any former period of his life. Shortly after this time, however, he was attacked with slight shocks of apoplexy, which impaired his speech and unfitted him for his accustomed exercises. He was no more heard in the assembly-house; but he continued to preach occasionally to his own congregation till the year 1819, when he was laid aside from all public duty. He died on the 19th of December that year, in the seventieth year of his age, and thirty-ninth of his ministry.

Dr. Hill married in 1782 Miss Scott, daughter to Mr. Scott, a citizen of Edinburgh, who had chosen St. Andrews as his place of retirement in his old age after he had given up business. By this lady, who survived him, Dr. Hill had a large family, several of whom are yet alive. His eldest son was Dr.

Alexander Hill, late professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow. In a life of Principal Hill it would be unpardonable to pass over his various publications, some of which possess high excellence. We cannot, however, afford room for criticism, and shall merely notice them in a general way. Single sermons seem to have been his first publications, though they are mentioned by his biographer in a very indistinct manner. One of these, preached before the sons of the clergy, seems to have been sent to the Bishop of London, whose commendation it received. Another, from the text, "Happy art thou, O Israel; who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord?" was published in the year 1792 as a sedative to the popular excitement produced by the French revolution. The sermon was an unmeasured panegyric on the existing order of things in Great Britain, and had for a short time an immense popularity. "I believe it will be agreeable to you," writes his bookseller, "to inform you that I have had success with respect to your sermon beyond my most sanguine imagination. I have written a hundred letters upon the subject, and have got all the capital manufacturers in Scotland to enter into my idea. I have printed off ten thousand copies of the coarse, and one thousand copies of the fine. I have got letters of thanks from many capital persons, with proper compliments to you. . . . I congratulate you upon the extensive circulation of the sermon, for never was such a number of a sermon sold in this country before, and I flatter myself it will, in a great measure, answer the purpose for which it was intended." The following year he published a third sermon, *Instructions afforded by the Present War to the People of Great Britain*. In 1795 he published a volume of sermons, which is said to have met with limited success. Several years after, Dr. Hill published *Theological Institutes*, containing heads of his lectures on divinity, a work which continues to be highly estimated as a theological textbook; *A View of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland*; and *Counsels respecting the Duties of the Pastoral Office*. This last is an interesting and valuable work. In 1812 he published *Lectures upon Portions of the Old Testament, intended to illustrate Jewish History and Scripture Characters*. To this work is prefixed the following dedication: "To the congregation which attends the author's ministry, this specimen of a course of lectures, in which he led them through the books of the Old Testament, is, with the most grateful sense of their kindness and the most affectionate wishes for their welfare, respectfully inscribed." There is no mode of publication a minister can adopt so likely to be useful as this. It gives a most pleasing idea of a clergyman when he thus takes, as it were, a last farewell of his people, who cannot fail to peruse a work bequeathed to them under such circumstances with peculiar interest. These lectures, we doubt not, were regarded among his parishioners more than all his other works. Of Dr. Hill's character the reader has been furnished with materials for forming a judgment for himself. His precocious abilities, his talents for adapting himself to the uses of the world, his diligence in all his offices, and his powers of managing public business and popular assemblies, conspire to mark him out as a very extraordinary man. It may only be remarked that, for the most of tastes, his conduct will in general appear too much that of a courtier.

HOGG, JAMES. This delightful poet of nature's own rearing, who, of all our national bards under similar circumstances, ranks nearest to Burns, was

born in Ettrick Forest, on the 25th of January, 1772.¹ Whence he derived his most unpoetical of names it is not easy to determine, unless we are to suppose that it was the name of some honoured follower of the Conqueror, subsequently fattened into its present form by the rich fruits of the conquest, or finally by a profitable emigration into Scotland in the days, it may be, of Malcolm Canmore. But into this dangerous question we have no particular wish to enter. At all events, we know that James Hogg was fully sensible of this grunting incongruity in connection with the tuneful avocation of minstrel, and therefore chose for himself the name of the Ettrick Shepherd, as the more fitting appellative. Whatever may have been the good fortune of his earliest ancestors in Scotland, we well know that none of it descended to himself; for his predecessors had been shepherds as far back as he could trace them. His father, who followed the same humble calling, had been so successful in it as to save some money, which he invested in a farming speculation soon after James was born. The young poet, who was the second of four sons, was therefore sent to school, and would probably have received the usual amount of education bestowed upon the children of our Scottish peasantry, had it not been for a reverse of fortune, by which his father was stripped of all his earnings. This happened when James was only six years old; and he was taken from school in consequence of his parents and their children being "turned out of doors," as he informs us, "without a farthing in the world." After a resting-place had been found, James was obliged to enter into service at the early age of seven. His occupation was to herd a few cows, upon a half-year's wage of a ewe lamb and a pair of new shoes. In this lonely occupation, with nothing but his cows for companions, the imaginative boy could find no better amusement than to run races against time, or rather against himself. For this purpose he was wont to strip like a regular athlete, until his clothes were lost piece by piece, so that he was reduced to primitive nakedness; and it was only by a diligent search of the other servants that the lost articles were found. After a year spent in this kind of servitude, he was sent once more to school. Hitherto his education had advanced so far as reading in the Shorter Catechism and the Proverbs of Solomon; but now he was transferred into a higher class, where the Bible itself was the text-book of lessons. He also learned writing, after a fashion, in a large coarse hand, where every letter was nearly an inch in length. A quarter of a year spent in this way completed his education; all that was afterwards to be done depended upon his own efforts.

Having thus received a more limited tuition than usually happens to the children even of the poorest in our country, Hogg was again obliged to return to the occupation of a cowherd, the lowest grade of rural employment; and after serving in this capacity for several years under different masters, he was raised to the more honourable office of a shepherd. But long before he attained this promotion, and while still a mere boy, the first stirrings of the poetical spirit came upon him; and like almost every poet, past, present, and to come, his inspirations were awoken by female beauty, tenderness, and worth. He had already found the being who afterwards was, in all likelihood, the "bonny Kilmeny," who bewitched the world, as well as the animating muse of his first rugged efforts in song. That episode, so important

in a poet's life, we give in his own tender and truthful language: "When only eight years of age, I was sent out to a height called Broad-heads, with a rosy-cheeked maiden, to herd a flock of new-weaned lambs, and I had my mischievous cows to herd besides. But as she had no dog, and I had an excellent one, I was ordered to keep close by her. Never was a master's order better obeyed. Day after day I herded the cows and the lambs both, and Betty had nothing to do but to sit and sew. Then we dined together every day at a well near to the Shiel-sike-head, and after dinner I laid my head down on her lap, covered her bare feet with my plaid, and pretended to fall sound asleep. One day I heard her say to herself, 'Puir little laddie! he's jist tired to death;' and then I wept till I was afraid she would feel the warm tears trickling on her knee. I wished my master, who was a handsome young man, would fall in love with her and marry her, wondering how he could be so blind and stupid as not to do it. But I thought if I were he I would know well what to do."

From love to music was but a step in one of such a temperament, and when Hogg had reached the age of fourteen he laid out five shillings, which he had saved from his wages, in the purchase of an old violin. This new charm of existence occupied him so wholly that all his leisure was devoted to it; and as his only spare hours were taken from sleep, while his only dormitory was a stable or a cow-house, his desperate attempts in music had commonly no better auditory than that which was wont to gather around the harping of Orpheus. He ever after retained his love of music, and by dint of perseverance became a tolerable violinist. However trivial, or even ridiculous, such a pursuit may be in common life, it is no frivolous matter in that of a poet. It indicates that the soul of harmony is within him, and that whether he learns to fiddle well or not, he will turn it to the best account in that music of words which forms so necessary an adjunct in poetry. Who does not recognize this fact in the singular melody which characterizes the Ettrick Shepherd's versification! No sounds can be sweeter and no notes more appropriate than those which embody "Kilmeny" and the "Abbot M'Kinnon," in the *Queen's Wake*. The first of these poems, as illustrative of the mere music of language, independently of its poetical merits, has never been surpassed.

In the meantime the education of the future poet went on, and that, too, so oddly as to give most uncertain promise of his future destination. He had already committed the Psalms of David in metre to memory; but though he liked their rhymes, he seems to have understood nothing else than the short measure into which they are rendered. In his eighteenth year *The Life and Adventures of Sir William Wallace*, modernized by Hamilton of Gilbertfield, and forming the choice epic of our Scottish peasantry, fell into his hands, and also the equally popular pastoral of the *Gentle Shepherd*. But partly from having almost forgotten the art of reading, which he had learned so imperfectly, and partly from his scanty reading having been hitherto limited to English, the Scottish dialect, in which *Wallace* and the *Gentle Shepherd* are written, was so new and so puzzling, that Hogg struggled on from line to line at a snail's pace. But what was more ominous still, was his dislike at their versification, so that he felt as if he would have relished them better had they been written in prose. His love of reading having been noticed by his employers, books were lent him, chiefly of a theological character, and newspapers; through the last of which he was wont

¹ This date is given by Hogg himself in his autobiography, but the parish register records his baptism as having taken place on the 9th of December, 1770.

to wade, from the title at the beginning to the names of printer and publisher at the end, without stint or omission.

At length, when he had reached his twenty-fourth year, Hogg commenced the life of a poet in earnest. He had now read much, although very miscellaneous; and his imprisoned ideas, after struggling for a vent, burst forth in the language of song. His first attempts were of a humble description, being chiefly ballads and songs, intended to be sung by the lasses of the district; while the name of "Jamie the Poeter," by which they soon learned to distinguish him, was the "Muses' meed" with which he rested satisfied for the present. It was easy, indeed, for him to compose verses: they sprang up in his mind as rapidly as prose does with ordinary mortals; but to embody them in form to the eye, so that others might read and learn them—here was the crowning difficulty! We have already noticed his very scanty education in penmanship, and from want of occupation it had slumbered since his boyhood until now, that it was urgently called into full exercise. His writing, at the best, was a sort of laborious printing, letter by letter; while his model was the Italian alphabet, for want of a more concise character. To add to his difficulties, his chief opportunities for writing were derived from the chance intervals that occurred in the management of his unruly flock. Armed with a few sheets of paper, stitched together, in his pocket, and a phial, instead of an ink-born, dangling from his button-hole, he used to sally to the hill-side with his sheep; and as soon as a season for writing occurred, he stripped off coat and waistcoat, like one preparing for a desperate deed, and squared his elbows for the feat. In this way his earliest poems were committed to paper. One advantage of this slow and toilsome process was that it afforded sufficient time for reflection and correction; so that his MS., however uncouth, was not defiled with those many erasures and alterations that so sorely trouble the author, as well as perplex the printers. The word once down was as immutable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. The habit thus established was of immense service to Hogg when he acquired greater facility in penmanship, and to this perhaps we may attribute the ready accuracy he afterwards acquired, both in prose and verse, and the numerous productions which he was enabled to give to the world in the midst of his other avocations.

It was now full time that Hogg should have higher models than Ettrick ballads, and better judges than the rude peasantry of the district. Accordingly, after he had harped and preluded for a twelvemonth, he was so fortunate as to hear of Robert Burns, who had died only a year before. His informant was a "half-daft man," who recited to him the whole of *Tam O'Shanter*, and told him that its author was the sweetest poet that ever was born; that he was now dead, and had left a place that would never be filled. Hogg, who was so delighted with *Tam O'Shanter* that he quickly learned every line by heart, had now full proof that there was still higher poetry than his own, and a better poet than himself; and his whole enthusiasm thenceforth was to become the rival, or at least the worthy successor, of Robert Burns. And why not? For had he not been born, of all days in the year, upon the 25th of January, the very birthday of Robert Burns? And was he not, in a great measure, an uneducated and self-taught man, even as Burns was? And, moreover, was not his own occupation of herding sheep every whit as poetical as following the plough, if not even more so? All this was such proof demonstrative,

that he never afterwards seems to have lost sight of the hope that the Ettrick Shepherd would at last become as famed as the Ayrshire Ploughman. In other individuals such soaring ambition is not only kept a secret from the world, but as much as possible from their own hearts also; but with James Hogg there never was such concealment. He uttered what he felt, so that those who loved were often compelled to laugh at him, and reckon him not only the simplest of poets, but the most vainglorious of poetical simpletons. For this, however, he cared very little, while he felt within himself that new-born ardent enthusiasm which, he judged, would carry him far, even though it should fall short of the mark. And in this he was right; for if he did not become wholly a Burns, he still distanced others as far as he was himself distanced by his prototype.

The first publication of Hogg was a song and nothing more—but it was such a song as the best of our poets would not have been ashamed of. Such was the general suffrage, by the high popularity which this patriotic lay, called *Donald McDonald*, attained, and continued to hold for years. It appeared in 1800, in consequence of Napoleon's threatened invasion; and, while it denounced all manner of calamity and disaster upon the intruder—which, luckily, were not brought to the test—it kindled, wherever it was sung, such an ardent spirit of patriotism as Alcæus himself would have longed to second.

In the following year he made a still more intrepid plunge into authorship. Having come to Edinburgh with a flock of sheep for sale, and being encumbered with several days of interval, he resolved to spend the time in writing out such of his compositions as he could most readily remember, and publishing them in the form of a poetical pamphlet. He transcribed them accordingly, placed them in the hands of a publisher, and then retired to the Forest; where his production afterwards followed him, unrevised and uncorrected, with not a few blunders gratuitously added by the printer. This was but a sorry commencement; and like many poets after their first work appears, his lucubrations seemed in his own eyes so inferior in the form of a published book, that he wished them cancelled and annihilated. But the press had clutched them, and their recall was too late.

Soon after this commencement, Hogg, impatient of the narrow circumstances within which he was hampered, and conscious that he was fitted for something better, resolved to amend his fortunes by migrating either to the Highlands or the Hebrides, and finding occupation as the superintendent of an extensive sheep-farm. But, strongly recommended though he was, especially by Sir Walter (then Mr.) Scott, who had thus early recognized a kindred genius in the Shepherd, the attempt was unsuccessful; and poor Hogg, on returning home, lost all the money he still possessed, and that, too, in the short space of a week. Something was needful to be done immediately; and in this strait he was advised, by his steadfast friend Sir Walter Scott, to publish a volume of poetry. The materials were already at hand; for Hogg, dissatisfied with the imitations of the ancient ballads which Scott had published in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, had made several attempts of the same kind himself, which were highly estimated. It is worthy of remark, by the way, that the three great poets of Scotland—Scott, Hogg, and Allan Cunningham—commenced their poetical career not upon the refinements of the modern school, but the rough spirit-stirring songs of shepherds and moss-troopers. Hogg's collection was soon in readiness; and on reaching Edinburgh Scott introduced him to

Constable, by whom the volume was published, under the title of the *Mountain Bard*. By this work, which, notwithstanding the roughness of a still uncultivated mind, possessed indications of great originality and poetical merit, and by a prose work which he produced about the same period, being an *Essay on Sheep*, Hogg cleared the sum of £300.

It was at this time, and, we believe, during this visit to Edinburgh in search of a publisher, that Scott, who admired the genius of Hogg, and was amused with his rough-spun simplicity, invited him to dinner in Castle Street, where a party, admirers of the *Mountain Bard*, were assembled to meet with its most singular author. Hogg arrived, but in the dusty shepherd costume in which he had attended the cattle-market, and with hands embrowned with the processes of recent sheep-smearing. In this state he entered the drawing-room:—

"Gentles, methinks you frown:
And wherefore gave this goodly company:
As if they saw some wondrous monument,
Some comet, or unusual prodigy?"

But Hogg does not appear to have disturbed himself with their astonishment: he had made up his mind to be a finished courtier by imitating the lady of the house. Mrs. Scott, who was in a delicate state of health, was reclining upon a sofa; upon which Hogg, faithful to his fair exemplar, threw himself in the same attitude upon a sofa opposite, to the great dismay of the lady, who saw her fine chintz crushed and soiled beneath its unwonted burden. During the dinner he delighted the company by his pithy and original conversation, his Doric breadth of dialect, his stories and songs, which were all produced as from a long-imprisoned fountain. But as the conversation warmed and the wine circulated, he became less and less mindful of the pattern of manners he had adopted, and more completely at every step the unsophisticated boon companion of Ettrick Forest; and after addressing his host successively as "Mr. Scott," "Sherra," "Scott," "Walter," and "Wattie," he wound up the climax at supper, by hailing Mrs. Scott with the familiar title of "Charlotte."

The Ettrick Shepherd, as we have already seen, had now made considerable advance in his resemblance to Robert Burns. When his hour was at the darkest he had published a volume of poetry that raised him at once from poverty to comparative wealth. He had established for himself a poetical reputation, and obtained an entry into the literary society of the capital. But, unfortunately, the parallel was not to end here, for, like Burns, he was to lose the fortune which his genius had created almost as rapidly as it had been won. Master of the enormous sum of £300, Hogg seems to have thought that it could accomplish everything; and accordingly he rushed headlong into agricultural speculations, to more than tentimes the amount, and soon found himself penniless and in debt. After struggling, or rather floundering on, impeded at every step by the new character he had acquired, of a man that could win but not keep—a character most unfavourable in the eyes of his countrymen—Hogg cast about for other occupation. But his choice was more poetical than prudent: he wished to obtain a commission in a militia regiment. This was about the year 1808, when our captains of militia were menaced with something more serious than the annoyances of pipe-clay and parades; for an invasion was imminent, and it was thought that Hogg, although a poet and admirable writer of war-songs, was more likely, in a charge of bayonets, to play the part of a Horace than a Tyrtæus. Such, at least, was the suspicion of Sir Walter Scott, a good judge in such matters, whose influence Hogg solicited in

this affair, but who endeavoured to dissuade his friend by representing the smallness of pay attached to a militia ensign's commission. Disappointed in this, his next ambition was a place in the excise; but although in this case Scott exerted himself with all his influence, the Ettrick Shepherd soon found that he had as little chance of becoming an exciseman as a soldier. It was perhaps as well for him that this further assimilation to Burns was not accomplished.

Thus frustrated in all his efforts, Hogg now resolved to embrace authorship as a profession. It was his last resource, for nothing remained to him but his pen, and he had already tried its efficacy. Full of this purpose, he threw his plaid over his shoulders, turned his back on Ettrick Forest, and entered Edinburgh as if he had dropped from the clouds. Prudence, experience, tact, a graceful conciliatory manner, and money-making money-saving habits—in each and all of these, indeed, he was woefully wanting; all that he brought to the tug of life, which was now to begin in earnest, was high enthusiastic genius and indomitable perseverance. He was now at the age of thirty-eight, and therefore too old to study the graces, or unlearn the habits of his former life. His first application was to journalists, publishers, editors of magazines, and booksellers; but after going the round in quest of literary occupation, he found himself rebuffed at every point. At last he resolved to try a volume of poetry; but so much had he discontinued for years the practice of verse-making, that he was obliged to draw for materials upon his early compositions. The result was the *Forest Minstrel*, a collection of songs, of which two-thirds were his own; but as they were almost wholly the crude productions of his early days, they acquired little popularity, and brought him no profit—if we are to except the kindness of the Countess of Dalkeith, to whom they were dedicated, who sent him a present of one hundred guineas through the hands of Sir Walter Scott, and afterwards befriended him still more substantially when she became Duchess of Buccleugh. Chagrined at the bad success of his *Forest Minstrel*, he resolved to abandon publishers as the enemies of all genius, and turn to the printers; but these he found as stiffnecked as the former class, for they would not print his lucubrations without the name of a bookseller as publisher on the title-page. His proposal also was little calculated to win them, for it was to publish a weekly newspaper called the *Spy*, devoted to belles-lettres, morals, and criticism. Such a journal, and by such a man!—the whole trade cried out against it. At length, in his researches, he stumbled upon an obscure bookseller who undertook the office of printing and publishing, and the *Spy* in due time came forth; but its language by the third or fourth number waxed so unruly and indecorous, that many of the subscribers sent in their resignation. But Hogg, who was stiffly confident in his own good intentions, and unable to comprehend what he reckoned their unreasonable fastidiousness, persisted in his delinquency, until he managed to drive all the subscribers out of the field, and bring the *Spy* to an untimely end before it had lived and fretted for a short twelvemonth.

Hogg had now plunged into the unfathomed sea of authorship, and found that he must sink or swim as the case might be. He still felt his deficiency for a literary life, and laboured earnestly to amend it; but as he was too old for a regular training *ab initio*, he endeavoured to attain his end by a short cut, and for this purpose attended a forum, or debating society, that had been set up by a few aspiring young men in Edinburgh, who opened their meetings to the public at the rate of sixpence a-head as the price of admis-

sion. Here the Shepherd, who entered with his wonted ardour into the work, became a frequent speaker; and his strange medley of broad Scotch and homely quaint phraseology, combined with the rich original ideas that flashed from him at every movement, made him a wondrous favourite with his auditors, who laughed, wondered at, and admired this most singular orator all in one breath. He ever afterwards retained a grateful recollection of the benefits he derived from this kind of schooling, and declared that without these weekly lessons he never could have succeeded as he did. As this was only preliminary to something better, he now set himself in good earnest to produce a work that should surpass all he had yet written, and give him a place among the poets of the day—an aim that was not a little strengthened by the success of Scott and Byron, whom he secretly hoped to rival. As on former occasions, he had lying beside him sundry ballads and tales, the composition of his former days, which he was unwilling to lose; and in the plan of his new production these were to be interwoven with new materials into the form of a consecutive story. A few months of application sufficed to complete the work, and the result was the *Queen's Wake*. To find a publisher was now his task. He repaired to head-quarters at once, by applying to Mr. Constable; but "the Crafty," who no doubt was inundated with similar applications, and was too wise to buy a pig in a poke, refused to have anything to do in the affair until he had seen the manuscript. This reasonable request the poet refused, with "What skill have you about the merits of a book?" "It may be so, Hogg," replied the Jupiter Tonans of Scottish publishers, "but I know as well how to sell a book as any man, which should be some concern of yours, and I know how to buy one too." Another publisher was ultimately found, and in the spring of 1813 the *Queen's Wake* appeared.

Of this beautiful poem, universally known and admired as it has been and still continues to be, nothing can now be said, whether in criticism or laudation, that has not already been said a hundred times over. It has appropriately taken its permanent place in British poetry, where it promises to be as highly valued, and to last as long, as anything that has been produced by Campbell, Scott, or Byron. On its appearance the whole reading public were struck with astonishment. That tales so striking, that pictures so full of ethereal beauty and grandeur, and a versification so graceful and musical, should have been the produce of an uneducated shepherd!—it was one of those literary phenomena which occur only at rare intervals, for the perplexity of criticism, and the subversion of its authority and rule. By what strange power or chance had such a man been able to describe the fairy queen and her glittering train riding along to the music of their own silver bells; or the unearthly voyages and revels of the witch of Fife; or that vast pillared temple of nature, Staffa, amidst the deep eternal anthem of its waves; or the phantom-seer Columba, bemoaning the iniquities of his once hallowed isle, and dooming its sinful abbot and monks to the ruin they had merited! But above all these, the tale of "Kilmeny" bore the pre-eminence; for in it the poet's excellences were concentrated, whether in the wild and wonderful of conception or beauty of execution; while the music of the language arrested the ear, as did the rich compositions of Weber when his *Der Freischütz* and *Oberon* first broke upon the public.

By the publication of the *Queen's Wake* its author was recognized not only as a veritable poet, but one of the highest order; and as it went through five edi-

tions in a short time, it tended greatly to relieve his straitened circumstances. At this time also he was in the practice of contributing articles to the *Scottish Review*, a quarterly periodical of some literary reputation; and on the appearance of the *Isle of Palms*, by John Wilson, then little known to fame, Hogg, who was delighted with the striking incidents and rich imagery of the poem, wrote a eulogistic criticism, which was published in the *Review*. But amidst so much warm-hearted commendation which he doled out, it was necessary to find fault somewhere; and, accordingly, he fastened upon the incident of the hero and heroine having been sent in an open boat over some hundred leagues of ocean, without the slightest mention of any victualling for such a voyage. Had Hogg but read a romance or two of the chivalrous ages, he would have known how easily people can live without food, as well as be hacked to pieces without dying. He was impatient to come into contact with the talented author of the poem, and as no one was at hand to introduce him, he introduced himself. On this occasion he quoted once more what he thought the crying grievance of the *Isle of Palms*, with "Ye ken that it was arrant nonsense to set a man and wife awa sailing over the sea wi' naething to fill their stomach but the cauld wind. You should most certainly ha'e put some o' provisions in the boat." "O, sir," replied the future Christopher North, with a look of great gravity, while inwardly the cockles of his heart were dancing with laughter, "they were on the water only a single night; and, moreover, let me tell you, filling the belly is scarcely one of the poetical occupations. You know, sir, *they may have had bread and cheese in their pockets* without my taking the trouble of mentioning that in the poem!" This was perfectly satisfactory to his unsophisticated hearer, who replied, "Faith, I dare say you're right after a'; but, do you ken, the thing never struck me, man?"

Before proceeding with the literary labours of James Hogg, it may be as well to notice an incident characteristic of so singular a man, in which he endeavoured to re-establish himself in life as a farmer—the department for which he thought himself best fitted. For this, as in most of his other attempts, patronage was necessary; and he bethought himself of the Duchess of Buccleuch, whose kindness and condescension he had more than once experienced already. Having screwed up his courage to the point of requesting, he made his application to her grace in the following strange epistle:—

"To her Grace the Duchess of Buccleuch, Dalkeith Palace. Forwarded by Messrs. Grieve and Scott, Hatters, Edinburgh.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—I have often grieved you by my applications for this and that. I am sensible of this, for I have had many instances of your wishes to be of service to me, could you have known what to do for that purpose. But there are some eccentric characters in the world, of whom no person can judge or know what will prove beneficial, or what may prove their bane. I have again and again received of your grace's private bounty, and though it made me love and respect you the more, I was nevertheless grieved at it. It was never your grace's money that I wanted, but the honour of your countenance; indeed, my heart could never yield to the hope of being patronized by any house save that of Buccleuch, whom I deemed bound to cherish every plant that indicated anything out of the common way on the braes of Ettrick and Yarrow.

"I know you will be thinking that this long prelude is to end with a request. No, madam! I have

taken the resolution of never making another request. I will, however, tell you a story, which is, I believe, founded on a fact—

"There is a small farm at the head of a water called . . . possessed by a mean fellow named . . . A third of it has been taken off, and laid into another farm; the remainder is as yet unappropriated. Now, there is a certain poor bard, who has two old parents, each of them upwards of eighty-four years of age, and that bard has no house nor home to shelter these poor parents in, or cheer the evening of their lives. A single line from a certain very great and very beautiful lady, to a certain Mr. Riddle,¹ would insure that small pendicle to the bard at once. But she will grant no such thing! I appeal to your grace if she is not a very bad lady that? I am your grace's ever obliged and grateful,

"JAMES HOGG,
"The Ettrick Shepherd."

"Ettrick Bank, March 17, 1814."

This curious application, which the duchess received only a few months before her death, remained unanswered—not from remissness, however, but the fear of "seeing herself in print," should she vouchsafe a reply. She sent the letter to Sir Walter Scott, requesting him to inform his poetical friend of the duke's unwillingness to displace a tenant, and assure him withal of her wish to serve him whenever a suitable opportunity occurred. On Scott's first visit to the duke after the death of the duchess, the case of Hogg was introduced, and his grace feelingly said, "I must now consider this poor man's case as *her* legacy." The ultimate result of this resolution was the establishment of Hogg, three years afterwards, in a snug farm on Altrive Lake, at a merely nominal rent, where he might have every opportunity of securing comfort and independence.

In the meantime, however, it was necessary for Hogg to bestir himself to keep poverty both from hearth and door. Notwithstanding the fame of the *Queen's Wake*, its publication was attended with so many mischances, that the profits were inadequate and at wide intervals. Besides, it must be remembered that money, which can make to itself wings even in the custody of the prudent, has its chances of escape multiplied fifty-fold when in the keeping of a poet, and such a poet as the Ettrick Shepherd, whose knowledge of man and life was anything but practical. In 1815 his *Pilgrims of the Sun* appeared. But, notwithstanding its many powerful descriptions and poetical passages, the reception which the public gave to the work betokened disappointment: their hopes had been raised so high by the *Wake*, that anything short of it had little chance of success. In America, however, it had a better reception, where the sale of 10,000 copies extended the author's reputation, but without bettering his finances. A rebuff like this would have deterred most authors; but Hogg had such an implicit faith in his own genius, that he believed himself to be right in his estimate of the poem, and the whole literary world in the wrong, and that the publishers were in a conspiracy to arrest the progress of the *Pilgrims*. This was soon after followed by *Mador of the Moor*, a poem in the Spenserian stanza, and which he reckoned his masterpiece of versification. But here again the world outvoted him, for *Mador of the Moor* was reckoned inferior even to its predecessor—a judgment which has never as yet been reversed.

"My next literary adventure," says Hogg in one

of his autobiographies, "was the most extravagant of any. I took it into my head that I would collect a poem from every living author in Britain, and publish them in a neat and elegant volume, by which I calculated I might make my fortune." It was easy to ask, but to obtain such a favour was the difficulty; for the best poets refused a contribution of any kind, while those of a second or third rate, who complied, sent what was little better than the dregs of their ink-horns. Of these refusals, that of Sir Walter Scott especially incensed him; and in an angry letter which he wrote to the great minstrel on the occasion, he changed the prefatory "dear sir" into "damned sir," and ended with "yours with disgust, &c." A quarrel of some weeks' standing was the consequence between the reckless, hot-headed, but warm-hearted Shepherd, and equally warm-hearted but wiser friend and patron. At length, finding that he could not obtain materials, or at least such as were fitted for his purpose, Hogg resolved to create them. With great glee he accordingly set to work to produce such an imitation of each distinguished poet as might be mistaken for an original, and frolicked through this arduous task as if it had been capital fun. The whole series of imitations, except a very small proportion, was written in three weeks; and when completed, the volume was published under the title of *The Poetic Mirror, or Living Bards of Britain*. It was so successful that the first edition was sold in six weeks. Still, it must be owned, that it never attained the same universal popularity as the *Rejected Addresses*, notwithstanding its superior poetical merit to the latter production. The imitation was, in most cases, too exaggerated to pass current, so that the public lost the luxury of being cheated. Of this he was himself partly conscious, and says, "I was led to think that, had the imitations of Wordsworth been less a caricature, the work might have passed, for a season at least, as the genuine productions of the authors themselves whose names were prefixed to the several poems."

In the year after the appearance of the *Poetic Mirror*, Hogg published two volumes under the title of *Dramatic Tales*. Among his poetical aspirations had been that of producing something for the stage; but, in common with most candidates for such honour, he had been repelled by the difficulties of access to the green-room, so that "sdeath I'll print it!" the only alternative of a disappointed dramatic poet, was adopted by the Shepherd. But the drama was not his forte, notwithstanding his own opinion to the contrary; and the cold reception of his plays by the reading public so incensed him, that, with the exception of an occasional idle song to beguile a leisure hour, he resolved to write poetry no more. Still, write he must, for his necessities required it, and therefore he turned to prose. Like Sir Walter Scott, he would become a novelist, and perhaps succeed as well as Sir Walter had done. He accordingly produced *The Brownie of Bodsbeck and other Tales*, which was published in two volumes. Unfortunately for the "Brownie," the ground which it entered was so fully occupied by *Old Mortality*, that there was little chance of its obtaining fair play, even had its merits been greater than they were; and although it advocated the cause of the aspersed Covenanters, it was regarded after all as a humble and unsuccessful imitation of the *Great Unknown*, who was then in the ascendancy. Hogg, in his own vindication, has told us that the *Brownie of Bodsbeck* was written considerably prior to the publication of *Old Mortality*, and might have appeared a year before the latter but for the obstinacy of the publisher, whose taste it did not happen to suit.

¹ This was Major Riddell, chamberlain to the Duke of Buccleuch.

The next attempt of Hogg was to collect the *Jacobite Relics of Scotland* for publication, a measure which had been proposed to the Highland Society of London by its noble chairman the Duke of Sussex. Of his quest on this new track Sir Walter Scott thus writes in one of his letters: "Hogg is here, busy with his Jacobite songs. I wish he may get handsomely through, for he is profoundly ignorant of history, and it is an awkward thing to read in order that you may write. I give him all the help I can, but he sometimes poses me. For instance, he came yesterday, open mouth, inquiring what great dignified clergyman had distinguished himself at Killiecrankie—not exactly the scene where one would have expected a churchman to shine—and I found with some difficulty that he had mistaken Major-general Canon, called, in Kennedy's Latin song, *Canonicus Gallovidensis*, for the canon of a cathedral." This was ridiculous enough; but we suspect there are hundreds in Scotland who have passed through the high-school, and, it may be, the college to boot, who would have fallen into the same mistake. This ignorance of Latin and history was not the only difficulty that Hogg encountered, for he found the Highland peasantry themselves very jealous about giving up their old tokens of Jacobitism to a stranger, fearing that they might be manufactured into a matter of high-treason. But he persevered stoutly in his task; and the first volume of the work was brought out in 1819, and the second in 1821. To his industry as a collector was also added his own native poetical talent, for some of the best songs were his own composition; and nothing delighted him so much as the mistake of the *Edinburgh Review*, when, in its sweeping condemnation of these *Jacobite Relics*, it made a most favourable exception in behalf of Donald M'Gillavry—the produce of his own pen. Hogg, who was wont to praise or blame himself as unscrupulously and frankly as if he had been speaking of some neutral person, regarded the completion of this work with no little complacency, and has said of it in one of his autobiographies, "I am sure I produced two volumes of *Jacobite Relics*, such as no man in Scotland or England could have produced but myself." Between the interval of the first and second volume of the *Relics*, he published, in 1820, his *Winter Evening Tales*, the greater part of which he had written in early life, when he was a shepherd among the mountains. These tales, though written under such circumstances, are among the best of his prose productions; and none who read them can fail to be struck with the life-like reality and air of truthfulness with which they are pervaded. Let the event narrated be however absurd or impossible, the reader is compelled to swallow it; for while the author writes as if he were deponing upon oath, and descends to the minutest circumstantiality, he goes onward with such earnestness as leaves little room for doubt or disputation.

We have already mentioned the singular manner in which Hogg obtained his little farm at Altrive, upon a merely nominal rent, which, by the way, was never exacted. One would have thought that here, even in spite of the precariousness of authorship, he would have been able to seat himself in comfort under his own vine and fig-tree. But he soon showed that while he had too little prudence to be a money-making poet, he had too much genius to be a plodding successful farmer. He removed to his farm in 1817, and after building upon it a handsome cottage, he took to himself a partner of his home and his cares in 1820, when he had reached the ripe age of forty-eight. After his marriage, finding the farm of Altrive Lake too small for his wants or ambition,

he took on lease the larger adjoining one of Mount Benger; but although the profits of his past literary labours enabled him to expend £1000 in stocking it, he soon found that this was not half enough. He therefore encountered such difficulties at the outset as obliged him to renew his literary labours, and continue his dependence upon publishers. Commencing now the trade of novelist in good earnest, he wrote, on the spur of the moment, the *Three Perils of Man*, viz. *War, Women, and Witchcraft*, a strange medley of extravagant incident and beautiful description; and soon after a similar work in three volumes, entitled the *Three Perils of Women*. Before these works were published, the coronation of George IV. occurred, and Sir Walter Scott, thinking that a memorial of this august spectacle from the pen of the Ettrick Shepherd would be a rich originality, and might produce him a golden requital, solicited and obtained a place for Hogg, as well as himself, in the Hall and Abbey of Westminster, to witness the coronation. With this permission was coupled an invitation from Lord Sidmouth to dine with him after the solemnity, when the two poets would meet the Duke of York and a few other Jacobites. Here was an opportunity of princely patronage such as few peasant-poets have enjoyed; and Scott accordingly announced the affair to Hogg, requesting him to join him at Edinburgh, and set off with him to the great metropolis. But poor Hogg!—he wrote "with the tear in his eye," as he declared, to say that his taking such a journey was impossible—and why? because the great yearly Border fair, held in St. Boswell's Green, in Roxburghshire, happened at the same period, and he could not absent himself from the meeting! In the following year (1822) the king's visit to Edinburgh occurred; and Hogg, either infected with the national epidemic, or to vindicate his loyalty, that had slumbered so strangely at the time of the coronation, produced a poetical welcome to the memorable advent, entitled *The Royal Jubilee, a Scottish Masque*. As such courtly masques are but forced productions at the best, that of the Shepherd was scarcely better than the best laureate lays, if we except a few genuine poetical touches here and there, such as royal favour can seldom purchase. In speaking of this effusion, the Shepherd *naively* adds, "I got no money for it; but I got what I held in higher estimation—his majesty's thanks for this and my other loyal and national songs. The note is written by Sir Robert Peel, in his majesty's name, and I have preserved it as a relic."

After this Hogg continued for several years to write in prose and verse for the periodicals, "sometimes receiving liberal payment," he tells us, "and sometimes none, just as the editor or proprietor felt disposed." But the periodical to which he chiefly adhered, and of which he had been one of the original founders, was *Blackwood's Magazine*. And who that has read the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* can fail to recollect the full portrait of the Shepherd given there as he dressed and looked, as he thought, spoke, and acted; even as he ate, drank, and slept? Overcharged the picture certainly was, and of this he vehemently complained; but still, how few have sat to such a limner, and have received such justice, where justice was most required? Still more reasonably he complained of the many sentiments attributed to him which he never conceived, as well as the tales and songs which he had never composed, although they were given as his own in these widely-admired *Noctes*. He now collected his own veritable prose contributions to *Blackwood*, and published them in two volumes, under the title of the *Shepherd's*

Columbo—a work more vigorously written, and which attained a higher popularity, than any of his former prose productions.

But, in the meantime, what had become of the Ettrick Shepherd's farming? The reader may well conclude that all this authorship was either cause or effect—that it either brought his farm to nought, or was the desperate resource of utter failure in all his agricultural endeavours. Both conjectures are but too correct. His extensive connection with the literary society of Edinburgh, and the taste he had acquired for popular laudation, made the occupations of a farmer a perfect weariness to his heart, so that he was more frequently to be found among the intellectual throng of the metropolis than with the ploughmen and shepherds of Mount Benger. Nor was it better when he betook himself to his rural home; for every idle tourist, every lion-hunter, every wandering poet, every effete or embryo scribbler, must needs make a pilgrimage to the wonderful poet of Altrive Lake; and Hogg, whose heart overflowed with hospitality, entertained them at his board, and not only squandered upon them his hard-earned resources, but, what was more valuable, his time also. It is not wonderful, therefore, that when his lease of Mount Benger had expired, he found himself, at the age of sixty, not a sixpence richer than when he began the world. One resource was still in prospect. It was now the fashion to bring out the well-established works of our popular authors in reprints of monthly volumes, by which plan the gleanings were often more abundant than the original harvest; and Hogg resolved to avail himself, like others, of such a promising opportunity. For this purpose he entered into negotiation with a London publisher to bring out a selection of his prose productions in volumes every two months, under the title of *Altrive Tales*; and, to perfect the engagement, he resolved to repair in person to the metropolis. This he did on the 1st of January, 1832, when, for the first and last time in his life, he who had appeared to the English admirers of the *Queen's Wake* as a poetical myth, and not an uneducated shepherd of real flesh and blood, presented himself, in all his rustic simplicity and reality, to the wondering coteries of London. It is needless to add how he was welcomed and fêted. He was not only a lion, but such a lion as the whole kingdom of Cockaigne had never been privileged to witness; and they could not sufficiently admire the whole man, combining, as he did, such warmth of heart and richness of thought, with such genuine unvarnished simplicity of speech, appearance, and bearing. He was a real shepherd after all—and he was the Shepherd. And in spite of all this flattery and welcome with which he was received by wondering London during a three months' stay, his ill luck, which abode with him to the last, made his coming a mere holiday visit, and nothing more. As soon as the first volume of the *Altrive Tales* appeared the publisher failed, and the work was stopped, so that, with hopes utterly blighted in a matter upon which he had placed so much reliance, he fell back upon the precarious resource of magazine writing. Two years after he published a volume of lay sermons, or rather essays, which issued from a London press, but brought him slender remuneration. A third attempt, which he made the following year (1835), was the publication of the *Montrose Tales*, in three volumes. This was also published by the same luckless bookseller in whose hands the *Altrive Tales* had become bankrupt; but a fresh insolvency, only eight months after the new work had appeared, sent the author's hopes of profit to the winds. Certainly none but a genuine child of nature to the last

—one holding to the very end of his days the confident faith of infancy and the unexperienced simplicity of boyhood, in spite of all that had come and gone—could have so failed, and failed continually! But such was Hogg; and if before a bargain he neither doubted nor suspected, so, after its failure, he neither desponded nor despaired. He was always elate with cheerfulness and hope, and ready for new adventure.

But the most elastic bow, however enduring, must finally yield; and Hogg, who had now reached his sixty-fourth year, and enjoyed such a state of robust health, activity, and vigour as falls to the lot of few poets, combined with a constitutional cheerfulness of temperament, such as the most fortunate might have envied, was to close his eventful career. Much as he had written, the wonder had continued to the last that one so educated and circumstanced could write so well. His closing days, which at first gave no premonition of their result, found him employed in compiling a small volume of sacred poetry, while his walks in the moors, amidst the fresh heather-bells and the bleating of flocks, made him feel as if the season of decay were still distant. But his complaint, which was an affection of the liver, so rapidly increased, that, after an illness of four weeks, he died at his cottage of Altrive Lake, on the Yarrow, on the 21st of November, 1835, leaving a widow and five children dependent upon the gratitude of a country whose scenes he has described, and whose worth he has eulogized so eloquently.¹ His works, of which we have not enumerated the full amount in poetry and prose, have since been published at Glasgow, entire, in eleven volumes, and subsequently in two large volumes of double-columned royal octavo. In 1860 a public monument was erected to his memory on a picturesque spot midway between the Loch of the Lowes and St. Mary's Loch, where the figure of the poet is represented as seated upon an oak root, with his faithful dog Hector couched at his feet. Thus passed away a man whose name will continue to be coeval with that of Ettrick or the Yarrow, and whom Scotland at large, as long as she cherishes the remembrance of her past national genius, will never willingly forget.

HOLYBUSH, JOHN, a celebrated mathematician and astronomer, better known by the Latin terms *De Sacrobosco*, or *De Sacrobusto*, occasionally also receiving the vernacular appellations of Holywood and Hallifax, and by one writer barbarously named *Sacerboschius*. The period when this eminent man flourished is not known with anything approaching even to the usual certainty in such cases, and it is matter of doubt whether he existed in the 13th or 14th century. Nor is his birthplace less dubious; as in many other instances during the same period, England, Scotland, and Ireland have contended for the honour—the two former with almost equal success, the last with apparently no more claim than the absence of certain evidence of his belonging to any other particular nation. When a man has acquired a fame apart from his own country, and in any pursuit not particularly characteristic of or connected with his native land, the establishment of a certainty of the exact spot of his birth is of little consequence, and when easily ascertained, the fact is only useful for the purpose of pointing out the particular branch of biography (as that subject is generally divided) to which the individual belongs, and thus preventing omission and confusion. Enter-

¹ After a lapse of nearly twenty years, the widow of the Ettrick Shepherd was pensioned by government.

taining such an opinion, we shall just glance at the arguments adduced by the writers of the two nations in defence of their respective claims, and not pretending to decide a matter of such obscurity, consider it a sufficient reason why he should be a fit subject for commemoration in this work, that no decision can be come to betwixt the claimants. It will be very clear, where there are doubts as to the century in which he lived, that he is not mentioned by any authors who did not exist at least a century or two later. In an edition of one of his works, published at Lyons in 1606, it is said, "Patria fuit quæ nunc Anglia Insula, olim Albion et Brettania appellata." Although the apparent meaning of this sentence inclines towards an opinion that our author was an Englishman, the sentence has an aspect of considerable ignorance of the divisions of Britain, and confounds the England of later times with the Albion or Britannia of the Romans, which included England and Scotland. Leland and Camden vindicate his English birth on the ground that John of Halifax in Yorkshire forms a translation (though it must be admitted not a very apt one) of Joannes de Sacrobosco. On the other hand Dempster scouts the theory of Leland with considerable indignation, maintaining that Halifax is a name of late invention, and that the mathematician derived his designation from the monastery of Holywood in Nithsdale, an establishment of sufficient antiquity to have admitted him within its walls. M'Kenzie repeats the assertions of Dempster with a few additions, stating that after having remained for some years in the monastery, he went to Paris, and was admitted a member of the university there. "Upon the 5th of June, in the year 1221," Sibbald in his *Manuscript History of Scottish Literature*¹ asserts, that besides residing in the monastery of Holywood, he was for some time a fellow-student of the monks in Dryburgh, and likewise mentions, what M'Kenzie has not had the candour to allude to, and Dempster has sternly denied, that he studied the higher branches of philosophy and mathematics at the university of Oxford. Presuming Holybush to have been a Scotsman, it is not improbable that such a circumstance as his having studied at Oxford might have induced his continental commentators to denominate him an Englishman. M'Kenzie tells us that he entered the university of Paris "under the syndic of the Scots nation;" for this he gives us no authority, and we are inclined not only to doubt the assertion, but even the circumstance that at that early period the Scottish nation had a vote in the university of Paris, disconnected with that of England—at all events, the historians of literature during that period are not in the habit of mentioning a Scottish nation or syndic, and instead of the faculty of arts being divided, as M'Kenzie will have it, "into four nations, France, Scotland, Picardy, and Normandy," it is usually mentioned as divided into France, Britain, Picardy, and Normandy. That Holybush was admitted under a Scottish syndic was not a circumstance to be omitted by Bulaeus, from his elaborate and minute *History of the University of Paris*, where the mathematician is unequivocally described as having been an Englishman. There cannot be any doubt that Holybush became celebrated at the university for his mathematical labours; that he was constituted professor of or lecturer on that science; that many of the first scholars of France came to his school for instruction; and that if he was not the first professor of the mathematics in Paris, he was at least the earliest person to introduce a desire for following that branch

of science. M'Kenzie states that he died in the year 1256, as appears from his tombstone. The author of the *History of the University of Paris*, referring with better means of knowledge to the same tombstone, which he says was to be seen at the period when he writes, places the date of his death at the year 1340. The same well-informed author mentions that the high respect paid to his abilities and integrity prompted the university to honour him with a public funeral, and many demonstrations of grief. On the tombstone already referred to was engraved an astrolabe, surrounded by the following inscription:—

"De Sacrobosco qui computista Joannes,
Tempora discrevit, jacet hic a tempore raptus.
Tempora qui sequens, memor esto quod morieris;
Si miseres, plora, miserans pro me precor ora."

The most celebrated work of Holywood was a treatise on the *Sphere*, discussing in the first part the form, motion, and surface of the earth; in the second those of the heavenly bodies, and, as was customary before the more full revival of philosophy, mingling his mathematics and astronomy with metaphysics and magic. Although the discoveries displayed in this work must be of great importance, it is impossible to give any account of their extent, as the manuscripts of the author seem to have lain dormant till the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century, when they were repeatedly published, with the comments and additions of able mathematicians, who mingled the discoveries of Holybush with those which had been made since his death. The earliest edition of this work appears to have been that published at Padua in 1475, entitled *Francisci Capuani Expositio Sphæræ Joannis a Sacrobosco*. In 1485 appeared *Sphæra cum Theoricis Purbachii et Disputationibus Johannis Regiomontani contra Cremonensium Deliramenta in Planetarum Theoricis*, being a mixture of the discoveries of Holywood with those of George Purbach (so called from the name of a town in Germany in which he was born) and Regiomontanus, whose real name was Muller, two celebrated astronomers and mathematicians of the 15th century. During the same year there appears to have been published a *Commentary on Holywood* by Cichus Ascolanus. In 1507 appeared an edition for the use of the university of Paris, with a commentary by John Bonatus. In 1547 an edition was published at Antwerp, with figures very respectably executed, and without the name of any commentator. Among his other commentators were Morisanus, Clavius, Vinetus, and many others of high name, whom it were useless here to enumerate. Some late authors have said that Melancthon edited his *Computus Ecclesiasticus*; of this edition we have not observed a copy in any library or bibliography, but that great man wrote a preface to the *Sphæra*, prefixed to an edition published at Paris in 1550. Besides these two works, Holybush wrote *De Algorismo*, and *De Ratione Anni*. Dempster also mentions a *Breviarium Juris*, which either has never existed or is now lost. M'Kenzie mentions a treatise *De Algorismo*, and on *Ptolemy's Astrolabe*, fragments of which existed in MS. in the Bodleian Library. In the catalogue of that institution the former is mentioned, but not the latter.

HOME, SIR EVERARD, Bart. This eminent surgeon was a descendant of the ancient border family of that name, and son of Robert Home, Esq., of Greenlaw Castle, county of Berwick, by Mary, daughter of Colonel Hutchinson. Sir Everard was born in 1756. His father having been an eminent and successful medical practitioner, he emulated the paternal example; and studied surgery under the

¹ *Hist. Lit. Gentis Scot.* MS. Adv. Lib. p. 164.
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celebrated John Hunter, who was his brother-in-law. Under such an instructor an ordinary pupil was certain to surpass the general average in the knowledge of his profession; and this was more especially the case with Everard Home, who possessed talents of no common kind. Having completed his preparatory studies, he commenced practice as a surgeon in London, where his success was almost without a rival for more than forty years. On January 2d, 1813, George IV., while prince-regent, raised him to the rank of a baronet by patent, and also conferred on him the appointment of sergeant-surgeon, an office which was continued to him by William IV. Sir Everard was also surgeon to Chelsea Hospital, and honorary professor of anatomy and surgery to the Royal College of Surgeons, of which college he was moreover the president for many years. After a long and active life in his profession, by which he won both fortune and honourable distinction, he died in his apartments at Chelsea College on the 31st of August, 1832, at the age of seventy-six. In 1792 he had married Jane, daughter and co-heiress of the Rev. Dr. Tunstall, by whom he had two sons and four daughters, and was succeeded in his title by his eldest son, Sir James, who was a captain in the royal navy.

Besides being a distinguished medical practitioner, Sir Everard Home acquired reputation by his professional writings, and was author of the following works:—*Practical Observations on the Treatment of Ulcers on the Legs, considered as a Branch of Military Surgery*, 1797. — *Observations on Cancer*, 1805. — *Practical Observations on the Treatment of Stricture in the Urethra and in the Œsophagus*, 3 vols. 8vo. — *Lectures on Comparative Anatomy*, in 2 vols. 4to, in which are explained the preparations in the Hunterian collection, illustrated by 171 engravings. — *Hunterian Oration*, in honour of surgery, and in memory of those practitioners by whose labours it has been advanced; delivered in the theatre of the college, Feb. 14th, 1814. Besides these, he wrote other surgical works, which were of high repute, and which greatly aided in the advance of the science to its present state of excellence. He also contributed largely to the *Philosophical Transactions*, and a variety of ably-written articles to the medical periodicals of the day.

HOME, HENRY (LORD KAMES), a lawyer and metaphysician, son of George Home of Kames, was born at his father's house in the county of Berwick, in the year 1696. The paternal estate of the family, which had once been considerable, was, at the period of the birth of the subject of this memoir, considerably burdened and reduced by the extravagance of his father, who appears to have pursued an easy hospitable system of living, unfortunately not compatible with a small income and a large family. With the means of acquiring a liberal education, good connections, and the expectation of no permanent provision but the fruit of his own labours, the son was thrown upon the world, and the history of all ages has taught us, that among individuals so circumstanced science has chosen her brightest ornaments, and nations have found their most industrious and powerful benefactors. In the earlier part of the last century, few of the country gentlemen of Scotland could afford to bestow on their children the expensive education of an English university, and an intuitive horror at a contact with the lower ranks frequently induced them to reject the more simple system of education provided by the universities of Scotland. Whether from this or some other cause, young Home was denied a public education, and received instruc-

tions from a private tutor of the name of Wingate, of whose talents and temper he appears to have retained no happy recollection.¹ The classical education which he received from this man appears to have been of a very imperfect description, and although on entering the study of his profession he turned his attention for some length of time to that branch of study, he never acquired a knowledge of ancient languages sufficiently minute to balance his other varied and extensive acquirements. Mr. Home was destined by his family to follow the profession of the law, the branch first assigned him being that of an agent. He was in consequence apprenticed to a writer to the signet in the year 1712, and he continued for several years to perform the usual routine of drudgery, unpleasant to a cultivated and thinking mind, but one of the best introductions to the accurate practice of the more formal part of the duties of the bar. The ample biographer of Home has detailed in very pleasing terms the accident to which he dates his ambition to pursue a higher branch of the profession than that to which he was originally destined. The scene of action is represented as being the drawing-room of Sir Hew Dalrymple, lord-president of the Court of Session, where Home, on a message from his master, finds the veteran judge in the full enjoyment of elegant ease, with his daughter, a young beauty, performing some favourite tunes on the harpsichord. "Happy the man," the sentimental youth is made to say to himself, "whose old age, crowned with honour and dignity, can thus repose itself after the useful labours of the day in the bosom of his family, amidst all the elegant enjoyments which affluence, justly earned, can command! such are the fruits of eminence in the profession of the law!" If Home ever dated his final choice of a profession from the occurrence of this incident, certain praises which the president chose to bestow on his acuteness and knowledge of Scottish law may have been the part of the interview which chiefly influenced his determination.

Having settled the important matter of his future profession, Mr. Home applied himself to the study of the laws, not through the lectureship which had just been established in Edinburgh for that purpose, but by means of private reading and attendance at the courts.

He put on the gown of an advocate in the year 1723. From the period when Mr. Home commenced his practice at the bar he seems to have for a time forgot his metaphysics, and turned the whole of his discriminating and naturally vigorous intellect to the study of the law; in 1728 he published the first of his numerous works, a collection of the *Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session*, from 1716 to 1728, a work purely professional, which from the species of technical study being seldom embodied by

¹ Tytler, in his *Life of Kames*, mentions an amusing scene which took place betwixt the scholar and master some time after their separation. When Home was at the height of his celebrity as a barrister, the pedagogue had contrived to amass a sum of money, which he cautiously secured on land. Anxious about the security of his titles, he stalked one morning into the study of his former pupil, requesting an opinion of their validity. The lawyer having carefully examined the several steps of the investment, assumed an aspect of concern, and hoped Mr. Wingate had not concluded the bargain; but Mr. Wingate had concluded the bargain, and so he had the pleasure to listen to a long summary of objections, with which the technical knowledge of his former pupil enabled him to pose the uninitiated. When the lawyer was satisfied with the effect of his art, the poor man was relieved from the torture, with an admonition, which it were to be wished all followers of "the delightful task" would hold in mind: "You may remember, sir, how you made me smart in days of yore for very small offences—now I think our accounts are closed. Take up your papers, man, and go home with an easy mind; your titles are excellent."





an author so comparatively youthful, seems to have attracted much attention from the court and the leading lawyers of the time. It is probable that the hue and arrangement given to the pleadings, now the chief defect of that compilation, may have rendered it at the time it was published attractive from the originality of the method. A small volume of essays *Upon Several Subjects in Scots Law*, which he published four years afterwards, afforded more scope for ingenuity and refinement of reasoning than could possibly be infused into other men's arguments; and in the choice of the subjects, and the method of treating them, full advantage has been taken of the license. Such of the arguments and observations as stood the test of more mature consideration were afterwards embodied by the author in one of his more extensive popular law-books. Mr. Home seems to have been one of those gifted individuals who could enjoy hilarity without dissipation, and gaiety without frivolity. In early life he gathered round him a knot of familiar and congenial spirits, with whom he enjoyed the fashionable and literary society of Edinburgh, then by no means despicable as a school of politeness, and just dawning into a high literary celebrity. Hamilton of Bangour, Oswald, and Lord Binning were among his early and familiar friends, and though he soon extended to more gifted minds the circle of his philosophical correspondence, an early intercourse with men so refined and learned must have left a lasting impression on his susceptible intellect.

In 1741, at the prudent age of forty-seven, Mr. Home married Miss Agatha Drummond, a younger daughter of Mr. Drummond of Blair, in Perthshire, a lady of whom we hear little except that she had a turn for quiet humour, and that she perplexed her husband's economical principles by an inordinate affection for old china, being in other respects generally reported to have been a prudent and docile wife. In 1741 Mr. Home published the well-known *Dictionary of the Decisions of the Court of Session*, afterwards continued and perfected by his friend and biographer Lord Woodhouselee; a very laborious work, and of great practical utility, though now superseded by the gigantic compilation of Morison, and the elaborate digest of the late Mr. Brown. During the rebellion of 1745 the business of the Court of Session was suspended for eleven months, and those lawyers whose minds were not engaged in the feverish struggles of the times, had to seek some occupation in their retirement. Mr. Home seems at no time to have busied himself in active politics, excepting such as came within the range of his judicial duties—and the early predilection of his family to the support of the Stuart dynasty may have been an additional motive for his preserving a strict neutrality during that disorderly period. In the midst of his retirement he gathered into a few short treatises, which in 1747 he published under the title of *Essays upon Several Subjects concerning British Antiquities*, some facts and observations intended to allay the unhappy differences of the period, although it is rather doubtful whether the Highlanders or their intelligent chiefs found any solace for their defeat and subjection to the laws, in discussions on the authority of the *regiam majestatem*, or nice theories of descent. The subjects discussed are of a highly useful and curious nature; and had the author brought to the work an extensive collection of facts, and a disposition to launch into no theories but such as his own good sense dictated to be applicable and sound, the country might have had to thank him for a just and satisfactory account of her ancient laws and customs, and the rise of the constitution, which the

talent of her bar has not yet produced. But these essays are brief and desultory, the facts are few and paltry, and the reasoning fanciful and unsatisfactory. The arguments against "the hereditary and indefeasible right of kings," if they ever produced any good effect, would certainly constitute a proof that the human mind, as exhibited in any arguments which might be used by his opponents, was then more perverted by prejudice than it is generally believed to have been in any civilized country. To the truisms contained in that essay, the refinements on hereditary descent form a curious converse; where the feudal system has its origin from the tendency of bodies in motion to continue in a straight line, and the consequent tendency of the mind to pursue its objects in a course equally direct, which proves that "as in tracing out a family, the mind descends by degrees from the father first to the eldest son, and so downwards in the order of age, the eldest son, where but one can take, is the first who presents himself."

The next production of Mr. Home's pen was one of a nature more congenial to his habits of thought:—in 1751 he published *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*. One of the grand leading aims of this work is the maintenance of innate ideas, or principles of right and wrong, in opposition to the opinions of Locke and Hume. After the clear logical deductions of these great men, the duty of an opponent was a task of difficulty; while it is at the same time generally allowed by both parties in this grand question, that the view adopted by Lord Kames, while it agrees more happily with the general feelings of the world, cannot bear the application of the same chain of clear and subtle reasoning which distinguishes the position of his antagonists. Like too many of the best works on metaphysics, the *Essays on Morality* give more instruction from the ingenuity of the arguments, and the aspects of the human mind brought before the reader in the course of deducing them, than in the abstract truths presumed to be demonstrated. It has been frequently noticed, to the prejudice of most of the works of the same author, that instead of arranging his arguments for the support of some general principle, he has subdivided his principles, and so failed to bring his arguments to a common point. The failing, if characteristic of Lord Kames, was not unusual at the period, and is one which time and the advantage of the labours of previous thinkers tend to modify. In the work we are just considering, the line of argument maintained bids defiance to the adoption of any one general principle, while much confusion is prevented by the author having given a definition of what he understands those laws of nature to which he refers our consciousness of good and evil to consist of. Although the author in the advertisement avows the purpose of his work to be "to prepare the way for a proof of the existence of the Deity," and terminates the whole with a very pious and orthodox prayer, he had the misfortune to bring the Church of Scotland like a hornet's nest about him, on the ground of certain principles tending to infidelity. A zealous clergyman of the name of Anderson published, in 1753, *An Estimate of the Profit and Loss of Religion, Personally and Publicly Stated; illustrated with References to "Essays on Morality and Natural Religion;"* in which the unfortunate philosopher is treated with no more politeness than the opponent of any given polemical disputant deserves. This blast of the trumpet was followed up by an *Analysis* of the same subject, "addressed to the consideration of the Church of Scotland;" and the parties rousing themselves for battle, the hand of the respected Dr. Blair stretched forth in moderation of

party rancour, and defence of his esteemed friend, protracted but did not prevent the issue. A motion was made in the committee for overtures of the General Assembly, "How far it was proper for them to call before them and censure the authors of infidel books." After a stormy debate the motion was lost, but the indefatigable Mr. Anderson presented, in name of himself and those who adhered to his opinions, a petition and complaint to the presbytery of Edinburgh, praying that the author of the *Essays on Morality, &c.*, might be censured "according to the law of the gospel, and the practice of this and all other well-governed churches." Defences were given in, and the petitioner obtained leave to reply, but before the matter came to a conclusion he had breathed his last, and the soul of the controversy perishing along with him, Lord Kames was left to pursue his philosophical studies unmolested. The chief subject of this controversy may be discovered in the curious and original views maintained by the author of the essays on the subject of liberty and necessity. Full freedom to the will of mankind he maintains to be in opposition to the existence and operation of a Deity, who prejudices all his actions, and has given him certain motives which he cannot avoid following; while, to preserve common uniformity with the doctrine of an innate sense of right and wrong previously maintained, the author is obliged to admit that man must have a consciousness of free-will to enable him to act according to that innate sense: he therefore arrives at a sort of intermediate doctrine, which may be said to maintain that while the will is not in reality free, it is the essence of our nature that it should appear to us to be so. "Let us fairly own," says the author, "that the truth of things is on the side of necessity; but that it was necessary for man to be formed with such feelings and notions of contingency as would fit him for the part he has to act." "It is true that a man of this belief, when he is seeking to make his mind easy after some bad action, may reason upon the principles of necessity, that, according to the constitution of his nature, it was impossible for him to have acted any other part. But this will give him little relief. In spite of all reasonings his remorse will subsist. Nature never intended us to act upon this plan: and our natural principles are too deeply rooted to give way to philosophy." . . . "These discoveries are also of excellent use, as they furnish us with one of the strongest arguments for the existence of the Deity, and as they set the wisdom and goodness of his providence in the most striking light. Nothing carries in it more express characters of design; nothing can be conceived more opposite to chance, than a plan so artfully contrived for adjusting our impressions and feelings to the purposes of life." The doctrine may appear at first sight anomalous; but it displays equal ingenuity in its discovery, and acuteness in its support, and is well worthy of the deepest attention. A certain clergyman of the Church of Scotland is said to have seen in this theory an admirable exposition of the doctrine of predestination, and to have hailed the author as a brother; and certainly a little comparison will show no slight analogy betwixt the two systems; but other persons thought differently, and the reverend gentleman was superseded. These fiery controversies have carried us beyond an event which served to mitigate their rancour—the elevation of Mr. Home to the bench of the Court of Session, where he took his seat in February 1752, by the title of Lord Kames; an appointment which, as it could not be but agreeable and satisfactory to the learned and ingenious, seems to have met the general concurrence and approbation of the common people of the country.

In 1755 Lord Kames was appointed a member of the board of trustees for the encouragement of the fisheries, arts, and manufactures of Scotland, and likewise one of the commissioners for the management of the annexed estates, on both of which important duties it would appear he bestowed the attention his ever-active mind enabled him to direct to many different subjects. In the midst of his varied judicial and ministerial labours, two legal works appeared from the pen of Lord Kames. *The Statute Law of Scotland Abridged, with Historical Notes*, published in 1759, was never known beyond the library of the Scots lawyer, and has now almost fallen into disuse even there. *Historical Law Tracts*, published in 1757, was of a more ambitious sort, and acquired something beyond professional celebrity. The matters discussed in this volume are exceedingly miscellaneous, and present a singular mixture of "first principles" of morality, metaphysics, &c., and Scots law. The author has here displayed in the strongest light his usual propensity for hunting after principles so far back into the misty periods of their origin, that attempting to find the lost traces of the peculiar idea he is following, he pursues some fanciful train of thought, which has just as much chance of being wrong as of being right. "I have often amused myself," says the author, "with a fanciful resemblance of law to the river Nile. When we enter upon the municipal law of any country in its present state, we resemble a traveller, who, crossing the Delta, loses his way among the numberless branches of the Egyptian river. But when we begin at the source, and follow the current of law, it is in that case no less easy and agreeable; and all its relations and dependencies are traced with no greater difficulty than are the many streams into which that magnificent river is divided before it is lost in the sea." If the philosopher meant to compare his searches after first principles to the investigation of the source of the Nile, the simile was rather unfortunate, and tempts one by a parody to compare his speculations to those of one who will discover the navigability or fertilizing power of a river by a confused and endless range among its various sources, when he has the grand main body of the river open to his investigations, from which he may find his way, by a sure and undoubted course, to its principal sources, should he deem it worth his while to penetrate them. This work exhibits in singularly strong colours the merits and defects of its author. While his ingenuity has led him into fanciful theories, and prompted him to attribute to the actions of barbarous governments subtle intentions of policy, of which the actors never dreamed, it has enabled him to point out connections in the history of our law, and to explain the natural causes of anomalies, for which the practical jurisconsult might have long looked in vain. The history of criminal jurisprudence is a prominent part of this work. The author attempts to confute the well-founded theories of Voltaire, Montesquieu, and many others, tracing the origin of punishment, and consequently the true principles of criminal jurisprudence, from the feelings of vindictiveness and indignation inherent in human nature when injured—a principle we fear too often followed to require a particular vindication or approval. We cannot pass from this subject without attracting attention to the enlightened views thrown out by Lord Kames on the subject of entails, views which he has seen the importance of frequently repeating and inculcating, though with many others he spoke to the deaf adder, who heeded not the wisdom of his words. He proposed the entire repeal of the statute of 1685, which, by an invention of the celebrated Sir Thomas

Hope, had been prepared for the purpose of clenching the fetters of Scots entails, in a manner which might put at defiance such efforts as had enabled the lawyers of England to release property from its chains. But the equity of the plan was shown in the manner in which the author proposed to settle the nice point of the adjustment of the claims on estates previously entailed. The regulations enforced by these he proposed should continue in force in as far as respected the interests of persons existing, but should neither benefit nor bind persons unborn at the time of the passing of the act proposed. Such an adjustment, though perhaps the best that could possibly be supposed, can only be put in practice with great difficulty; the circumstance of an heir being expected to be born nearer than any heir alive, and numberless others of a similar nature, would render the application of the principle a series of difficulties. Lord Kames communicated his views on this subject to Lord Hardwick and Lord Mansfield, and these great judges admitted their propriety; it had been well had the warning voice been heeded—but at that period the allegiance of Scotland might have been endangered by such a measure. The Duke of Argyll was then the only Scotsman not a lawyer who could look without horror on an attempt to infringe on the divine right of the lairds.

In 1760 appeared another philosophically legal work from our author's prolific pen, entitled *Principles of Equity*, composed with the ambitious view of reconciling the distinct systems of jurisprudence of the two nations—a book which might be of great use in a country where there is no law, and which, though it may now be applied to but little practical advantage in Scotland, it is rather humiliating to think should have ever been considered requisite as a guide to our civil judges. But the opinions of this volume, which referred to the equity courts of England, received a kindly correction from a masterly hand. In tracing the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, Lord Kames presumed it to be possessed of perfectly arbitrary powers (something resembling those at one time enjoyed by the Court of Session), enabling it to do justice according to the merits, in every case which the common law-courts did not reach; and with great consideration laid down rules for the regulation of its decisions, forgetting that, if such rules could be applied to any court so purely arguing from circumstances and conscience, the rules of an act of parliament might have been as well chosen, and rather more strictly followed, than those of the Scottish judge. But it appears that Lord Kames had formed erroneous ideas of the powers of the English equity courts; and in a portion of Sir William Blackstone's *Commentary*, attributed to the pen of Lord Mansfield, he is thus corrected: "On the contrary, the system of our courts of equity is a laboured, connected system, governed by established rules, and bound down by precedents, from which they do not depart, although the reason of some of them may perhaps be liable to objection."

Passing over the introduction to the *Art of Thinking*, published in 1761, we turn with much pleasure to the contemplation of another of the philosophical productions of this eminent writer, the work on which his reputation chiefly depends. In 1762 was published, in three octavo volumes, *The Elements of Criticism*. The correspondence and previous studies of the author show the elaborate and diversified matter of these volumes to have been long the favourite subject of his reflections. It had in view the aim of tracing the progress of taste, as it is variously exhibited and acknowledged to exist, to the organic principles of the mind on which, in its vari-

ous departments, it is originally founded, displaying the art of what his biographer justly calls "philosophical criticism," in opposition to that which is merely practical, or applicable to objects of taste as they appear, without any reference to the causes why the particular feelings are exhibited. But that Lord Kames was in this "the inventor of a science," as his biographer has termed him, is a statement which may admit of some doubt.

The doctrine of reflex senses propounded by Hutcheson, the father of the Scottish system of philosophy, had many years previously laid a firm foundation for the system afterwards so ably erected. Some years previously to the publication of the *Elements of Criticism*, Hume and Gerard had drawn largely from the same inexhaustible source, and, if with less variety, certainly with more correctness and logical accuracy of deduction; and Burke, though he checked the principle of the sensations he has so vividly illustrated by arbitrary feelings assigned as their source, contributed much to the advancement of that high study. Nor is it to be denied that the ancients at least knew the existence of this untried tract, if they did not venture far within its precincts, for few can read *Cicero de Oratore*, Longinus, or the *Institutions* of Quintilian, without perceiving that these men were well acquainted with the fundamental principles of the rules of criticism. But relinquishing the discussion of its originality, the *Elements of Criticism* is a book no man can read without acquiring many new ideas, and few without being acquainted with many new facts: it is full of useful information, just criticism, and ingenious reasoning, laying down rules of composition and thought which have become classical regulations for elegant writers. The author is, however, a serious transgressor of his own excellent rules; his mind seems to have been so perpetually filled with ideas, that the obstruction occasioned by the arrangement of a sentence would cause a considerable interruption in their flow; hence he is at all times a brief, unmelodious composer, and the broken form of his sentences frequently renders their meaning doubtful. It has been said, and not without reason, that the critical principles of Lord Kames are more artificial than natural, more the produce of refined reasoning than of feeling or sentiment. The whole of his deductions are indeed founded on the doctrine of taste being increased and improved, and almost formed, by art, and his personal character seems not to have suggested any other medium for his own acquisition of it. The *Elements of Criticism* had the good fortune to call forth a little of the virulence of Warburton, who seems to have complacently presumed that Lord Kames composed his three thick volumes with the sole and atrocious aim of opposing some of the theories of the learned divine; and Voltaire, celtifying the author by the anomalous name of *Makains*, has bestowed on him a few sneers, sparingly sprinkled with praise, provoked by the unfortunate Scotsman having spoken of the *Henriade* in slighting terms, and having lauded Shakspeare to the prejudice of the French drama.

In April, 1763, Lord Kames was appointed a lord of justiciary in the criminal court of Scotland. Surrounded by judicial duties and immersed in professional and literary studies, he was still an active supporter of the useful institutions which he had some time previously joined, investigating, along with the celebrated Dr. Walker, the proper grounds for improving the cultivation and manufactures of the Western Isles and the more remote parts of Scotland. In 1766 a new field was opened for his exertions by his succession, through the death of his wife's brother, to the extensive estate of Blair-Drum-

mond, which made him a richer but not a more illustrious man. The chief circumstance which renders this accession to his fortune interesting to the world, is the commencement of a vast system of improvement, by floating into the Firth of Forth the surface of a moss, extending over portions of his own and many contiguous estates, and shrouding what cultivation has made, and is still making, the finest land in Scotland. The next issue from the pen of Lord Kames were a small pamphlet on the *Progress of Flax Husbandry in Scotland*, published in the year 1765, and in the ensuing year a continuation of his *Reasonable Doubts* from 1739 to 1752. He now began to approach that age which has been marked out as a period reached by a small proportion of the human race; but though stricken in years, and pressed upon by official duties, he did not flinch from a new and elaborate undertaking on a subject of many diversified branches—some of which were totally disconnected with his previous literary labours. Lord Kames appears to have had his mind perpetually filled with the matter he was preparing to discuss, and to have constantly kept open to the world the engrossing matter of his thoughts; it is thus that, for some time previously to the publication of his *Sketches of the History of Man* (which appeared in 1774), we find an ample correspondence with his literary friends—with Dr. Walker, Sir James Nasmith, Dr. Reid, and Dr. Black, affording some most interesting speculations on the gradations of the human race, and the analogy between plants and animal subjects—which had long been speculated upon by our author. On these branches of philosophy he has bestowed considerable attention in the *Sketches of the History of Man* to little satisfaction. In reasoning *a priori* from the history of man in the world, and the various aspects of his tribe, the author erects a system in opposition to that of revelation, to which, however, he afterwards yields as to the authority of the court, allowing it to be true, not by any means from the superiority of the system to his own, but because holy writ has told it. But if the work be hereafter perused, to gratify an idle hour with its amusing details, few will search in it for much information on a subject which has received so much better illustration from Blumenbach, Pritchard, and Lawrence. But the subjects of these sketches are multifarious; Ossian's poems are ingeniously introduced as part of the history of man, constituting a sort of barbaro-civilized period, when probably the same amount of polish and of rudeness which still exists held sway, though without neutralizing each other, and both displayed in the extreme; government is also discussed, and finances. The political economy is old and narrow, looking upon national means too much in the light of an engine to be wielded rather than as a self-acting power, which only requires freedom and room to enable it to act; nevertheless, it is sprinkled with enlightened views, such as the following:—"It appears to be the intention of Providence, that all nations should benefit by commerce as by sunshine; and it is so ordered that an unequal balance is prejudicial to the gainers as well as to the losers: the latter are immediate sufferers; but not less so ultimately are the former."

In his latter days the subject of our memoir produced four more extensive works, of which we shall only mention the names and dates:—*The Gentleman Farmer*, in 1776; *Elucidations respecting the Common Law of Scotland*, in 1777; *Select Decisions of the Court of Session from 1752 to 1768*, published in 1780; *Loose Hints on Education*. The last of his works was published in 1781, in the eighty-fifth year of the author's age, a period when the weakness of the body

cannot fail to communicate itself to the thoughts. The green old age of Lord Kames seems to have been imbittered by no disease but that of general decay. He continued his usual attention to the agricultural and manufacturing projects of the country; gratified his few leisure hours in the society of his select literary friends; attended the Court of Session, and even performed the arduous duty of travelling on the circuits: he was indeed a singular specimen of a mind whose activity age could not impede. His correspondence continues till within a short time of his death, and before leaving the world he could spare some consideration for assisting in the establishment of an institution, the pleasures and profits of which could not be reaped by him—the Royal Society of Scotland. During his short and last illness he expressed no dread except that he might outlive the faculties of his mind; to the usual solicitations, which friends can never avoid making on such occasions, that he would submit himself to the care of a physician—"Don't talk of my disease," he answered, "I have no disease but old age. I know that Mrs. Drummond and my son are of a different opinion; but why should I distress them sooner than is necessary. I know well that no physician on earth can do me the smallest service: for I feel that I am dying; and I thank God that my mind is prepared for that event. I leave this world in peace and goodwill to all mankind. You know the dread I have had of outliving my faculties; of that I trust there is now no great probability, as my body decays so fast. My life has been a long one, and prosperous, on the whole, beyond my deserts: but I would fain indulge the hope that it has not been useless to my fellow-creatures."

A week before he died Lord Kames took a final farewell of his old friends and professional companions, on that bench to which he had been so long an ornament. He parted from each as a private friend, and on finally retiring from the room, is said to have turned round on the sorrowful group and bid his adieu in an old favourite epithet, more expressive of jovial freedom than of refinement. He died on the 27th of December, 1782, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. We have narrated the events of his life with so much detail, that a summary of his character is unnecessary; he is said to have been parsimonious, but if the epithet be applicable, the private defect will be forgotten in the midst of his public virtues. He possessed the dangerous and powerful engine of sarcasm; but he used it to heal, not to wound. The following instance of his reluctance to give pain, to be found in a letter to Mr. Creech, is so characteristic of a truly worthy man, that we cannot abstain from quoting it. "In the fifth volume of Dodsley's collection of poems there is one by T— D—, at page 226, which will make a good illustration of a new rule of criticism that is to go into the new edition of the *Elements*; but, as it is unfavourable to the author of that poem, I wish to know whether he is alive; for I would not willingly give pain."

HOME, JOHN, an eminent dramatic poet, was born at Leith on the 22d of September (o.s.), 1722. He was the son of Mr. Alexander Home, town-clerk of Leith, whose father was the son of Mr. Home, of Flass in Berwickshire, a lineal descendant of Sir John Home of Cowdenknowes, from whom the present Earl of Home is descended. John Home, who during his whole life retained a proud recollection of his honourable ancestry, was educated, first at the grammar-school of his native town, and then at the university of Edinburgh. In both of these seminaries





he prosecuted his studies with remarkable diligence and success. While he attended the university, his talents, his progress in literature, and his peculiarly agreeable manners, soon excited the attention, and procured in no small degree the favour, both of the professors and of his fellow-students. He here formed an acquaintance which lasted through life with many of those eminent men who elevated the literary character of Scotland so highly during the eighteenth century. After qualifying himself by the ordinary course of studies to undertake the duties of a clergyman in the Scottish church, he was licensed to preach on the 4th of April, 1745.

The natural character of Home was ardent and aspiring. Under the meek garb of a Scottish licentiate he bore a heart which throbbed eagerly at the idea of military fame, and the whole cast of his mind was romantic and chivalrous. It might have been expected that, in the celebrated quarrel which divided the national mind in 1745, such a person would have been unable to resist the temptation of joining Prince Charles. It happened, however, that the chivalry of Home was of a Whiggish cast, and that his heart burned for civil freedom as well as for military glory. He therefore became a volunteer in a royal corps which was raised at Edinburgh to repel the attack of the Chevalier. This corps, when the danger approached in all its reality, melted almost into thin air; yet Home was one of a very small number who protested against the pusillanimous behaviour of the rest. Having reluctantly laid down his arms, he employed himself next day in taking observations of the strength of the Highland forces, which he appears to have communicated to Sir John Cope: while thus engaged, he was near enough to the prince to measure his stature against his own. In the early part of the succeeding year he reappeared in arms as a volunteer, and was present at the disgraceful affair of Falkirk, where he was taken prisoner. Being conveyed to Doune Castle, then under the keeping of a nephew of Rob Roy, he was confined for some days, along with several companions in misfortune; but the whole party at length escaped, by cutting their blankets into shreds and letting themselves down upon the ground. He now took up his residence at Leith, and for some time prosecuted his professional duties, mixed, however, with a kind of reading to which his inclination led, that of the historians and classics of Greece and Rome.

"His temper," says his friendly biographer Mackenzie, "was of that warm susceptible kind which is caught by the heroic and the tender, and which is more fitted to delight in the world of sentiment than to succeed in the bustle of ordinary life. His own favourite model of a character, and that on which his own was formed, was the ideal being young Norval in his own play of *Douglas*, one endowed with chivalrous valour and romantic generosity, eager for glory beyond any other object, and, in the contemplation of future fame, entirely regardless of the present objects of interest and ambition. The same glowing complexion of mind which gave birth to this creature of fancy, coloured the sentiments and descriptions of his ordinary discourse; he had a very retentive memory, and was fond of recalling the incidents of past times, and of dramatizing his stories by introducing the names and characters of the persons concerned in them. The same turn of mind threw a certain degree of elevation into his language, and heightened the narrative in which that language was employed; he spoke of himself with a frankness which a man of that disposition is apt to indulge, but with which he sometimes forgot that his audience was not always inclined to sympathize, and thence

he was accused of more vanity than in truth belonged to his character. The same warm colouring was employed in the delineation of his friends, to whom he assigned a rank which others would not always allow. So far did he carry this propensity, that, as Dr. Robertson used jokingly to say, he invested them with a sort of supernatural privilege above the ordinary humiliating circumstances of mortality. 'He never,' said the doctor, 'could allow that a friend was sick till he heard of his death.' To the same source were to be traced the warm eulogies which he was accustomed to bestow upon them. 'He delighted in bestowing as well as in receiving flattery,' said another of his intimates; 'but with him it had all the openness and warmth of truth. He flattered all of us, from whom his flattery could gain no favour, fully as much, or indeed more willingly, than he did those men of the first consequence and rank, with whom the circumstances of his future life associated him; and he received any praise from us with the same genuine feelings of friendship and attachment.' There was no false coinage in this currency which he used in his friendly intercourse; whether given or received, it had with him the stamp of perfect candour and sincerity."

Such was the enthusiastic young man who was destined for the strange glory of producing in Scotland a tragedy upon a Scottish tale. In 1746 he was presented by Sir David Kinloch of Gilmerton to the church and parish of Athelstaneford in East Lothian, then vacant by the death of the Rev. Robert Blair, the author of the *Grave*. Previous to this period his passionate fondness for Plutarch had led him to commence a tragedy upon one of his heroes—*Agis*—which he finished soon after he was settled in Athelstaneford. In 1749 he went to London, and offered his work to Garrick, for representation at Drury Lane, of which that great actor had recently become manager. But the English Roscius did not think it well adapted to the stage, and declined bringing it on, much to the mortification of the author, who, with the feeling natural to such a situation, wrote the following verses on the tomb of Shakspeare in Westminster Abbey:—

Image of Shakspeare! to this place I come,
To ease my bursting bosom at thy tomb;
For neither Greek nor Roman poet fired
My fancy first—these chiefly I admired;
And, day and night revolving still thy page,
I hoped, like thee, to shake the British stage:
But cold neglect is now my only meed,
And heavy falls it on so proud a head.
If powers above now listen to my lyre,
Charm them to grant, indulgent, my desire;
Let petrification stop this falling tear,
And fix my form for ever marble here.

After this unsuccessful journey to London, he turned his mind to the composition of the tragedy of *Douglas*, which was founded upon the beautiful old ballad of *Gil Morris*. Having finished this in the intervals of his professional labours, he set out upon another expedition to the metropolis, February, 1755, with the favourable hopes of a circle of most intelligent friends, to whom he had intrusted it for perusal. It was, however, as ill received as *Agis*: Mr. Garrick returned it with the declaration that it was totally unfit for the stage. With this opinion, which many excellent English critics still maintain, neither the poet nor his friends were at all satisfied. Those friends, looking upon it with the eyes of Scotsmen, beheld in it something quite superior to the ordinary run of English tragedies; and accordingly they recommended that it should be presented upon the Edinburgh stage, which was then conducted by a gentleman named Digges, whom Mr. Mackenzie describes as possessed of great powers (though with

many defects), and of great popularity in Scotland. The recommendation was carried into effect; and all Edinburgh was presently in a state of wild excitement from the circumstance of a play being in preparation by a minister of the Established church.¹ The actors at the Edinburgh theatre happened to be in general men of some ability in their profession, and the play was thus cast: Digges, *Young Norval*; Hayman, *Old Norval*; Love, *Glenalvon*; Mrs. Warde, *Lady Randolph*. But the name Barnet was at this time used for Randolph, and Norval was called Norman. The first representation, which took place December 14, 1756, was honoured by the

¹ It is not to be borne in authority of in theatrical matters—the Edinburgh *Douglas* (a weekly newspaper, while under the management of Mr. Edward Hislop—Dr. Carlyle, and others of his brethren, not only attended the rehearsals of *Douglas*, but themselves performed in the first of them: "It may not be generally known," says the authority just referred to, "that the first rehearsal took place in the lodgings in the Canongate occupied by Mrs. Sarah Warde, one of Digges's company; and that it was rehearsed by, and in presence of, the most distinguished literary characters Scotland ever could boast of. The following was the cast of the piece on the occasion:—

Dramatis Personæ.

Lord Randolph, . . .	Dr. Robertson, principal, Edinburgh.
Glenalvon, . . .	David Hume, historian.
Old Norval, . . .	Dr. Carlyle, minister of Musselburgh.
Douglas, . . .	John Home, the author.
Lady Randolph, . . .	Dr. Ferguson, professor.
Anna the Maid, . . .	Dr. Blair, minister, High Church.

The audience that day, besides Mr. Digges and Mrs. Warde, were the Right Honourable Patrick Lord Elibank, Lord Milton, Lord Kames, Lord Monboddo (the two last were then only lawyers, the Rev. John Steele and William Home, ministers. The company, all but Mrs. Warde, dined afterwards at the Griskin Club, in the Abbey. The above is a signal proof of the strong passion for the drama which then obtained among the *literati* of this capital, since then unfortunately much abated. The rehearsal must have been conducted with very great secrecy; for what would the kirk, which took such deep offence at the composition of the piece by one of its ministers, have said to the fact of no fewer than four of these being engaged in rehearsing it, and two others attending the exhibition? The circumstance of the gentle Anna having been personated by "Dr. Blair, minister of the High Church," is a very dull one."—*Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*, January 27, 1759.

This statement may not be accurate—it is only a quotation from a newspaper; but assuming that it has some truth in it, we hesitate not to say that it is far from being either "droll" or creditable to the eminent persons to whom it refers: "Sir," said Dr. Johnson, upon one occasion, "this meriment of parsons is very offensive."

As to Dr. Robertson's share in these transactions, it is only fair to quote what is said by his biographer. Mr. Stewart's words are as follows: "The extraordinary merits of Mr. Home's performance, which is now become to Scotsmen a subject of national pride, were not sufficient to atone for so bold a departure from the austerity expected in a Presbyterian divine; and the offence was not a little exasperated by the conduct of some of Mr. Home's brethren, who, partly from curiosity, and partly from a friendly wish to share in the censure bestowed on the author, were led to witness the first representation of the piece on the Edinburgh stage. In the whole course of the ecclesiastical proceedings connected with these incidents, Dr. Robertson distinguished himself by the ablest and most animated exertions in defence of his friends; and contributed greatly, by his persuasive eloquence, to the mildness of that sentence in which the prosecution at last terminated. His arguments on this occasion had, it may be presumed, the greater weight, that he had never himself entered within the walls of a playhouse; a remarkable proof, among numberless others which the history of his life affords, of that scrupulous circumspection in his private conduct, which, while it added so much to his usefulness as a clergyman, was essential to his influence as the leader of a party; and which so often enabled him to recommend successfully to others the same candid and indulgent spirit that was congenial to his own mind."—*Account of the Life and Writings of Dr. Robertson*, by Dugald Stewart, Esq., p. 12.

In this passage Mr. Stewart disavows, in general terms, the belief that the principal gave the tragedy of *Douglas* any active patronage, by attending the representations or otherwise; but the statement that Dr. Robertson "had never himself entered within the walls of a playhouse," cannot be considered as an absolute contradiction of his having been present at the rehearsal "in the lodgings in the Canongate occupied by Mrs. Sarah Warde."

presence of a large audience, comprising many friends of the author, clerical as well as otherwise. It was received with enthusiastic applause, and, in the conclusion, drew forth many tears, which were perhaps a more unequivocal testimony to its merits. The town was in an uproar of exultation, that a Scotsman should write a tragedy of the first rate, and that its merits were first submitted to them.

But the most remarkable circumstance attending its representation was the clerical contest which it excited, and the proceedings of the Church of Scotland regarding it. Owing to certain circumstances—among which was reckoned the publication of Lord Kames' *Essays on Natural and Revealed Religion*, which were suspected of a tendency to infidelity, besides the issue of a work in England entitled *England's Alarm*, in which Scotland was accused of cherishing great corruptions in religion—there obtained in the church a more zealous disposition than usual to lop off heresies and chastise peccant brethren. Hence the prosecution raised against Mr. Home, which at any rate must have taken place, was characterized by an appearance of rancour which has often since been the subject of ridicule.

The presbytery of Edinburgh commenced the proceedings by publishing a solemn admonition, in which they expressed deep regret at the growing irreligion of the times, and warned all persons within their bounds, especially the young, against the danger of frequenting stage-plays. This document only provoked the mirth of the public; it was replied to by a perfect torrent of *jeux d'esprit*. The church, however, though unable to inflict any punishment upon the people at large for their admiration of the play, had the author and all his clerical abettors completely in their power. Mr. Home only escaped degradation by abdicating his pulpit, which he did in June, 1757. His friends who had been present at the representation were censured or punished according to the degree of their supposed misconduct. Mr. White, the minister of Libberton, was suspended for a month—a mitigated sentence in consideration of his apology, which was—that he had attended the representation only once, when he endeavoured to conceal himself in a corner, to avoid giving offence.

The misfortune of the Scottish church on this occasion consisted only in a little want of discrimination. They certainly did not err in characterizing the stage as immoral; for the stage, both then and since, and in almost all periods of its existence, has condescended to represent scenes, and give currency to language, which, in the general society of the period, could not be tolerated. But though the stage seems thus to claim a privilege of lagging behind the moral standard of every age, and in general calculates itself for the gratification of only a secondary order of tastes, there was surely something to be said in favour of a man who, having devoted his leisure to the cultivation of an elegant branch of the belles-lettres, had produced a work not calculated to encourage the immoral system complained of, but to correct it by introducing a purer taste, or which could at least not be played without for that night preventing the representation of something more fatal to good manners. There were many, no doubt, who were rather rejoiced than saddened at finding a stream of purer feeling disposed to turn itself into the Augean stable of the theatre, because they calculated that since men cannot be withheld from that place of amusement, the next best course is to make the entertainment as innocent as possible.

Mr. Home had been introduced some years before by Sir David Kinloch, the patron of his parish, to Lord Justice-clerk Milton, who then acted as *sous*

ministre for Scotland, under Archibald Duke of Argyle. Being introduced by Lord Milton to the duke, his grace said that, being now too old to be of any material service in improving his prospects, he would commit him to his nephew the Earl of Bute, who was succeeding to that nameless situation of trust and patronage which had been so long held by himself. Accordingly, on Mr. Home's going to London in 1757, he was kindly received by Lord Bute, who, having that influence with Garrick which had been found wanting in the merit of the play itself, soon caused it to be brought out at Drury Lane. Notwithstanding Garrick's unchanged opinion of its merit, it met with distinguished success.

Lord Bute, besides procuring Mr. Home this highest gratification which he was capable of receiving, provided for his personal wants by obtaining for him the sinecure situation of conservator of Scots privileges at Campvere. Thus secure as to the means of subsistence, the poet reposed with tranquillity upon his prospects of dramatic fame. His tragedy of *Agis*, which had been written before *Douglas*, but rejected, was brought forward, and met with success, Garrick and Mrs. Cibber playing the principal characters. The *Siege of Aquileia* was represented in 1750, but, owing to a want of interest in the action, did not secure the favour of the audience. In 1760 he printed his three tragedies in one volume, and dedicated them to the Prince of Wales, whose society he had enjoyed through the favour of the Earl of Bute, preceptor to the prince. When this royal personage became king, he signified his favour for Mr. Home by granting him a pension of £300 a year from his privy-purse—which, in addition to an equal sum from his office of conservator, rendered him what in Scotland might be considered affluent. About this period he spent the greater part of his time in London, but occasionally came to Scotland to attend his duties as an elder in the General Assembly, being appointed to that trust by the ecclesiastical establishment at Campvere, which then enjoyed a representation in the great clerical council of the nation. In 1767 he forsook almost entirely the company of the Earl of Bute and his other distinguished friends at London, and planted himself down in a villa which he built near his former residence in East Lothian, and where he continued to reside for the next twelve years. To increase the felicity of a settled home, he married a lady of his own name in 1770, by whom he never had any children.

Three tragedies, the *Fatal Discovery*, *Alonzo*, and *Alfred*, successively appeared in 1769, 1773, and 1778; but, though received at first with considerable applause, they took no permanent hold of the stage, and thus seemed to confirm the opinion which many English critics had avowed in regard to the success of *Douglas*—that it was owing to no peculiar powers of dramatic composition in the author, but simply to the national character of the piece, with a slight aid from its exhibition of two very popular passions, maternal and filial tenderness.¹ The reception of

the last-mentioned play was so cool, that he ceased from that time to write for the stage.

Mr. Home, as already mentioned, lived in terms of the greatest intimacy with all the literary men of his time: he seems, however, to have cherished no friendship with so much ardour as that which he entertained for his philosophical namesake, David Hume. During the course of a lengthened period of friendly intercourse with this individual, only two trifling differences had ever risen between them. One referred to the orthography of their name, which the dramatic poet spelled after the old and constant fashion of his family, while the philosopher had early in life assumed the spelling indicated by the pronunciation. David Hume at one time jocularly proposed that they should determine this controversy by casting lots, but the poet answered, "Nay, that is a most extraordinary proposal indeed, Mr. Philosopher, for, if you lose, you take your own name, whereas, if I lose, I take another man's name."

The other controversy referred merely to their taste in wine. Mr. John Home had the old Scottish prepossession in favour of claret, and utterly detested port. When the former drink was expelled from the market by high duties, he wrote the following epigram, as it has been called, though we confess we are at a loss to observe anything in it but a narrative of supposed facts:

lines in the whole play. He now persisted in this. I endeavoured to defend that pathetic and beautiful tragedy, and repeated the following passage:

Sincerity,
Thou first of virtues, let no mortal leave
Thy onward path, altho' the earth should gaze,
And from the gulf of hell destruction cry,
To take dissimulation's winding way.

Johnson. 'That will not do, sir. Nothing is good but what is consistent with truth or probability, which this is not. Juvenal indeed gives us a noble picture of inflexible virtue:

Esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem
Integer: ambigue si quando citabere testis
Incertaque rei, Phalaris licet imperet, ut sis
Falsus, et admodum dicet perjuria tauro,
Summum crede nefas, animam præferre pudori,
Et, propter vitam, vitæ perdere causas.'

He repeated the lines with great force and dignity; then added, 'And after this comes Johnny Home, with his *earth gaping* and his *destruction crying*!—Pooh!'—Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*.

It must be acknowledged Boswell was not fortunate in the specimen he produced, and that the passage quoted by Johnson from Juvenal is infinitely superior. The circumstances attending the representation of *Douglas* were not such as to dispose an English critic to allow its merit. In the first place, the national taste was in some degree committed in the judgment passed upon the play by the favourite actor and manager; and it was not only galling to himself, but to all who relied upon his taste, that he should have been mistaken. In the next place, the Scotch did not use their triumph with discretion; they talked of the merits of *Douglas* in a strain quite preposterous, and of which no unfair specimen is to be found in the anecdote of a Caledonian who, being present in the pit of Drury Lane one night of its performance, is said to have exclaimed, in the insolence of his exultation, "Whar's your Wully Shakspeare now?" Such ridiculous pretensions are now forgotten, but they were advanced at the time, and, from their extreme arrogance and absurdity, could not fail to exasperate a mind so ready to repel insult as Johnson's, and so keenly alive as his was to the honour of the national literature of England. The natural consequence followed: he decried *Douglas* perhaps as much as it was overvalued by its admirers; and his acquaintance with far superior compositions must have enabled him, as in the instance above quoted, to pour derision upon it with an effect which the more judicious part of its admirers could not contend with, the more especially as the noise of indiscriminating applause with which it was hailed, had induced them to assume higher ground than their sober judgment would have led them to fix upon. And indeed, it may be a question whether the same cause that contributed to the first popularity of *Douglas* does not still continue to operate, preserving to our only tragedy a higher rank than it really is entitled to occupy: it is rare that the parents of an only child do not love and admire him for virtues which all the world else fails to discover that he is possessed of,

¹ "As we sat over our tea," says Boswell on this subject, "Mr. Home's tragedy of *Douglas* was mentioned. I put Dr. Johnson in mind that once, in a coffee-house at Oxford, he called to old Mr. Sheridan, 'How came you, sir, to give Home a gold medal* for writing that foolish play?' and deified Mr. Sheridan to show ten good lines in it. He did not insist that they should be together; but that there were not ten good

* "The elder Sheridan, then manager of the theatre at Dublin, sent Mr. Home a gold medal in testimony of his admiration of *Douglas*; and his wife, a woman not less respectable for her virtues than for genius and accomplishments, drew the idea of her admired novel of *Sydney Biddulph*, as her introduction bears, from the genuine moral effect of that excellent tragedy."—Mackenzie's *Life of Home*, p. 47.

"Firm and erect the Caledonian stood,
 Old was his mutton, and his claret good;
 'Let him drink port,' an English statesman cried—
 He drank the poison, and his spirit died."

David Hume, who to his latest breath continued the same playful personage he had ever been, made the following allusion to the two controversies in a codicil to his will, dated only eighteen days before his death:—"I leave to my friend Mr. John Home of Kilduff, ten dozen of my old claret at his choice, and one other bottle of that other liquor called port. I also leave him six dozen of port, provided that he attests, under his hand, signed John Hume, that he has himself alone finished that bottle at two sittings. By this concession he will at once terminate the only two differences that ever arose between us concerning temporal matters."

When this eccentric philosopher was recommended for his health to pay a visit to Bath, his faithful friend Home accompanied him, and was of great service, by his lively conversation and kind attentions, in supporting him against the attacks of a virulent disease. The journey took place in April, 1776, and Mr. Mackenzie has preserved a curious diary by Mr. Home, detailing the principal matters which passed between him and his fellow-traveller in conversation. Many of the anecdotes told by the philosopher are exceedingly valuable as snatches of what is styled secret history.

Mr. Home spent the latter moiety of his long life in a state little removed from indolence. He removed to Edinburgh in 1779, and thenceforward lived in the enjoyment of that high literary society which the character of his mind fitted him to enjoy, and in which his income fortunately permitted him to indulge. Careless of money in the highest degree, he delighted in entertaining large companies of friends, and often had his house filled to a degree which would now be considered intolerable with permanent guests.

The only production of his later years was a *History of the Rebellion of 1745*—a transaction of which he was entitled to say, *pars fui*. He had projected something of the kind soon after the event, but did not proceed with it till after he had given up dramatic writing. If there was any literary man of the day from whom, rather than from any other, a good work upon this subject might have been confidently expected, it was Mr. Home, who had not only taken a strong personal interest in the affair, but possessed that generous and chivalrous colour of mind which was most apt to do it justice in narration. Unfortunately, before setting about this work, he had met with an accident by a fall from his horse, in consequence of which his intellect was permanently affected. As a pensioner of King George III. he was also prevented from giving that full expression to his sentiments which was so necessary in the historian of such an event. This work, therefore, when it appeared in 1802, was found to be a miserable sketchy outline of the transaction, rather than a complete narrative—here and there, indeed, as copious as was to be wished, and also showing occasional glimpses of the poetical genius of the author, but in general "stale, flat, and unprofitable." The imperfections of the work have been partly accounted for, without contradiction, by the circumstance of its having been submitted to the inspection of the reigning family, with the understanding that they were at liberty to erase such passages as they did not wish to be made public.

Mr. Home died on the 5th of September, 1808, when he was just on the point of completing his eighty-sixth year. As a man, he was gentle and

amiable, a very warm friend, and incapable of an ungenerous feeling. As a poet, he deserves the credit of having written with more fervid feeling, and less of stiffness and artificiality, than the other poets of his time; his genius in this respect approaching to that of his friend Collins. The present age, however, has, by its growing indifference to even his sole successful play, pronounced that his reputation on account of that exertion was in a great measure the result of temporary and local circumstances, and that, being ill based, it cannot last.

HOPE, SIR JOHN, latterly Earl of Hopetoun, a celebrated military commander, was son to John, second Earl of Hopetoun, by his second marriage with Jane, daughter of Robert Oliphant of Rossie, in the county of Perth. He was born at Hopetoun, in the county of Linlithgow, on the 17th of August, 1766. After finishing his education at home, he travelled on the Continent, where he had the advantage of the superintendence of Dr. Gillies, author of the *History of Greece*, afterwards historiographer to the king. Mr. Hope entered the army as a volunteer in the fifteenth year of his age, and on the 28th of May, 1784, received a cornetcy in the 10th regiment of light dragoons. We shall briefly note his gradual rise as an officer until he reached that rank in which opportunities were afforded of distinguishing himself. On the 24th of December, 1785, he was appointed to a lieutenancy in the 100th foot; on the 31st October, 1789, to a company in the 17th dragoons; on the 25th of April, 1792, to a majority in the 2d foot; and on the 26th of April, 1793, to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the 25th foot. It was the period when the claims of rank began to meet with less observance in the British army, and severer duties called for the assistance of active and persevering men; and these had before them a sure road to honour. So early as 1794 Lieutenant-colonel Hope was appointed to the arduous situation of adjutant-general to Sir Ralph Abercromby when serving in the Leeward Islands; during the three ensuing years he was actively employed in the campaigns in the West Indies, where he held the rank of brigadier-general; during this service he is characterized in the despatches of the commander-in-chief as one who "on all occasions most willingly came forward and exerted himself in times of danger, to which he was not called from his situation as adjutant-general."

In the parliament of 1796 Mr. Hope was returned as member for Linlithgowshire: as a legislator he has been very little known, and he soon relinquished a duty not probably accordant with his taste and talents. As a deputy adjutant-general he attended the expedition to Holland in August, 1799, having, in the interval betwixt his services abroad, performed the duty of a colonelcy in the North Lowland fencibles. In the sharp fighting at the landing at the Helder, with which the proceedings of the secret expedition to Holland commenced, Colonel Hope had the misfortune to be so severely wounded as to render his farther attendance on the expedition impracticable. From the effects of his wound he recovered during the ensuing October, when he was appointed adjutant-general to the Duke of York, Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hope, his brother by his father's third marriage, being appointed his successor as deputy adjutant-general. In 1800 Colonel Hope joined the expedition to Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had been his commanding officer at the attack on the Helder. He still acted as adjutant-general, and on the 13th of May he was appointed brigadier-general in the Mediterranean. Were we to follow this active officer's footsteps

through the progress of the Egyptian war, we should merely repeat what the best pens in Europe have been engaged in discussing for thirty years, and what generally is known; suffice it to say, that he was engaged in the actions of 8th and 13th March, 1801, and that he received a wound on the hand at the battle of Alexandria. In June he was able to proceed with the army to Cairo, where he has received credit as an able negotiator, for the manner in which he settled the convention for the surrender of that place with the French commander, General Belliard. On the 11th of May, 1802, he was promoted to the rank of a major-general. On the 30th of June, 1805, he was appointed deputy-governor of Portsmouth—an office he resigned the same year, on being nominated to a command with the troops sent to the Continent under Lord Cathcart. On the 3d of October, 1805, he was made colonel of the 2d battalion of the 60th foot, and on the 3d of January, 1806, colonel of the 92d foot. On the 25th of April, 1808, he was made a lieutenant-general.¹

Lieutenant-general Hope was among the most eminent and persevering partakers in that exterminating war in the Peninsula, where, as in the conflicts of ancient nations, everything gained was the price of blood. On the 8th of August he landed with the British forces in Portugal; during the ensuing month he was appointed British commandant at Lisbon; and on the French gradually evacuating the town, in terms of their convention, he took possession of the castle of Belem on the 10th, and of the citadel on the 12th. The restless spirit of the Portuguese, on the knowledge that the French were to leave the country, caused their long-smothered indignation to appear in insults, threats, and even attempts on the lives of the general officers; to depart in safety was the object of the French, and General Hope had the difficult task of preventing the oppressed people from making dangerous displays of public feeling—a duty he performed with moderation and energy, and which he was enabled finally to complete.

Sir John Moore divided his forces into two columns, one of which, under his own command, marched by Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, while the other proceeded to the Tagus under the command of General Hope. While thus separated from his celebrated commander, both experienced the full danger and doubt which so amply characterized the disastrous campaign. The few Spanish troops who had struck a blow for their country, fleeing towards the Tagus, brought to General Hope the traces of the approach of the victorious French. His column, consisting of three thousand infantry and nine hundred cavalry, were in want and difficulty. The inhospitable country afforded insufficient supplies of provision; they were destitute of money, and of many necessary articles of military store. To enable his troops in some measure to obtain supplies he separated his whole column into six divisions, each a day's march distant from the others, and thus passing through an uncultivated country destitute of roads, whose few inhabitants could give no assistance and could not be trusted, and harassed by the neighbourhood of a powerful enemy, he had to drag his artillery and a large park of ammunition to join the commander-in-chief, whose safety depended on his speedy approach. At Almaraz he endeavoured to discover

some path which might guide him through the hills to Ciudad Rodrigo, but not finding one easily accessible, the jaded state of his few remaining horses compelled him to relinquish the attempt to cross these regions. On reaching Talavera, to the other evils with which he had to contend was added the folly or perfidy of the Spanish functionaries: the secretary at war recommended to him a method of passing through Madrid, which on consideration he found would have been the most likely of all methods to throw him into the hands of the French army. Resolving to make a last effort to obtain assistance from the nation for which the British troops were wasting their blood, he proceeded in person to Madrid; but the uncontrolled confusion of the Spanish government threw additional discouragements on his prospects, and he found that the safety of his men must depend on their own efforts. Avoiding the path so heedlessly proposed, he passed Naval Carnero, and reached Escorial, where he halted to bring up his rear, and to obtain bullocks for dragging his artillery and ammunition. Having crossed the mountains on the sixth day after leaving Madrid, his situation became more melancholy, and he fell into deeper difficulties. He received the intelligence of additional disasters among the Spaniards; and his scouts traced the vicinity of parties of the enemy. "The general's situation," says Colonel Napier in his *History of the Peninsular War*, "was now truly embarrassing. If he fell back to the Guadarama, the army at Salamanca would be without ammunition or artillery. If he advanced, it must be by a flank march of three days, with a heavy convoy, over a flat country, and within a few hours' march of a very superior cavalry. If he delayed where he was, even for a few hours, the French on the side of Segovia might get between him and the pass of Guadarama, and then, attacked in front, flank, and rear, he would be reduced to the shameful necessity of abandoning his convoy and guns to save his men in the mountains of Avila. A man of less intrepidity and calmness would have been ruined; but Hope, as enterprising as he was prudent, without any hesitation ordered the cavalry to throw out parties cautiously towards the French, and to maintain a confident front if the latter approached; then moving the infantry and guns from Villacastin, and the convoy from Espinosa, by cross-roads to Avila, he continued his march day and night until they reached Peneranda: the cavalry covering this movement, closed gradually to the left, and finally occupied Fontiveros on the 2d of December."² Not without additional dangers from the vicinity of the enemy, to the number of 10,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry, with 40 guns, he at length reached Salamanca, and joined the commander-in-chief. He partook in the measures which the army, thus recruited, endeavoured to pursue, as a last effort of active hostility, passing with his division the Douro at Tordesillas, and directing his march upon Villepando. In the memorable retreat which followed these proceedings he had a laborious and perilous duty to perform. He commanded the left wing at the battle of Corunna; of his share in an event so frequently and minutely recorded it is scarcely necessary to give a detailed account. After the death of the commander-in-chief, and the wound which compelled Sir David Baird to retire from the field, General Hope was left with the honour and responsibility of the supreme command, and, in the language of the despatches, to his "abilities and exertions in the direction of the ardent zeal and unconquerable valour of his majesty's troops, is to be

¹ These dry details of military advancement, which we would willingly spare our readers were they not necessary for the completeness of a biography, we have copied from the *Annual Biography and Obituary* for 1824, a source from which we derive all the dates in this memoir, judging it one likely to be depended on.

² Vol. i. p. 427.

attributed, under Providence, the success of the day, which terminated in the complete and entire repulse and defeat of the enemy."

It was the immediate decision of Sir John Hope not to follow up a victory over so powerful an enemy, but taking advantage of the confusion of the French, to proceed with the original design of embarking the troops, a measure performed with true military alacrity and good order, not without the strenuous exertions of the general, who, after the fatigues of the day, personally searched till a late hour the purlieus of the town, to prevent stragglers from falling into the hands of the enemy. General Hope wrote to Sir David Baird a succinct and clear account of the battle, in which his own name seldom occurs. As exhibiting the subdued opinion he expressed of the advantage gained, and as what is very probably a specimen of his style of composition, we quote the following passage from this excellent document:—"Circumstances forbid us to indulge the hope that the victory with which it has pleased Providence to crown the efforts of the army can be attended with any very brilliant consequences to Great Britain. It is clouded by the loss of one of her best soldiers. It has been achieved at the termination of a long and harassing service. The superior numbers and advantageous position of the enemy, not less than the actual situation of this army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from success. It must be, however, to you, to the army, and to our country, the sweetest reflection, that the lustre of the British arms has been maintained, amidst many disadvantageous circumstances. The army, which had entered Spain amidst the fairest prospects, had no sooner completed its junction, than, owing to the multiplied disasters that dispersed the native armies around us, it was left to its own resources. The advance of the British corps from Douro afforded the best hope that the south of Spain might be relieved, but this generous effort to save the unfortunate people also afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal resources, for the destruction of the only regular force in the north of Spain."

The grateful acknowledgements of his country crowded thickly on General Hope after the arrival of the despatches in England; a vote of thanks to him and to the officers under his command was unanimously passed in the House of Lords, on the motion of the Earl of Liverpool; in the House of Commons, on that of Lord Castlereagh. As a reward for *his* services, his *brother* (the Earl of Hopetoun) was created a baron of the United Kingdom by the title of Baron Hopetoun of Hopetoun in the county of Linlithgow, and himself received the order of the Bath, in which he was installed two years afterwards, along with twenty-two other knights. Soon after his return to Britain Sir John was appointed to superintend the military department of the unsatisfactory expedition to the Scheldt. It was the intention of the planners of the expedition, that by landing on the north side of South Beveland, and taking possession of the island, Sir John might incommode the French fleet while it remained near Flushing, and render its retreat more difficult, while it might be subject to the attacks of the British ships. Sir John's division landed near Ter-Goes, took possession of the important post of Baltz, and removed all impediments to the progress of the British vessels in the West Scheldt. For nine days Sir John occupied his post, waiting impatiently for the concerted arrival of the gun-boats under the command of Sir Home Popham, harassed by frequent attacks from the enemy, in one of which they brought down about twenty-eight gun-

vessels, and kept up a cannonade for several hours, but were, after much exertion on the part of the general, compelled to retreat. The termination and effect of the expedition are well known, and need not be here repeated. At the termination of the expedition Sir John Hope was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, but he soon left this unpleasant sphere of duty, to return in 1813 to the scene of his former exertions in the Peninsula. At the battle of Nivelles he commanded the left wing, and driving in the enemy's outposts in front of their entrenchments on the Lower Nivelles, carried the redoubt above Orogue, and established himself on the heights immediately opposite Sibour, in readiness to take advantage of any movement made by the enemy's right. On the 10th of December nearly the whole army of the enemy left their entrenchments, and having drawn in the piquets, advanced upon Sir John Hope's posts on the highroad from Bayonne to St. Jean de Luz. At the first onset Sir John took 500 prisoners, and repulsed the enemy, while he received in the course of the action a severe contusion on the head. The same movement was repeated by the enemy, and they were in a similar manner repulsed. The conduct of Sir John on this occasion has received the approbation of military men, as being cool, judicious, and soldierly; and he received the praises of the Duke of Wellington in his despatches.

In this campaign, which began on the frontiers of Portugal, the enemy's line of defence on the Douro had been turned, and after defeat at Vittoria, Soult had been repulsed in his efforts to relieve St. Sebastian and Pamplona, and the army of France had retreated behind the Pyrenees. On the fall of the latter place the army entered France, after many harassing operations, in which the progress of the allies was stoutly impeded by the indomitable Soult. In the middle of February, 1814, the passage of the Adour was accomplished. While the main body of the army under the Duke of Wellington prosecuted the campaign in other quarters, Sir John Hope was left with a division to invest the citadel and town of Bayonne on both banks of the river. Soon after these operations commenced, Sir John received information from two deserters that the garrison was under arms, and prepared for a sortie before daylight next morning. By means of a feint attack at the moment they were so expected, and by the silent and stealthy movements of some of their men through the rough ground, many of the sentinels were killed, and several lines of piquets broken. The nature of the spot, with a hollow way, steep banks, and intercepting walls, deprived those so attacked of the power of retreating, and the whole vicinity was a series of scattered battles, fought hand to hand, with deadly bitterness. The chief defence of the besiegers lay in the fortified convent of St. Bernard, and in some buildings in the village of St. Etienne; to the latter post Sir John Hope proceeded with his staff at the commencement of the attack. Through one of the inequalities of the ground already mentioned, which formed a sort of hollow way, Sir John expected to find the nearest path to the village. When almost too late, he discovered that the banks had concealed from him the situation of the enemy, whose line he was just approaching, and gave orders to retreat; before, however, being extricated from the hollow way, the enemy approached within twelve yards' distance, and began firing: Sir John Hope's horse received three balls, and falling, entangled its rider. While the staff attempted to extricate him, the close firing of the enemy continued, and several British officers were wounded, among whom was

Sir John himself, and the French soldiers pouring in, made them all prisoners. The French with difficulty extricated him from the fallen horse, and while they were conveying him to the citadel, he was severely wounded in the foot by a ball supposed to have come from the British piquets. From the effects of this encounter he suffered for a considerable period.

On the 3d of May Sir John was created a British peer by the title of Baron Niddry of Niddry, county of Linlithgow. He declined being a partaker in the pecuniary grant which, on the 9th of June ensuing, was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, as a reward for the services of him and other distinguished generals. On the death of his brother by his father's prior marriage, he succeeded to the family title of Earl of Hopetoun, and in August, 1819, he attained to the rank of general. He died at Paris, on the 27th August, 1823, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. From the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1823 we extract a character of this excellent and able man, which, if it have a small degree too much of the beau ideal in its composition, seems to be better fitted to the person to whom it is applied than it might be to many equally celebrated.

"As the friend and companion of Moore," says this chronicle, "and as acting under Wellington in the Pyrenean campaign, he had rendered himself conspicuous. But it was when, by succession to the earldom, he became the head of one of the most ancient houses in Scotland, and the possessor of one of its most extensive properties, that his character shone in its fullest lustre. He exhibited then a model, as perfect seemingly as human nature could admit, of the manner in which this eminent and useful station ought to be filled. An open and magnificent hospitality, suited to his place and rank, without extravagance or idle parade, a full and public tribute to the obligations of religion and private morality, without ostentation or austerity; a warm interest in the improvement and welfare of those extensive districts with which his possessions brought him into contact—a kind and generous concern in the welfare of the humblest of his dependants—these qualities made him beloved and respected in an extraordinary degree, and will cause him to be long remembered."¹

HOPE, SIR THOMAS, an eminent lawyer and statesman of the seventeenth century, and the founder of a family distinguished for its public services, was the son of Henry Hope, a considerable Scottish merchant, whose grandfather, John de Hope, was one of the gentlemen attending Magdalene de Valois, first consort of James V., at her coming into this country in 1537.

Henry Hope, a younger brother of the subject of this memoir, following the profession of his father, was the progenitor of the great and opulent branch of the Hopes of Amsterdam; a house, for extent of commerce and solidity of credit, long considered superior, without exception, to any private mercantile company in the world.

Thomas Hope, after having distinguished himself at school in no small degree, entered upon the study

of the law, and made so rapid a progress in juridical knowledge, that he was at a very early age called to the bar. However, like the generality of young lawyers, he enjoyed at first a very limited practice; in 1606 he burst at once upon the world on the following occasion.

Six ministers of the Church of Scotland, having thought proper to deny that the king and his council possessed any authority in ecclesiastical affairs, were on that account imprisoned for some months in Blackness Castle, indicted for high-treason, and on the 10th of January, 1606, put upon trial at Linlithgow, before a jury consisting chiefly of landed gentlemen of the three Lothians. As it was carefully promulgated that the king and court had openly expressed the highest displeasure against the ministers, and had declared that they would show no favour to any person that should appear in their behalf, none of the great lawyers chose to undertake their cause; even Sir Thomas Craig, although he was procurator for the church, refused to be concerned in this affair, and Sir William Oliphant, who had at first promised to plead for them, sent word the day before that he must decline appearing. The ministers, thus abandoned, applied to Mr. Hope, who, pitying their case, with the greatest cheerfulness and resolution undertook their defence; and, notwithstanding the reiterated endeavours of the court to perplex and browbeat him, conducted himself in so skilful and masterly a manner, that he made a deep impression on the jury. However, by an unlawful tampering with the jurors (some of the lords of council having procured admittance to them after they were locked up), and assurance that no harm was intended against the persons or goods of the accused, nine of the fifteen jurymen were induced to bring in a verdict of guilty, and the ministers were sentenced to banishment forth of the kingdom, which was accordingly executed.

By the commendable intrepidity, knowledge of the law, and singular abilities manifested by Mr. Hope at this important trial, he became so greatly the favourite of the Presbyterians, that they never afterwards undertook any important business without consulting him; and he was retained in almost every cause brought by that party into the courts of justice, so that he instantly came into the first practice of any lawyer at that period. By this, in a few years he acquired one of the most considerable fortunes ever made at the Scottish bar; which enabled him to purchase, between 1613 and 1642, the lands of Grantoun, Edmonstoun, and Cauldcolts in Mid Lothian; Prestongrange in East Lothian; Kerse in Stirlingshire; Mertoun in the Merse; Kinninmonth, Arnydie, Craighall, Ceres, Hiltarvet, and others, in Fife.

It was the policy of King Charles I. to bestow honours and emoluments upon those who had most power to obstruct his designs, and hence, in 1626, the great Presbyterian barrister was made king's advocate, with permission, revived in his favour, to sit in the bar, and be privy to the hearing and determining of all causes, except those in which he was retained by any of the parties. He was also in 1628 created a baronet of Nova Scotia. If the king expected by these means to gain him over from the Presbyterians, he was grievously disappointed, for although Sir Thomas discharged the duties of his high office with attention and propriety, his gratitude, principles, and inclination were all too powerfully engaged to his first friends and benefactors to admit of his deserting them: it was, on the contrary, with pleasure that he beheld that party increasing every day in numbers and consequence. It would draw out this account to too great a length to enumerate

¹ The esteem and affection in which the earl was held in the scenes of private life, and in his character as a landlord, has since his death been testified in a remarkable manner, by the erection of no fewer than three monuments to his memory, on the tops of as many hills—one in Fife on the mount of Sir David Lindsay, another in Linlithgowshire near Hopetoun House, and the third in the neighbourhood of Haddington. An equestrian statue of his lordship has also been erected in St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, with an inscription from the pen of Sir Walter Scott.

all the various steps taken by them in pursuance of his office; it is enough to say that he acted as their confidant throughout the whole affair of the resistance to the liturgy in 1637, and that he was intimately concerned in framing the bond of resistance entitled the National Covenant, which was subscribed by nearly the whole population of Scotland in the succeeding year. The king, with fatal weakness, nevertheless retained him in an office which, of all others in the state, implied and required a hearty service of the royal cause. In 1643, when a parliament was required to meet in order to settle the solemn league and covenant with the English parliament, Sir Thomas, to get over the dilemma of illegality which must have characterized such a meeting, as it could not legally take place till the next year, recommended a convention of estates upon the precedent of some such transaction in the reign of James V.; and thus was achieved a measure which, more than any other, perhaps, was fatal to the royal cause: the army voted in this irregular meeting being of great avail in the decisive battle of Longmarstonmoor, which was fought soon after.

Charles, nevertheless, still persisting in his unfortunate policy, appointed Sir Thomas Hope to be his commissioner to the General Assembly, which met in August, 1643; an honour never before or since bestowed upon a commoner. The royalists were so much incensed at the appointment of an enemy instead of a friend, that they very generally absented themselves from the assembly, and the field was therefore left in a great measure clear to the Covenanters, who carried all before them. As the sanction of this body was necessary to the transaction above alluded to, the credit of the whole, direct or indirect, lies with Sir Thomas Hope.

In 1645 Sir Thomas Hope was appointed one of the commissioners for managing the exchequer, but did not long enjoy that office, dying the next year, 1646. He had the singular happiness of seeing, before his death, two of his sons seated on the bench while he was lord-advocate; and it being judged by the Court of Session unbecoming that a father should plead uncovered before his children, the privilege of wearing his hat while pleading was granted to him. This privilege his successors in the office of king's advocate have ever since enjoyed, though it is now in danger of being lost through desuetude.

The professional excellencies of Sir Thomas Hope are thus discriminated by Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Characteres Advocatorum*:—"Hopius mira inventionē pollebat, totque illi fundebat argumenta ut amplificatione tempus deesset; non ornat, sed arguebat, modo uniformi, sed sibi proprio. Nam cum argumentum vel exceptionem protulisset, rationem addebatur; et ubi dubia videbatur, rationis rationem. Ita rhetorica non illi defuit, sed inutilis apparuit."

The following are the written or published works of Sir Thomas Hope:—1, *Carmen Seculare in Serenationem Caroli I. Britanniarum Monarcham*, Edin. 1626.—2, *Psalmi Davidis et Canticum Solomonis Latino Carmine Redditum*, MS.—3, *Major Practicks*.—4, *Minor Practicks* (a very well-known work).—5, *Paratitillo in Universo Juris Corpore*.—And 6, *A Genealogie of the Earls of Mar*, MS.

In Wood's *Ancient and Modern Account of the Parish of Cramond*, from which the above facts are chiefly taken, is given a very perfect account of the numerous descendants of Sir Thomas Hope, including the noble race of Hopetoun, and many other races distinguished in the two past centuries by official eminence and public service.

HOPETOUN, EARL OF. See HOPE (SIR JOHN).

HORNER, FRANCIS, whose virtues, talents, and eloquence raised him to an eminent rank in public life while yet a young man, was born at Edinburgh on the 12th of August, 1778. His father, who was at that time a linen manufacturer and mercer upon an extensive scale, took delight in cultivating the excellent talents which his son early displayed, and doubtless contributed much to the formation of those intellectual habits, and sound and liberal principles, which marked the boy as well as the full-grown man. Francis was sent to the high-school, where he soon became a favourite with Dr. Adam, who then presided over that eminent seminary as rector, and who was accustomed to say of his distinguished pupil, that "Francis Horner was the only boy he ever knew who had an old head upon young shoulders." Nor was this remark dictated by undue partiality, although some of the most eminent men of the day were among young Horner's class-fellows: for he was never known to join in the field-sports or recreations of any of the boys, and he kept the rank of dux at school by his own industry and talents alone, having no private tutor to direct his studies. Francis indeed needed no adventitious aid; but it has been thought by some of his medical friends that these early propensities to retirement and constant study contributed to sow the seeds of that pulmonary disease which assailed his youth, and finally laid him in an untimely grave.

When removed to the university he enjoyed the instructions of several eminent professors, and in particular attracted the notice of Dugald Stewart; but the theatre, perhaps, which tended more than any other to unfold his talents and views was the Speculative Society, an institution for improvement in public speaking, and in science in general, without peculiar reference to any of the learned professions, the members of which met weekly during the sitting of the college. There are few associations of this kind which have numbered so many young men of splendid talents on their roll of members. Lord Henry Petty, the second son of the first Marquis of Lansdowne, and Messrs. Brougham and Jeffrey, were amongst Mr. Horner's associates in the arena of debate, and contributed by their mutual influence on each other's minds to invigorate and sharpen those intellectual powers which were afterwards to raise them to stations of the highest eminence and widest influence in society. Mr. Horner first directed his attention to the Scottish bar, but, like his two last-mentioned friends, with very limited success. The attainment of sufficient practice before the Scottish court can only be the result of undiminished perseverance and great industry; real talent will ultimately reach its object there, but the necessary probation is apt to dishearten conscious merit. There was something also in the political character of the times inauspicious to young men of independent principles, who sought to make their way without friends or interest by dint of talent alone; the aristocracy possessed overwhelming influence, and a considerable amount of prejudice existed in the midst of the commonalty against the first manifestations of that more liberal spirit which now began to show itself in various quarters, and more especially characterized the debates of the Speculative Society. The intervention of a jury was also unknown in civil causes, and thus the principal field for forensic eloquence was denied to the youthful aspirant. These considerations appear to have so far weighed with Mr. Horner as to induce him, though already admitted a member of faculty, to direct his attention to the English bar; and with this view he left his associates, now busily engaged with the early numbers of the *Edinburgh*

Review, and repaired to London, where he commenced the study of English jurisprudence.

In the meantime his friend Lord H. Petty, after having taken his degree at Cambridge, and visited the Continent, returned to England, and was immediately elected one of the two representatives of Calne. In the new parliament just then convoked, this young nobleman soon began to be considered a very able and formidable ally of the opposition; and upon the final success of Mr. Fox's party, Lord Henry Petty found himself, at the very early age of twenty-one, chancellor of the exchequer, a member of the privy-council, and M.P. for the university of Cambridge. In this commanding situation he strongly recommended his young Scottish friend to the notice of his coadjutor, as a gentleman whose principles, character, and talents eminently fitted him for supporting the new ministry. Mr. Horner was accordingly brought into parliament for the borough of St. Ives in 1806. By the dismissal of the Foxo-Grenville administration, Mr. Horner was for a time deprived of his parliamentary seat; but the talents and integrity which he had exhibited while in office pointed him out to the friends of liberal principles as an ally too important to be consigned to oblivion. Accordingly, on the retirement of Viscount Mahon from the representation of Wendover, Mr. Horner was immediately nominated for that place, and soon afterwards was appointed one of the commissioners for investigating the claims on the Nabob of Arcot, whose debts had been guaranteed by the East India Company—an office of considerable emolument but proportionate labour. This situation, however, he afterwards resigned, though receiving little or no emolument from professional business, which indeed he did not aim at acquiring. Once established, however, in parliament, Mr. Horner continued gradually to acquire the confidence of the house, and that hold upon public opinion without which no member of the British senate can be an efficient statesman. His speeches were little remarkable for ornament, or in a high degree for what is generally called eloquence; but he brought to the examination of every subject the power of a clear and matured understanding; and as he made it a point never to address the house upon any subject of which he had not made himself fully master, he never failed to command attention and respect. The excellence of the speaker consisted in accurate reasoning, logical arrangement of the facts, and clear and forcible illustration.

On the 1st of February, 1810, Mr. Horner entered upon that part of his parliamentary career in which he reaped his most brilliant reputation. The extraordinary depreciation of the paper-currency, and the unfavourable state of the exchanges for the last two years, had attracted the attention of the best economists of the day, and engaged Messrs. Mueset, Ricardo, and Huskisson, and many others, in the investigation of the general principles of circulation, and of the various results which are occasioned in different countries by the variations in their respective currencies. This was a subject upon which Mr. Horner felt himself at full liberty to enter. He had early turned his attention to economical subjects, and had given the result of his inquiries to the public in various articles which he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, which had attracted very considerable notice from their first appearance. Accordingly, pursuant to notice, he moved for a variety of accounts and returns, and during the spring of that year called the attention of the house at different times to the important subject of the circulating medium and bullion trade. At the same time that Mr. Horner was establishing his reputation as an economist, he

neglected not the other duties of a statesman. On the 10th of May, 1810, when Alderman Combe made a motion censuring the ministers for obstructing the address of the Livery of London to his majesty in person, we find Mr. Horner supporting it in the following constitutional terms: "He considered it as a question of vital importance, respecting which ministers had attempted to defend themselves by drawing the veil from the infirmities of their sovereign. It was the right of the Livery of London, as it was of other subjects, to have access to his majesty's person in the worst times—even in those of Charles II. these had not been refused. The most corrupt ministers indeed had no idea it would ever be refused. How complete would have been their triumph if they had discovered the practice which of late had prevailed! The obstruction of petitions was a subversion of the fundamental law of the land." Towards the conclusion of the same session the house marked its sense of Mr. Horner's superior information by placing his name at the head of "the bullion committee." Mr. Horner presided for some time as chairman of that committee during the examination of the evidence, and drew up the first part of the report; the second was penned by Mr. Huskisson; and the third by Mr. Henry Thornton. They reported "that there was an excess in the paper circulation, of which the most unequivocal symptoms were the high price of bullion,¹ and next to that the low state of the continental exchange;² that the cause of this excess was to be found in the suspension of cash-payments, there being no adequate provision against such an excess, except in the convertibility of paper into specie; and that the unfavourable state of the exchange originated in the same cause, and was farther increased by the anti-commercial measures of the enemy." They added "that they could see no sufficient remedy for the present, or security for the future, except the repeal of the law suspending the cash-payments of the bank; this, they thought, could not be safely done at an earlier period than two years from the time of their report; but they recommended that early provision should be made by parliament for this purpose." This report excited much discussion both within and without the walls of the house. The press swarmed with pamphlets on the present state of the currency and the remedies proposed;—the journals teemed with dissertations on the same subject;—the comparative merits of a metallic and a paper currency formed the topic of discussion in every company;—ministers opposed the committee's proposition;—and finally, Mr. Vansittart, at the head of the anti-bullionists or *practical men*, as they called themselves, got a series of counter-resolutions passed after four nights' keen discussion, in which the speeches of Mr. Horner and several other members extended to three hours' length.

Although defeated in their struggle, the appearance which Mr. Horner made in it was so highly respectable as to deepen the impression which his talents and knowledge had already made on the house; and from this period he appears to have exercised very considerable influence with all parties. Indeed, the urbanity of his manners, and the moderation with which he pressed his own views, were such as secured for him the respect, at least, of those from whom he differed in opinion; and while steadily and consistently supporting the party to which he belonged, he displayed a spirit of tolerance towards his opponents

¹ Gold had attained a maximum of 15½ per cent. above the mint price.

² The exchanges on Hamburg and Amsterdam had been depressed towards the latter end of 1809 from 16 to 20 per cent. below par; while the exchange on Paris was still lower.

which totally subdued anything like personal animosity on their part. His efforts were then often more successful than those of more gifted men, who, with greater talents, have nevertheless greater prejudice, frequently amounting to personal dislike, to struggle against. It has been supposed that had Mr. Horner been in parliament after the death of Mr. Ponsonby, he would have become the leader of the opposition. But for an honour so great as this Providence had not destined him. Constant application to business and the increasing weight and multiplicity of his engagements at last overpowered a constitution which never was very strong. Indications of pulmonary consumption soon appeared, and immediate removal to a warmer climate was deemed necessary by his physicians. Crossing, therefore, to the Continent, he passed through France and entered Italy; but the seeds of mortal disease had begun to spring before he took farewell of his own country, and he expired at Pisa on the 8th of February, 1817, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. His remains were interred in the Protestant burying-ground at Leghorn, which also contains the ashes of Smollett.

On the occasion of a new writ being moved for the borough of St. Mawes, which Mr. Horner had represented, the character of the deceased member was elegantly sketched by Lord Morpeth, and eloquent and affecting tributes of respect paid to his memory by several of the most distinguished members of the house.

A contemporary, who was acquainted with Mr. Horner both at school and at the university, thus expresses his opinion of him: "The characteristics of Mr. Horner's mind, if I apprehend them rightly, were clearness of perception, calmness of judgment, and patience of investigation: producing as their consequences, firmness of conduct and independence of principles. Carrying these qualities into public life, he evinced greater moderation and forbearance than are often found in the narrow and comparatively unambitious strifes of a less extended scene. He entered parliament at rather an early age, and soon became not only a useful and conspicuous man of business, but drew more respect to his personal character, and was regarded by both orders of the House of Commons with greater confidence and interest, than any young member had attracted, perhaps, since the early days of Mr. Pitt. This will appear higher praise when it is added, with truth, that no man coming into that house under the patronage of a Whig nobleman could have acted with greater liberality towards extended ideas of popular right—with more fairness and firmness to the persons of his opponents—or with more apparent latitude of individual judgment, on some of the most trying occasions, in all those scenes that have occurred in our recent parliamentary history. As a public speaker, he was not remarkable for the popular graces and attractions. If eloquence consists in rousing the passions by strong metaphors—in awakening the sympathies by studied allusions—or in arresting attention by the sallies of a mind rich in peculiar associations, Mr. Horner was not eloquent. But if eloquence be the art of persuading by accurate reasoning, and a right adjustment of all the parts of a discourse, by the powers of a tact which is rather intellectually right than practically fine, Mr. Horner was eloquent. He spoke with the steady calmness of one who saw his way on principle, while he felt it simply and immediately, through sobriety of judgment and good conduct; and never seemed to be more excited by his subject, or more carried away in the vehemence of debate, than to make such ex-

ertions as left one uniform impression on the minds of his hearers that he spoke from an honest internal conviction and from a real desire to be useful. In private life he was distinguished by an impressive graveness which would have appeared heavy had it not been observed in permanent conjunction with an easy steadiness of conversation, and a simplicity of manners very far from anything cold, affected, or inelegant. His sense of honour was high and decided. His taste for literature, like his taste for conduct, was correct. As his acts of friendship or of duty were done without effort or finesse, so did he enjoy with quietness and relish those tender and deeply felt domestic affections which can sweeten or even adorn almost any condition of life. He was not fitted to win popularity, but his habitual moderation—his unaffected respect for everything respectable that was opposed to him—and the successful pains which he took to inform himself well on the grounds and nature of every business in which he bore a part, gained him an influence more valuable to a man of judgment than popularity."

Mr. Horner sat to the celebrated Raeburn for his picture some years before his demise. The painter has produced a faithful likeness, but no engraving of it has yet been executed.

HORSBURGH, JAMES, F.R.S. This eminent hydrographer, whose charts have conferred such inestimable benefits upon our merchant princes and the welfare of our eastern empire, was a native of Fife, that county so prolific of illustrious Scotchmen from the earliest periods of our national history. James Horsburgh was born at Elie on the 23d September, 1762. As his parents were of humble rank, his education in early life at the village school was alternated with field-labour. Being intended, like many of those living on the coast of Fife, for a seafaring life, his education was directed towards this destination; and at the age of sixteen, having acquired a competent knowledge of the elements of mathematics, navigation, and book-keeping, he entered his profession in the humble capacity of cabin-boy, to which he was bound apprentice for three years. During this time the different vessels in which he served were chiefly employed in the coal trade, and made short trips to Ostend, Holland, and Hamburg. These were at length interrupted in May, 1780, in consequence of the vessel in which he sailed being captured by a French ship off Walcheren, and himself with his shipmates sent to prison at Dunkirk. When his captivity, which was a brief one, had ended, he made a voyage to the West Indies, and another to Calcutta; and at this last place he found an influential friend in Mr. D. Briggs, the ship-builder, by whose recommendation he was made third mate of the *Nancy*. For two years he continued to be employed in the trade upon the coasts of India and the neighbouring islands, and might thus have continued to the end with nothing more than the character of a skilful, hardy, enterprising sailor, when an event occurred by which his ambition was awakened, and his latent talents brought into full exercise. In May, 1786, he was sailing from Batavia to Ceylon, as first mate of the *Atlas*, and was regulating the ship's course by the charts used in the navigation of that sea, when the vessel was unexpectedly run down and wrecked upon the island of Diego Garcia. According to the map he was in an open sea, and the island was elsewhere, until the sudden crash of the timbers showed too certainly that he had followed a lying guide. The loss of this vessel was repaid a thousand-fold by the effects it produced. James Horsburgh saw the neces-

sity for more correct charts of the Indian Ocean than had yet been constructed, and he resolved to devote himself to the task, by making and recording nautical observations. The resolution from that day was put in practice, and he began to accumulate a store of nautical knowledge that served as the materials of his future productions in hydrography.

In the meantime Horsburgh, a shipwrecked sailor, made his way to Bombay, and, like other sailors thus circumstanced, looked out for another vessel. This he soon found in the *Gunjawa*, a large ship employed in the trade to China; and for several years after he sailed in the capacity of first mate in this and other vessels between Bombay, Calcutta, and China. And during this time he never lost sight of the resolution he had formed in consequence of his mishap at Diego Garcia. His notes and observations had increased to a mass of practical knowledge that only required arrangement; he had perfected himself by careful study in the whole theory of navigation, and during the short intervals of his stay in different ports had taught himself the mechanical part of his future occupation by drawing and etching. It was time that these qualifications should be brought into act and use by due encouragement, and this also was not wanting. During two voyages which he made to China by the eastern route he had constructed three charts, one of the Strait of Macassar, another of the west side of the Philippine Islands, and a third of the tract from Dampier Strait through Pitt's Passage towards Batavia, each of these accompanied with practical sailing directions. He presented them to his friend and former shipmate Mr. Thomas Bruce, at that time at Canton; and the latter, who was well fitted to appreciate the merits of these charts, showed them to several captains of India ships, and to Mr. Drummond, afterwards Lord Strathallan, then at the head of the English factory at Canton. They were afterwards sent home to Mr. Dalrymple, hydrographer to the East India Company, and published by the court of directors for the benefit of their eastern navigation, who also transmitted a letter of thanks to the author, accompanied with the present of a sum of money for the purchase of nautical instruments. In 1796 he returned to England in the *Carron*, of which he was first mate; and the excellent trim in which he kept that vessel excited the admiration of the naval connoisseurs of our country, while his scientific acquirements introduced him to Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Maskelyne, the royal astronomer, and other men distinguished in science. After a trip to the West Indies, in which the *Carron* was employed to convey troops to Porto Rico and Trinidad, he obtained in 1798 the command of the *Anna*, a vessel in which he had formerly served as mate, and made in her several voyages to China, Bengal, and England. All this time he continued his nautical observations, not only with daily but hourly solicitude. His care in this respect was rewarded by an important discovery. From the beginning of April, 1802, to the middle of February, 1804, he had kept a register every four hours of the rise and fall of the mercury in two marine barometers, and found that while it regularly ebbed and flowed twice during the twenty-four hours in the open sea, from latitude 26° N. to 26° S., it was diminished, and sometimes wholly obstructed, in rivers, harbours, and straits, owing to the neighbourhood of the land. This fact, with the register by which it was illustrated, he transmitted to the Royal Society, by whom it was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1805. Having also purchased, at Bombay, the astronomical clock used by the French ships that had been sent in quest of the unfortunate *La Perouse*, he used it in

ascertaining the rates of his own chronometers, and in making observations upon the immersions and emersions of Jupiter's satellites, which he forwarded to the Greenwich Observatory. About the same period he constructed a chart of the Straits of Allas, and sent it, with other smaller surveys, to Mr. Dalrymple, by whom they were engraved.

It was now full time that Captain Horsburgh should abandon his precarious profession, which he had learned so thoroughly, and turn his useful acquirements to their proper account. It was too much that the life of one upon whose future labours the safety of whole navies was to depend, should be exposed to the whiff of every sudden gale, or the chance starting of a timber. Already, also, he had completed for publication a large collection of charts, accompanied with explanatory memoirs of the voyages from which they had been constructed, and these, with his wonted disinterestedness, he was about to transmit to his predecessor Mr. Dalrymple. Fortunately, Sir Charles Forbes interposed, and advised him to carry them home and publish them on his own account; and as Horsburgh was startled at the idea of the expense of such a venture in authorship, his whole savings amounting by this time to no more than £5000 or £6000, the great Indian financier soon laid his anxieties to rest, by procuring such a number of subscribers for the work in India as would more than cover the cost of publishing. Thus cheered in his prospects, Captain Horsburgh returned to England in 1805, and forthwith commenced his important publication, from which his memory was to derive such distinction, and the world such substantial benefit. So correct were these charts, that even this very correctness, the best and most essential quality of such productions, threatened to prevent their publication; for with such accuracy and minuteness were the bearings and soundings of the harbour of Bombay laid down, that it was alleged they would teach an enemy to find the way in without the aid of a pilot. It was no wonder indeed that these soundings were so exact; for he had taken them with his own hands, during whole weeks, in which he worked from morning till night under the fire of a tropical sun. In the same year that he returned to England he married, and had by this union a son and two daughters, who survived him. In 1806 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society; and in 1810 he was appointed hydrographer to the East India Company, by the court of directors, on the death of Mr. Dalrymple. Just before this appointment, however, he published his most important work, entitled *Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies, China, New Holland, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Interjacent Ports*. These *Directions*, undertaken at the request of several navigators of the eastern seas, and compiled from his journals and observations during twenty-one years, have ever since continued to be the standard and text-book of eastern ocean navigation.

On being appointed hydrographer to the East India Company, Mr. Horsburgh devoted himself, with all his wonted application, to the duties of his office. He constructed many new charts, the last of which was one of the east coast of China, with the names of the places in Chinese and English; and published an *Atmospherical Register* for indicating storms at sea, besides editing Mackenzie's *Treatise on Marine Surveying*, and the *East India Pilot*. From 1810, the year of his appointment, till 1836, the year of his death, he was indefatigable in that great work of humanity to which he may be said to have ultimately fallen a martyr—for his long-continued labours among the scientific documents contained in the cold vaults and crypts of the India House, and his close

attention to the countless minutiae of which the science of hydrography is composed, broke down a constitution that, under other circumstances, might have endured several years longer. But even while he felt his strength decaying, he continued at his post until it was exchanged for a death-bed. His last labour, upon which he tasked his departing powers to the uttermost, was the preparation of a new edition of his *Directions for Sailing*, &c., his favourite work, published in 1809, to which he had made large additions and improvements. He had completed the whole for the press except the index, and in his last illness he said to Sir Charles Forbes, "I would have died contented had it pleased God to allow me to see the book in print!" His final charge was about the disposal of his works, so that they might be made available for more extensive usefulness; and to this the directors of the East India Company honourably acceded, while they took care that his children should be benefited by the arrangement. He died of hydrothorax on the 14th of May, 1836. His works still obtain for him the justly merited title of "The Nautical Oracle of the World." It is pleasing also to add, that the lessons which he learned from his pious affectionate father before he left the paternal roof, abode with him in all his subsequent career: he was distinguished by the virtues of gentleness, kindness, and charity; and even amidst his favourite and absorbing studies, the important subject of religion employed much of his thoughts. This he showed by treatises which he wrote in defence of church establishments, where his polemic theology was elevated and refined by true Christian piety. Of these occasional works, his pamphlet of *A National Church Vindicated* was written only a few months before his death.

HORSLEY, JOHN, an eminent antiquary, historian, and divine, was born at Pinkie House in Mid-Lothian, in the year 1685. His parents were English nonconformists, who are supposed to have fled into Scotland on account of the persecution in the reign of Charles II. How it happened that they resided at Pinkie House, then the property of the Earl of Dunfermline, as successor to the estates of the abbey of Dunfermline, is not known. It is clearly ascertained that his progenitors belonged to Northumberland, and were of no mean standing. His parents returned to Northumberland immediately after the Revolution, and it is understood that the subject of this notice received the initiatory part of his education at the Newcastle grammar-school. He was thereafter sent to pursue his academical studies at Edinburgh; and it would appear that, at a very early age, as we find by the laureation book of the college, he was admitted Master of Arts in 1701, being then just sixteen years of age. After finishing his theological course he returned to England, and preached for several years merely as a licentiate; but in 1721 he was ordained minister of a congregation of Protestant dissenters at Morpeth. His mind, however, was directed to other pursuits besides his profession, and his great attainments in geology, mathematics, and most of the other abstruse sciences, of which he gave unquestionable proofs, would probably have gained him a wider and more permanent fame in the present day than at a time when their principles were in general little understood, and less attended to. In 1722 he invented a simple and ingenious mode of determining the average quantity of rain which fell by means of a funnel, the wider cylinder of which was thirty inches in diameter, and terminated in a pipe three inches in diameter and ten in length; the latter being graduated in inches

and tenths. Ten measures of the pipe being equal to one inch of the cylinder, one measure to one-tenth of an inch, one inch of the measure to one-hundredth, and one-tenth to one-thousandth part—the depth of any particular quantity of rain which fell might be set down in decimals with ease and exactness; and the whole, at the end of each month or year, summed up without any trouble. Shortly after, and probably in consequence of this invention, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and commenced giving public lectures on hydrostatics, mechanics, and various branches of natural philosophy, at Morpeth, Alnwick, and Newcastle. His valuable apparatus for illustrating and explaining his lectures, having passed through various hands after his death, were in 1821 deposited in the library belonging to the dissenters in Red Cross Street, London, being bequeathed to the public by Dr. Daniel Williams. By manuscripts afterwards found among Mr. Horsley's papers, it appears that about the year 1728 he conceived the idea of writing a history of Northumberland, and from the extensive design of the work which he had sketched out, embracing its antiquities, traditions, geological structure, &c., and his ability for the task, it is much to be regretted that he did not live to complete it. A map of the same county, commenced by him, was afterwards completed by Mr. Mark, the surveyor employed by him, and published at Edinburgh in 1753. Mr. Horsley also published a small book on experimental philosophy, in connection with the course of lectures above noticed. His great work, however, by which his name will most probably be transmitted to posterity, and to which he dedicated the greater part of his short but busy career, is his *Britannia Romana*, or the Roman affairs of Britain, in three books. This work is in folio, and consists of 520 pages, with plates exhibiting maps of the Roman positions, copies of ancient coins, sculptures, inscriptions, &c. It is dedicated to Sir Richard Elllys, Bart., contains a lengthy preface, a chronological table of occurrences during the Roman domination, a copious index of the Roman names of people and places in Britain, &c. It was printed at London for John Osborne and Thomas Longman, &c., in 1732; but Mr. Horsley lived not to see the fate of a work which had unceasingly engrossed his time, thoughts, and means for several years. His death took place at Morpeth, on the 15th January, 1732, exactly thirteen days after the date of his dedication to Sir Richard Elllys, and while yet in his forty-sixth year. The enthusiastic ardour with which he devoted himself to this work may be gleaned from the following passage in the preface:—"It is now four years since I was prevailed with to complete this work, for which time I have pursued it with the greatest care and application. Several thousand miles were travelled, to visit ancient monuments and re-examine them where there was any doubt or difficulty." He also went to London to superintend the progress of his work through the press, and engaged in an extensive correspondence on the subject with many of the most learned writers and antiquaries of the day. The *Britannia* is now a very rare work, and it would appear that the plates engraved for it are entirely lost. Mr. Horsley was married early in life to a daughter of a Professor Hamilton, who, according to Wood in his *Ancient and Modern State of Cramond*, was at one time minister of that parish. By her he had two daughters, one of whom was married to a Mr. Randall, clerk in the Old South Sea House, London; the other to Samuel Halliday, Esq., an eminent surgeon at Newcastle. From a passage in his manu-

script history of Northumberland, it would also appear that he had a son, but we find no other mention made of him, either in his own writings or elsewhere. The greater part of Mr. Horsley's various unfinished works, correspondence, and other manuscripts, fell after his death into the hands of John Cay, Esq. of Edinburgh, great-grandson of Mr. Robert Cay, an eminent printer and publisher at Newcastle, to whose judgment in the compiling, correcting, and getting up of the *Britannia Romana* Mr. Horsley appears to have been much indebted. From these papers, as printed in a small biographical work by the Rev. John Hodgson, vicar of Whelpington in Northumberland, published at Newcastle in 1831, the most of the facts contained in this brief memoir were taken.

HUME, ALEXANDER, a vernacular poet of the reign of James VI., was the second son of Patrick Hume, fifth Baron of Polwarth. Until revived by the tasteful researches of Dr. Leyden, the works of this, one of the most elegant of our early poets, lay neglected, and his name was unknown except to the antiquary. He had the merit of superseding those "godlie and spiritual sangis and ballatis," which, however sacred they may have once been held, are pronounced by the present age to be ludicrous and blasphemous, with strains where piety and taste combine, and in which the feelings of those who wish to peruse writings on sacred subjects are not outraged. The neglect which has long obscured the works of this poet has impeded inquiries as to his life and character. He is supposed to have been born in the year 1560, or within a year or two prior to that date. Late investigators have found that he studied at St. Andrews, and that he may be identified with an Alexander Hume, who took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at St. Leonard's College of that university in the year 1574. The outline of his further passage through life is expressed in his own words, in his epistle to Mr. Gilbert Moncrieff, the king's physician. He there mentions, that, after spending four years in France, he was seized with a desire to become a lawyer in his own country, and he there draws a pathetic picture of the miseries of a briefless barrister, sufficient to extract tears from half the faculty.

"To that effect, three years, or near that space,
I haunted maist our highest pleading place
And senate, where great causes reason'd war;
My breast was bruist with leaning on the bar;
My buttons brist, I partly spittid blood,
My gown was trail'd and trampid quhair I stood;
My ears were deif'd with maissars cryes and din
Quhilk procurators and parties callit in."

Nor did the moral aspect of the spot convey a more soothing feeling than the physical. He found

"The puir abusit ane hundredth divers wayes;
Postpon'd, deffer'd with shifts and mere delays,
Consumit in gudes, ourset with grief and paine."

From the corrupt atmosphere of the law he turned towards the pure precincts of the court; but here he finds that

"From the rocks of Cyclades fra hand,
I struck into Charybdis sinking sand."

He proceeds to say that, "for reverence of kings he will not slander courts," yet he has barely maintained his politeness to royal ears in his somewhat vivid description of all that the calm poet experienced during his apprenticeship at court.

"In courts, Montcrieff, is pride, envie, contention,
Dissimulation, despite, disceat, dissention,
Fear, whisperings, reports, and new suspicion,
Fraud, treason, lies, dread, guile, and sedition;
Great greedines and prodigalitie;
Lusts sensual, and partialtie,"

with a continued list of similar qualifications, whose applicability is likely to be perceived only by a disappointed courtier or a statesman out of place. During the days of his following the bar and the court, it is supposed that Hume joined in one of those elegant poetical amusements called "flytings," and that he is the person who, under the designation of "Polwart," answered in fitting style to the abuse of Montgomery. That Alexander Hume was the person who so officiated is, however, matter of great doubt: Dempster, a contemporary, mentions that the person who answered Montgomery was *Patrick Hume*, a name which answers to that of the elder brother; and though Leyden and Sibbald justly pay little attention to such authority, knowing that Dempster is, in general, as likely to be wrong as to be right, every Scotsman knows that the patrimonial designation "Polwart" is more appropriately the title of the elder than of the younger brother; while Patrick Hume of Polwarth, a more fortunate courtier, and less seriously disposed than his brother, has left behind him no mean specimen of his genius in a poem addressed to James VI., entitled the *Promise*. Whichever of the brothers has assumed Polwart's share in the controversy, it is among the most curious specimens of the employments of the elegant minds of the age.

If the sacred poet Alexander Hume was really the person who so spent his youthful genius, as life advanced he turned his attention to more serious matters: that his youth was spent more unprofitably than his riper years approved is displayed in some of his writings, in terms more bitter than those which are generally used by persons to whom expressions of repentance seem a becoming language. He entered into holy orders, and at some period was appointed minister of Logie, a pastoral charge of which he performed with vigour the humble duties, until his death in 1609.

Before entering on the works which he produced in his clerical retirement, it may be right to observe that much obscurity involves his literary career, from the circumstance that three other individuals of the same name, existing at the same period, passed lives extremely similar, both in their education and in their subsequent progress. Three out of the four attended St. Mary's College at St. Andrews in company;—presuming that the subject of our memoir took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1574, one of his companions must have passed in 1571, the other in 1572. It is supposed that one of these was minister of Dunbar in 1582; the other is known to have been appointed master of the high-school of Edinburgh in 1596, and to have been author of a few theological tracts, and of a Latin grammar, appointed by act of parliament and by the privy-council to be used in all grammar-schools in the kingdom: this individual has been discovered by Dr. M'Crie to have afterwards successively officiated as rector of the grammar-schools of Salt-Preston and of Dunbar. The fourth Alexander Hume was a student at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, where he entered in 1578.

Alexander Hume, minister of Logie, is, however, the undoubted author of "*Hymnes or Sacred Songs*," wherein the right Use of Poesie may be espied: whereunto are added, the Experience of the Author's Youth, and certain Precepts serving to the Practice of Sanctification." This volume, printed by Waldegrave in 1599, was dedicated to Elizabeth Melvill, by courtesy styled Lady Culross, a woman of talent and literary habits, the authoress of *Ane Godlie Dream, compylit in Scottish Meter*, printed at Aberdeen in 1644. The *Hymnes and Sacred Songs* have been several times partially reprinted, and the original

having fallen into extreme rarity, the whole has been reprinted by the Bannatyne Club. In the prose introduction the author, addressing the youth of Scotland, exhorts them to avoid "profane sonnets and vain ballads of love, the fabulous feats of Palmerine, and such like reveries."—"Some time," he adds, "I delighted in such fantasies myself, after the manner of riotous young men: and had not the Lord in his mercy pulled me aback, and wrought a great repentance in me, I had doubtless run forward and employed my time and study in that profane and unprofitable exercise, to my own perdition." The first of his hymns he styles his "Recantation:" it commences in the following solemn terms:—

"Alas! how long have I delayed
To leave the laits¹ of youth!
Alas! how oft have I essayed
To sweeten my lascivious mouth,
And made my wayne polluted thought,
My pen and speech prophaine,
Extoll the Lord quihilk made of nocht
The heaven, the earth, and maine,
Scarce nature yet my face about
Her virile net had spun,
Quhen als off as Phœbea stout
Was set against the Sun:
Yea, als it is the fierie flames
Arise and shine abroad,
I minded none such songs and psalms
To glorifie my God.

But ay the cancred carnall kind,
Quhilk lurked me within,
Seduced my heart, withdrew my mind,
And made me slave to sin.
My senses and my saull I saw
Debait a deadlie strife,
Into my flesh I felt a law
Gainstand the law of life.

Even as the falcon high, and hait,
Furth fleeing in the skye,
With wanton wing her game to gair,
Disdaines her caller's cry;
So led away with liberty,
And drowned in delight,
I wandered after vanitie—
My vice I give the wight."

But by far the most beautiful composition in the collection is that entitled the "Day Estival," the one which Leyden has thought worthy of revival. This poem presents a description of the progress and effects of a summer day in Scotland, accompanied by the reflections of a mind full of natural piety, and a delicate perception of the beauties of the physical world. The easy flow of the numbers, distinguishing it from the harsher productions of the same age, and the arrangement of the terms and ideas, prove an acquaintance with English poetry; but the subject and the poetical thoughts are entirely the author's own. They speak strongly of the elegant and fastidious mind, tired of the bar and disgusted with the court, finding a balm to the wounded spirit in being alone with nature, and watching her progress. The style has an unrestrained freedom which may please the present age, and the contemplative feeling thrown over the whole, mingled with the artless vividness of the descriptions, bringing the objects immediately before the eye, belong to a species of poetry at which some of the highest minds have lately made it their study to aim. We shall quote the commencing stanza, and a few others scattered in different parts of the poem:—

"O perfect light! which shedd away
The darkness from the light,
And left one ruler o'er the day,
Another o'er the night;
Thy glory, when the day forth flies,
More vividly does appear,
Nor at mid-day unto our eyes
The shining sun is clear.

¹ Habits or manners.

The shadow of the earth anone
Removes and drawis by;
Synne in the east, when it is gone
Appears a clearer sky:
Which soon perceives the little larks,
The lapwing, and the snipe;
And tunes their songs, like nature's clerks.
O'er meadow, moor, and stripe.

The time so tranquil is and still,
That no where shall ye find,
Save on a high and barren hill,
An air of passing wind.
All trees and simples, great and small,
That balmy leaf do bear.
Nor they were painted on a wall
No more they move or stir.
Calm is the deep and purpore sea,
Yea smoother now the sand:
The waves that weltering wont to be
Are stable like the land.

What pleasure 'twere to walk and see,
Endlong a river clear,
The perfect form of every tree
Within the deep appear:
The salmon out of crooves and creele
Up hauled into skouts,
The bells and circles on the weills
Through louping of the trouts.
O then it were a seemly thing,
While all is still and calme,
The praise of God to play and sing
With cornet and with shalme."

Rowe, in his manuscript *History of the Church of Scotland*, has told us that Hume "was one of those godlie and faithful servants who had witnessed against the hierarchy of prelates in this kirk." He proceeds to remark, "as to Mr. Alexander Hoome, minister at Logie, beside Stirling, I nixt mention him: he has left ane admonition behind him in write to the Kirk of Scotland, wherein he affirms that the bishops, who were then fast rising up, had left the sincere ministers, who wold gladlie have kepted still the good old government of the kirk, if these corrupt ministers had not left them and it; earnestlie entreating the bishops to leave and forsake that course wherein they were, els their defection from their honest brethren (with whom they had taken the covenant), and from the cause of God, would be registrate afterwards to their eternale shame." The person who has reprinted Hume's *Hymnes and Sacred Songs* for the Bannatyne Club has discovered, among the elaborate collections of Wodrow in the Advocates' Library, a small tract, entitled *Ane Afoid Admonition to the Ministerie of Scotland, be ane Deing Brother*, which he, not without reason, presumes to be that mentioned by Rowe; founding the supposition on the similarity of the title, the applicability of the matter, and a minute circumstance of internal evidence, which shows that the admonition was written very soon after the year 1607, and very probably at such a period as might have enabled Hume (who died in 1609) to have denominated himself "ane deing brother." The whole of this curious production is conceived in a style of assumption which cannot have been very acceptable to the spiritual pride of the Scottish clergy. It commences in the following terms of apostolical reprimand:—"Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. It is certainlie knawin, bretheren, to the greiff of monie godlie heartes and slander of the gospell, that thair ar dissentionis among you: not concerning the covenant of God, or the scales of the covenant, but chieflie concerning twa poyntis of discipline or kirk government, wharant you are divydit in twa factionis or opinionis." From this assumed superiority, the admonitionist stalks forth, bearing himself in lofty terms, never condescending to argue, but directing like a superior spirit; and

under the Christian term of humility, "bretheren," concealing an assumption of spiritual superiority, which the word "sons" would hardly have sufficiently expressed.

HUME, DAVID, of Godscroft. The scantiness of the materials for lives of literary Scotsmen has, with us, often been a subject of remark and regret; and we are sure that every one who has had occasion to make investigations into this department of our national history will at once acquiesce in its truth. Our statesmen have been applauded or condemned—at all events they have been immortalized—by contemporary writers; the deeds of our soldiers have been celebrated in works relative to our martial achievements; and our divines have always, and more especially in the darker ages, preserved a knowledge of themselves and their transactions,—but literary men are nearly forgotten, and for what is known of them we are principally indebted to the labours of continental biographers. It would be difficult to point out a more striking illustration of this than the well-known individual whose name appears at the head of this article. His name is familiar to every one who is in the least degree conversant with Scottish history or poetry;—he was descended from an honourable family—he acted a prominent part in some of the earlier transactions of his own time—and still almost nothing is known of his history. The indefatigable Wodrow has preserved many scattered hints regarding him in his *Biographical Collections* in the library of Glasgow College, and except this we are not aware of any attempt at a lengthened biographical sketch of him. In drawing up the following we shall take many of our facts from that biography, referring also to the excellent works of Dr. M'Crie, and occasionally supplying deficiencies from the few incidental notices of himself in Hume's works.

David Hume, it is probable, was born about, or a few years prior to, the period of the Reformation. His father was Sir David Hume, or Home, of Wedderburn, the representative of an old and distinguished family in the south of Scotland. His mother was Mary Johnston, a daughter of Johnston of Elphinstone. This lady died early, and her husband, after having married a second wife, who seems to have treated his family in a harsh and ungenerous manner, died of consumption while the subject of this memoir was a very young man. The family thus left consisted of four sons—George, David, James, and John; and four daughters—Isabell, Margaret, Julian, and Joan.

Of the early education of David Hume we have not been able to learn almost anything. His elder brother and he were sent to the public school of Dunbar, then conducted by Mr. Andrew Simson, and there is abundant evidence that he made very considerable progress in the acquisition of classical knowledge. He has left a poem entitled *Daphn-Amaryliss*, written at the age of fourteen, and he incidentally mentions the expectations George Buchanan formed of his future eminence from his early productions. After receiving, it may be conjectured, the best education that a Scottish university then afforded, Hume set out for France, accompanied by his relation John Haldane of Gleneagles. His intention was to have also made the tour of Italy, and for that purpose he had gone to Geneva, when his brother's health became so bad as to make his return desirable. On receiving the letters containing this information he returned to Scotland without delay, "and arrived," to use his own words in his *History of the Family of Wedderburn*, "much about the time that Esme, Lord Aubigny (who was afterwards made Duke of Lennox), was brought into Scotland—and that

Morton began to decline in his credit, he being soon after first imprisoned, and then put to death;" that is, about the beginning of 1581.

Sir George Home seems to have recovered his health soon afterwards, and David was generally left at his castle to manage his affairs, while he was engaged in transactions of a more difficult or hazardous nature. This probably did not continue long, for the earliest public transaction in which we have found him engaged took place in 1583. When King James VI. withdrew from the party commonly known by the name of the Ruthven Lords, and readmitted the Earl of Arran to his councils, Archibald, "the good Earl" of Angus, a relation of Hume's family, was ordered to confine himself to the north of Scotland, and accordingly resided for some time at the castle of Brechin, the property of his brother-in-law the Earl of Mar. At this period Hume seems to have lived in Angus' house in the capacity of a "familiar servitour," or confidential secretary.

When the Ruthven party were driven into England Hume accompanied his master and relation; and while the lords remained inactive at Newcastle, requested leave to go to London, where he intended pursuing his studies. To this Angus consented, with the ultimate intention of employing him as his agent at the English court. During the whole period of his residence at the English capital he maintained a regular correspondence with the earl, but only two of his letters (which he has printed in the *History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus*) have come down to us.

The Ruthven Lords returned to Scotland in 1585, but soon offended the clergy by their want of zeal in providing for the security of the church. Their wrath was still farther kindled by a sermon preached at this time before the king at Linlithgow, by John Craig, in which the offensive doctrine of obedience to princes was enforced. A letter was accordingly prepared, insisting upon the claims of the church, and transmitted to Mr. Hume, to be presented to Angus. A very long conference took place betwixt the earl and Hume, which he has set down at great length in the above-mentioned work. He begins his own discourse by refuting the arguments of Craig, and shows, that although it is said in his text, "I said ye are gods," it is also said, "Nevertheless ye shall die;" "which two," Hume continues, "being put together, the one shows princes their duty—*Do justice as God doth*; the other threateneth punishment—*Ye shall die if you do it not*." He then proceeds to show that the opinions of Bodinus in his work *De Republica*, and of his own countryman Blackwood [see BLACKWOOD], are absurd; and having established the doctrine that tyrants may be resisted, he applies it to the case of the Ruthven Lords, and justifies the conduct of Angus as one of that party. He then concludes in the following strain of remonstrance:—"Your declaration which ye published speaks much of the public cause and common weal, but you may perceive what men think of your actions since they do not answer thereto by this letter, for they are begun to think that howsoever you pretend to the public, yet your intention was fixed only on your own particular, because you have done nothing for the church or country, and have settled your own particular. And it is observed, that of all the parliaments that were ever held in this country, this last, held since you came home, is it in which alone there is no mention of the church, either in the beginning thereof (as in all others there is), or elsewhere throughout. This neglect of the state of the church and country, as it is a blemish of your fact, obscuring the lustre of it, so is it accounted an error in policy by so doing,

to separate your particular from the common cause of this bar and country, which, as it hath been the mean of your particular restitution, so is it the only mean to maintain you in this estate, and to make it sure and firm."

During the subsequent short period of this earl's life Hume seems to have retained his confidence, and to have acted the part of a faithful and judicious adviser. After Angus' death, which took place in 1588, it is probable that he lived in retirement. Accordingly, we do not find any further notice of him till he appeared as an author in 1605.

One of King James' most favourite projects was the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and soon after his accession to the English throne commissioners were appointed to consider the grounds upon which this object could be safely and advantageously attained. It would altogether exceed our limits were we to give even a faint outline of the proceedings of these commissioners, and it is the less necessary as their deliberations did not lead to the desired result. The subject, however, met with the attention of the most learned of our countrymen. The first work written on this subject was from the pen of Robert Pont, one of the most respectable clergymen of his day, and a senator of the College of Justice, while ecclesiastics were permitted to hold that office. His work, which was published in 1604, is in the form of a dialogue between three imaginary personages—Irenæus, Polyhistor, and Hesperus, and is now chiefly interesting as containing some striking remarks on the state of the country and the obstacles to the administration of justice. Pont was followed by David Hume, our author, who published next year his treatise *De Unione Insule Britannia*, of which Bishop Nicholson only says that "it is written in a clear Latin style, such as the author was eminent for, and is dedicated to the king: it shows how great an advantage such a union would bring to the island in general, and in particular to the several nations and people of England and Scotland, and answers the objections against the change of the two names into that of Britain—the alteration of the regal style in writs and processes of law—the removal of the parliament and other courts into England," &c. The first part only of this work of Hume's was published. Bishop Nicholson mentions that a MS. of the second part was in Sir Robert Sibbald's collection, and Wodrow also possessed what he considered a very valuable copy of it.

In the year 1608 Hume commenced a correspondence on the subject of Episcopacy and Presbytery with James Law, then Bishop of Orkney, and afterwards promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow. This epistolary warfare took its rise in a private conversation between Mr. Hume and the bishop, when he came to visit the presbytery of Jedburgh in that year. The subject presented by much too large a field to be exhausted at a private meeting, and accordingly supplied materials for their communications for about three years. But here again we are left to lament that so little of it has been preserved. Calderwood has collected a few of the letters, but the gaps are so frequent, and consequently so little connection is kept up, that they would be entirely uninteresting to a general reader. In 1613 Hume began a correspondence of the same nature with Bishop Cowper on his accepting the diocese of Galloway. The bishop set forth an apology for himself, and to this Hume wrote a reply, which, however, was not printed, as it was unfavourable to the views of the court. Cowper answered his statements in his *Dicaio*, but printed only such parts of Hume's argument as could be most easily

refuted. To this Hume once more replied at great length.

Shortly before this period he undertook the *History of the House of Wedderburn*, (written) by a Son of the Family, in the year 1611—"a work which has hitherto remained in manuscript. "It has sometimes grieved me," he remarks, in a dedication to the Earl of Home and to his own brother, "when I have been glancing over the histories of our country, to have mention made so seldom of our ancestors—scarce above once or twice—and that too very shortly and superficially; whereas they were always remarkable for bravery, magnanimity, clemency, liberality, munificence, hospitality, fidelity, piety in religion, and obedience to their prince; and indeed there never was a family who had a greater love and regard for their country, or more earnestly devoted themselves to, or more frequently risked their lives for, its service. It ought, in a more particular manner, to grieve you that they have been so long buried in oblivion; and do you take care that they be so no more. I give you, as it were, the prelude, or lay the ground-work of the history; perhaps a pen more equal to the task, or at least who can do it with more decency, will give it the finishing stroke." He does not enter into a minute inquiry into the origin of the family, a species of antiquarianism of which it must be confessed our Scottish historians are sufficiently fond:—"My intention," he says, "does not extend farther than to write those things that are peculiar to the house of Wedderburn." The work begins with "David, first laird of Wedderburn," who appears to have lived about the end of the fourteenth century, and concludes with an account of the earlier part of his brother's life.

During the latter period of his life Hume appears to have devoted himself almost entirely to literary pursuits. He had appeared before the world as a poet in his *Lusus Poetici*, published in 1605, and afterwards incorporated into the excellent collection entitled *Delicia Poetarum Scotorum*, edited by Dr. Arthur Johnston. He seems to have added to his poetical works when years and habits of study might be supposed to have cooled his imaginative powers. When Prince Henry died he gave vent to his grief in a poem entitled *Henrici Principis Juxta*, which, Wodrow conjectures, was probably sent to Sir James Semple of Beltrees, then a favourite at court, and by whom it is not improbable that it was shown to his majesty. A few years afterwards (1617) he wrote his *Regi Svo Graticulatio*—a congratulatory poem on the king's revisiting his native country. In the same year he prepared (but did not publish) a prose work under the following title, "*Cambdenia*; id est, Examen nonnullorum a Gulielmo Cambdeno in 'Britannia' sua positorum, præcipue quæ ad irrisionem Scotice gentis, et eorum et Pictorum falsam originem." "In a very short preface to his readers," says Wodrow, "Mr. Hume observes that nothing more useful to this island was ever proposed, than the union of the two islands, and scarce ever any proposal was more opposed; witness the insults in the House of Commons, and Paget's fury, rather than speech, against it, for which he was very justly fined. After some other things to the same purpose, he adds, that Mr. Cambden hath now in his *Britannia* appeared on the same side, and is at a small labour to extol to the skies England and his Britons, and to depress and expose Scotland—how unjustly he does so is Mr. Hume's design in this work." Cambden's assertions were also noticed by William Drummond in his *Nuntius Scoto-Britannus*, and in another of his works more professedly levelled against him, entitled *A Pair of Spectacles for Cambden*.

The last work in which we are aware of Hume's having been engaged, is his largest, and that by which he is best known. The *History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus* seems to have been first printed at Edinburgh by Evan Tyler in 1644, but this edition has several discrepancies in the title-page. Some copies bear the date 1648, "to be sold by T. W. in London;" and others have a title altogether different, "*A Generall History of Scotland*, together with a particular History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus," but are without date. After mentioning in the preface that, in writing such a work, it is impossible to please all parties—that some may say that it is an unnecessary work—others, that it is merely a party-statement—and a third complain of "the style, the phrase, the periods, the diction, and the language," Hume goes on to say, "In all these particulars, to satisfy all men is more than we can hope for; yet thus much shortly of each of them to such as will give ear to reason: that I write, and of this subject, I am constrained to do it, not by any violence or compulsion, but by the force of duty, as I take it; for, being desired to do it by those I would not refuse, I thought myself bound to honour that name, and in it and by it, our king and country. . . . Touching partiality, I deny it not, but am content to acknowledge my interest. Neither do I think that ever any man did set pen to paper without some particular relation of kindred, country, or such like. The Romans in writing the Romano, the Grecians in writing their Greek histories; friends writing to, of, or for friends, may be thought partial, as countrymen and friends. The virtuous may be deemed to be partial towards the virtuous, and the godly towards the godly and religious; all writers have some such respect, which is a kind of partiality. I do not refuse to be thought to have some, or all of these respects, and I hope none will think I do amiss in having them. Pleasing of men, I am so farre from shunning of it, that it is my chief end and scope: but let it please them to be pleased with virtue, otherwise they shal find nothing here to please them. If thou findest anything here besides, blame me boldly; and why should any be displeased that wil be pleased with it? would to God I could so please the world, I should never displease any. But if either of these (partiality or desire to please) carry me besides the truth, then shal I confess myself guilty, and esteem these as great faults, as it is faultie and blame-worthy to forsake the truth. But otherwise, so the truth be stuck unto, there is no hurt in partiality and labouring to please. And as for truth, clip not, nor champ not my words (as some have done elsewhere), and I beleeve the worst affected will not charge mee with lying. I have ever sought the truth in all things carefully, and even here also, and that painfully in every point: where I find it assured, I have set it down confidently; where I thought there was some reason to doubt, I tell my authour: so that if I deceive, it is my self I deceive, and not thee; for I hide nothing from thee that I myself know, and as I know it, leaving place to thee, if thou knowest more or better, which, if thou doest, impart and communicate it; for so thou shouldest do, and so is truth brought to light, which else would lye hid and buried. My paines and travel in it have been greater than every one would think, in correcting my errors; thine will not bee so much, and both of us may furnish matter for a third man to finde out the truth more exactly, than either of us hath yet done. Help, therefore, but carp not. . . . For the language, it is my mother-tongue, that is, Scottish: and why not, to Scottish men? why should I contemne it? I never thought the difference so great, as that by seeking to speak

English, I would hazard the imputation of affectation. Every tongue hath its own vertue and grace. Some are more substantiall, others more ornate and succinct. They have also their own defects and faultinesses; some are harsh, some are effeminate, some are rude, some affectate and swelling. The Romanes spake from their heart, the Grecians with their lips only, and their ordinary speech was complements; especially the Asiatick Greeks did use a loose and blown kind of phrase. And who is there that keeps that golden mean? For my own part, I like our own, and he that writes well in it, writes well enough to me. Yet I have yeilded somewhat to the tyrannie of custome and the times, not seeking curiously for words, but taking them as they come to hand. I acknowledge also my fault (if it be a fault), that I ever accounted it a mean study, and of no great commendation to learn to write or to speak English, and have loved better to bestow my pains and time on foreign languages, esteeming it but a dialect of our own, and that perhaps more corrupt." The work commences with a preface concerning "the Douglasses in general, that is, their antiquity, to which is joined their original, nobility, and descent, greatness and valour of the family of the name of Douglas." The history begins with Sholto Douglas, the first that bore the name, and the vanquisher of Donald Bane in the reign of King Salvathius, and concludes with the death of Archibald ninth Earl of Angus, who has been already noticed in the course of this memoir. With this work closes every trace of David Hume of Godscroft. It is supposed to have been written about 1625, or between that period and 1630, and it is not probable that he survived that period long. Supposing him to have been born about 1560, he must then have attained to the age of three-score years and ten.

Respecting Hume's merits as a poet, different opinions exist. While in the estimation of Dr. Irving he never rises above mediocrity, Dr. M'Crie places him in a somewhat higher rank:—"The easy structure of his verse reminds us continually of the ancient models on which it has been formed; and if deficient in vigour, his fancy has a liveliness and buoyancy which prevents the reader from wearying of his longest descriptions." These opinions are, after all, not irreconcilable; the poetry of Hume possesses little originality; but the reader is charmed with the readiness and the frequency of his imitations of the Roman poets.

As a historian Hume can never become popular. He is by much too prolix—nor will this be wondered at when we consider the age at which he wrote his principal historical work. To the reader, however, who is disposed to follow him through his windings, he will be a most valuable, and in many cases a most amusing author. As the kinsman of the Earls of Angus, he had access to many important family papers, from which he has compiled the history prior to his own time. But when he writes of transactions within his own recollection, and more especially those in which he was personally engaged, there is so much judicious remark and honesty of intention, that it cannot fail to interest even a careless reader.

Besides the works which we have mentioned, Hume wrote "*Apologia Basilica, seu Machiavelli Ingenium Examinatum*, in libro quem inscripsit Princeps, 4to, Paris, 1626." *De Episcopatu*, May 1, 1609, *Patricio Simsono*; *A Treatise on Things Indifferent*; *Of Obedience to Superiors*. In the *Biographie Universelle* there is a memoir of him, in which it is mentioned that "Jaques Iier. l'employé à concilier les differends qui s'estaient élevé entre Dumoulin et Tilenus au sujet de la justification,"

and he is also there mentioned as having written *Le Contrat Social, ou l'origine de la Justice*, Geneva, 1712, 8vo, and "*L'Amateur du Roi*, ou Maximes Pratiques en la Personne du Delfaut Henric le Grand," 1717, 8vo.

HUME, DAVID, the celebrated metaphysician, historian, and political economist, was the second son of Joseph Hume of Ninewells, near Dunse, and was born in the Tron Church parish, Edinburgh, on the 26th of April, 1711, o.s. His mother was daughter to Sir David Falconer, a judge of the Court of Session, under the designation of Lord Newton, and for some years president of the College of Justice. The family of Hume of Ninewells was ancient and respectable, and the great philosopher has himself informed us, that on the side both of father and mother he was the descendant of nobility, a circumstance from which he seems to have derived a quiet satisfaction, probably owing more to his respect for the manners and feelings of the country and age in which he lived, than to his conviction of the advantages of noble birth. It is to be regretted that little is known about the early life of Hume, and the habits of his boyish years. In early infancy he was deprived of his father, and left to the guidance of his mother and an elder brother and sister; with the brother, who succeeded by birthright to the family property, he ever lived on terms of fraternal intimacy and affection, and towards his two female relatives he displayed through all the stages of his life an unvarying kindness and unremitted attention, which have gone far, along with his other social virtues, in causing him to be respected as a man by those who were his most bitter opponents as a philosopher.

The property of the respectable family of Ninewells was not large, and the limited share which fell to the younger brother precluded the idea of his supporting himself without labour. He attended for some time the university of Edinburgh, then rising in reputation; and of his progress in study he gives us the following account:—"I passed through the ordinary course of education with success, and was seized very early with a passion for literature, which has been the ruling passion of my life, and the great source of my enjoyments; my studious disposition, my sobriety, and my industry, gave my family a notion that the law was a proper profession for me: but I found an insurmountable aversion to everything but the pursuits of philosophy and general learning; and while they fancied I was poring upon Voet and Vinnius, Cicero and Virgil were the authors I was secretly devouring."¹ Of this aversion not only to the *practice*, but to the abstract *study*, of the law, in a mind constituted like that of Hume, guided by reason, acute in the perception of differences and connections, naturally prone to industry, and given up to the indulgence neither of passion nor sentiment, it is difficult to account.

In 1734 the persuasions of his friends induced Mr. Hume to attempt the bettering of his income by entering into business, and he established himself in the office of a respectable merchant in Bristol; but the man who had rejected the study of the law was not likely to be fascinated by the bustle of commerce, and probably in opposition to the best hopes and wishes of his friends, in a few months he relinquished his situation, and spent some years in literary

retirement in France, living first at Rheims, and afterwards at La Flèche in Anjou. "I there," he says, "laid that plan of life which I have steadily and successfully pursued. I resolved to make a very rigid frugality supply my deficiency of fortune, to maintain unimpaired my independency, and to regard every object as contemptible, except the improvement of my talents in literature;" and with the consistency of a calm and firm mind he kept his resolution. For some time previous to this period Hume must have been gradually collecting that vast mass of observation and reflection which he employed himself during his retirement in digesting into the celebrated *Treatise on Human Nature*. In 1737 he had finished the first two volumes of this work, and he then returned to London to superintend their publication. From this date commenced the earliest traces of that literary and social correspondence which furnishes many of the most characteristic commentaries on the mental habits of the philosopher. With Henry Home, afterwards Lord Kames, a near neighbour of the family of Ninewells, and probably a connection of the philosopher (for *he* was the first member of the family who adopted the name of *Hume*, in preference to the family name *Home*), he contracted an early friendship, and a similarity of pursuits continued the intercourse. To that gentleman we find the subject of our memoir writing in the following terms, in December, 1737:—"I have been here near three months, always within a week of agreeing with my printers: and you may imagine I did not forget the work itself during that time, when I began to feel some passages weaker for the style and diction than I could have wished. The nearness and greatness of the event roused up my attention, and made me more difficult to please than when I was alone in perfect tranquillity in France." The remaining portion of this communication, though given in the usual placid and playful manner of the author, tells a painful tale of the difficulties he had to encounter, and of hope deferred. "But here," he says, "I must tell you one of my foibles. I have a great inclination to go down to Scotland this spring to see my friends, and have your advice concerning my *philosophical discoveries*; but cannot overcome a certain shame-facedness I have to appear among you at my years without having got a settlement, or so much as attempted any. How happens it, that we philosophers cannot as heartily despise the world as it despises us? I think in my conscience the contempt were as well founded on our side as on the other." With this letter Mr. Hume transmitted to his friend a manuscript of his *Essay on Miracles*, a work which he at that period declined publishing along with his other productions, looking on it as more likely to give offence, from the greater reference of its reasonings to revealed religion.

Towards the termination of the year 1738 Hume published his "*Treatise on Human Nature*," being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects." The fundamental principles on which the whole philosophy of this work is reared, discover themselves on reading the first page, in the division of all perceptions—in other words, of all the materials of knowledge which come within the comprehension of the human mind—into impressions and ideas. Differing from almost all men who, using other terms, had discussed the same subject, he considered these two methods of acquiring knowledge to differ, not in quality, but merely in degree; because by an observation of the qualities of the mind, on the principle of granting nothing which could not be demonstrated, he could find no real ground of distinction, excepting that the one set

¹ It is almost unnecessary to mention, that when we use the words of Hume about himself, we quote from that curious little memoir called *My Own Life*, written by Hume on his death-bed, and published in 1777, by Mr. Strahan (to whom the manuscript was consigned), previously to its publication in the ensuing edition of the *History of England*.

of perceptions was always of a more vivid description than the other. The existence of *impressions* he looked on as prior in the mind to the existence of *ideas*, the latter being merely dependent on or reflected from the former, which were the first inlets of all knowledge. Among *perceptions* he considered the various methods by which the senses make the mind acquainted with the external world, and along with these, by a classification which might have admitted a better arrangement, he ranked the *passions*, which he had afterwards to divide into those which were the direct consequents of the operations of the senses, as *pain* and *pleasure*, and those which the repetition of impressions, or some other means, had converted into concomitants, or qualifications of the mind, as *hatred*, *joy*, *pride*, &c. By *ideas* Mr. Hume understood those arrangements of the perceptions formed in the mind by *reasonings* or *imagination*; and although he has maintained the distinction between these and the *impressions* of the senses to be merely in degree, all that has been either blamed or praised in his philosophy is founded on the use he makes of this distinction. He has been accused, and not without justice, of confusion in his general arrangement, and disconnection in the subjects he has discussed as allied to each other; but a careful peruser of his works will find the division of subject we have just attempted to explain, to pervade the whole of his extraordinary investigations, and never to be departed from where language allows him to adhere to it. The *ideas*, or more faint *perceptions*, are made by the author to be completely dependent on the *impressions*, showing that there can be no given *idea* at any time in the mind, to which there has not been a corresponding *impression* conveyed through the organs of sense. These ideas once existing in the mind are subjected to the operation of the memory, and form the substance of our thoughts, and a portion of the motives of our actions. Thus, at any given moment, there are in the mind two distinct sources of knowledge (or of what is generally called knowledge)—the impressions which the mind is receiving from surrounding objects through the senses, and the thoughts which pass through the mind, modified and arranged from such impressions previously experienced and stored up. Locke, in his arguments against the existence of innate ideas, and Dr. Berkeley, when he tried to show that the mind could contain no abstract ideas (or ideas not connected with anything which the mind had experienced), had formed the outline of a similar division of knowledge; but neither of them founded on such a distinction a system of philosophy, nor were they, it may be well conceived, aware of the extent to which the principles they suggested might be logically carried. The division we have endeavoured to define is the foundation of the sceptical philosophy. The knowledge immediately derived from *impressions* is that which truly admits the term "knowledge" to be strictly applied to it; that which is founded on *experience*, derived from *previous impressions*, is something which always admits of doubt. While the former are always certain, the mind being unable to conceive their uncertainty, the latter may not only be conceived to be false, but are so much the mere subjects of probability, that there are distinctions in the force which the mind attributes to them—sometimes admitting them to be doubtful, and making no more distinction, except in the greater amount of probabilities betwixt that which it pronounces doubtful and that which it pronounces certain. As an instance, when a man looks upon another man, and hears him speak, he receives through the senses of hearing and sight certain impressions, the existence

of which he cannot doubt; on that man, however, being no longer the object of his senses, the impressions are arranged in his mind in a reflex form, constituting what Mr. Hume has called ideas: and although he may at first be convinced in a manner sufficiently strong for all practical purposes that he has actually seen and heard such a man, the knowledge he has is only a mass of probabilities, which not only admit him to conceive it a possibility that he may *not* have met such a man, but actually decay by degrees, so as probably after a considerable period to lapse into uncertainty, while no better line of distinction can be drawn betwixt the certainty and the uncertainty, than that the one is produced by a greater mass of probabilities than the other. The author would have been inconsistent had he admitted the reception of knowledge of an external world, even through the medium of the senses: he maintained all that the mind had really cognizance of to be the *perceptions* themselves; there was no method of ascertaining with certainty what caused them. The human mind then is thus discovered to be nothing but a series of perceptions, of which some sets have such a resemblance to each other that we always naturally arrange them together in our thoughts. Our consciousness of the identity of any given individual is merely a series of perceptions so similar, that the mind glides along them without observation. A man's consciousness of his own identity is a similar series of impressions. "The mind," says the author, "is a kind of theatre, where several perceptions successively make their appearance—pass, repass, glide away, and mingle in an infinite variety of postures and situations. There is properly no *simplicity* in it at one time, nor *identity* in different, whatever natural propensity we may have to imagine that simplicity and identity. The comparison of the theatre must not mislead us. They are the successive perceptions only that constitute the mind; nor have we the most distant notion of the place where these scenes are represented, or of the materials of which it is composed."¹ From such a conclusion the passage to scepticism on the immateriality of the soul was a natural and easy step: but on such a subject we must be cautious as to the manner in which we make remarks on the observations made by Hume—we neither appear as among his vindicators, nor for the purpose of disputing his conclusions—our purpose is, as faithful biographers, to give, as far as our limits and our knowledge of the subject may admit, a sketch of his leading doctrines; and if we have anything to vindicate, it will be the author's real meaning, which certain zealous defenders of Christianity have shown an anxiety to turn as batteries against it. In his reasonings on the immateriality of the soul he is truly sceptical; that is, while he does not *deny* the immateriality of the soul, he endeavours to show that the mind can form no certain conception of the immaterial soul. Refining on the argument of a reasoning poet, who probably was not aware of the full meaning of his own words when he said—

— "Of God above, or man below,
What can we reason, but from what we know?"

the author of the *Treatise on Human Nature* maintained that the mere succession of impressions, of which the mind was composed, admitted of no such impression as that of the immateriality of the soul, and consequently did not admit of the mind comprehending in what that immateriality consisted. Let it be remembered, that this conclusion is come to in the same manner as that against the consciousness

¹ *Works* 1826, i. 322.

of the mind to the existence of matter; and that in neither case does the author maintain certain opinions which men believe to be *less certain* than they are generally conceived to be, but gives to them a name different from that which language generally bestows on them—that of *masses of probabilities* instead of *certainities*—the latter being a term he reserves solely for the impressions of the senses. “Should it here be asked me,” says the author, “whether I sincerely assent to this argument, which I seem to take such pains to inculcate, and whether I be really one of those sceptics who hold that all is uncertain, and that our judgment is not in *any* thing possessed of *any* measures of truth and falsehood; I should reply, that this question is entirely superfluous, and that neither I, nor any other person, was ever sincerely and constantly of that opinion. Nature, by an absolute and uncontrollable necessity, has determined us to judge as well as to breathe and feel; nor can we any more forbear viewing certain objects in a stronger and fuller light, upon account of their customary connection with a present impression, than we can hinder ourselves from thinking as long as we are awake, or seeing the surrounding bodies when we turn our eyes towards them in broad sunshine. Whoever has taken the pains to refute the cavils of this *total* scepticism has really disputed without an antagonist, and endeavoured by arguments to establish a faculty which nature has antecedently implanted in the mind and rendered unavoidable.”¹ With this extremely clear statement, which shows us, that while Hume had a method of accounting for the sources of our knowledge differing from the theories of other philosophers, in the abstract certainty which he admitted to pertain to any knowledge beyond the existence of an impression, his belief in the ordinary admitted sources of human knowledge was not less practically strong than that of other people,—let us connect the concluding words of the chapter on the immortality of the soul: “There is no foundation for any conclusion *a priori*, either concerning the operations or duration of any object, of which it is possible for the human mind to form a conception. Any object may be imagined to become entirely inactive, or to be annihilated in a moment: and it is an evident principle that *whatever we can imagine is possible*. Now this is no more true of matter than of spirit—of an extended compounded substance, than of a simple and unextended. In both cases the metaphysical arguments for the immortality of the soul are equally inconclusive; and in both cases the moral arguments, and those derived from the analogy of nature, are equally strong and convincing. If my philosophy therefore makes no addition to the arguments for religion, I have at least the satisfaction to think it takes nothing from them, but that everything remains precisely as before.”² Without pretending to calculate the ultimate direction of the philosophy of Hume, as it regards revealed religion, let us repeat the remark, that many persons busied themselves in increasing its terrors as an engine against the Christian faith, that they might have the merit of displaying a chivalrous resistance. The presumptions thus formed and fostered caused a vigorous investigation into the grounds of all belief, and many good and able men were startled to find that it was necessary to admit many of the positions assumed by their subtle antagonist, and that they must employ the vigorous logic they had brought to the field in stoutly fortifying a position he did not attack. They found “the metaphysical arguments inconclusive,” and “the moral arguments, and those derived from the analogy

of nature, equally strong and convincing:” and that useful and beautiful system of natural theology which has been enriched by the investigations of Derham, Tucker,³ and Paley, gave place to obscure investigations into first causes, and idle theories on the grounds of belief, which generally landed the philosophers in a circle of confusion, and amazed the reader with incomprehensibilities. One of the most clear and original of the chapters of the *Treatise on Human Nature* has provided us with a curious practical instance of the pliability of the sceptical philosophy of Hume. In treating the subject of cause and effect, Mr. Hume, with fidelity to his previous division of perceptions, found nothing in the effect produced on the mind by any two phenomena, of which the one received the name of cause, the other that of effect, but two *impressions*, and no connection betwixt them, but the sequence of the latter to the former; attributing our natural belief that the one is a cause, and the other its effect, to the habit of the mind in running from the one impression to that which is its immediate sequent or precedent; denying that we can have any conception of cause and effect beyond those instances of which the mind has had experience, and which habit has taught it; and finally, denying that mankind can penetrate farther into the mystery than the simple knowledge that the one phenomenon is experienced to follow the other. Men of undoubtedly pure religious faith have maintained the justness of this system as a metaphysical one, and it has found its way into physical science, as a check to vague theories and the assumption of conjectural causes: in a memorable instance it was, however, attacked as *metaphysically* subversive of a proper belief in the Deity as a first cause. The persons who maintained this argument were answered, that an opposite supposition was *morally* subversive of a necessity for the constant existence and presence of the Deity; because, if “a cause had the innate power within it of producing its common effect, the whole fabric of the universe had an innate power of existence and progression in its various changes, which dispensed with the existence of a supreme regulator.”

The second volume of the *Treatise on Human Nature* discusses the passions on the principles laid down at the commencement of the previous volume. The subjects here treated, while they are not of so strikingly original a description as to prompt us to enlarge on their contents, may be a more acceptable morsel to most readers, and certainly may be perused with more of what is termed satisfaction, than the obscure and somewhat disheartening investigations of the pure metaphysician. Of the usual subtlety and acuteness of the author they are of course not destitute; but the theatre of investigation does not admit of much abstraction, and these qualities exercise themselves on subjects more tangible and comprehensible than those of the author's prior labours.

The production of the *Treatise on Human Nature* stands almost alone in the history of the human mind. Let it be remembered that the author had just reached that period of existence when the animal spirits exercise their strongest sway, and those whom nature has gifted with talents and observation are exulting in a brilliant world before them, of which they are enjoying the prospective felicity without tasting much of the bitterness; and that this extensive treatise, so varied in the subjects embraced, so

³ Not Josiah, but Abraham Tucker, who, under the assumed name of “Search,” wrote a book on the light of nature, in 9 vols. 8vo. An unobtrusive and profound work, not very inviting, and little read, which later philosophers have pillaged without compunction.

¹ *Works*, vol. i. p. 240.

² *Works*, i. p. 319.

patiently collected by a lengthened labour of investigation and reflection, and entering on views so adverse to all that reason had previously taught men to believe, and so repulsive to the common feelings of the world, was the first literary attempt which the author deigned to place before the public. Perhaps a very close examination of the early habits and conduct of the author, could the materials of such be obtained, would scarcely furnish us with a clue to so singular a riddle; but in a general sense, we may not diverge far from the truth in supposing that the circumstances of his earlier intercourse with the world had not prompted the author to entertain a very charitable view of mankind, and that the bitterness thus engendered coming under the cognizance of his reflective mind, instead of turning him into a stoic and practical enemy of his species, produced that singular system which, holding out nothing but doubt as the end of all mortal investigations, struck a silent blow at the dignity of human nature, and at much of its happiness. In a very singular passage he thus speaks of his comfortless philosophy, and of the feelings it produces in the mind of its Cain-like fabricator. "I am first affrighted and confounded with that forlorn solitude in which I am placed in my philosophy, and fancy myself some strange uncouth monster who, not being able to mingle and unite in society, has been expelled all human commerce, and left utterly abandoned and disconsolate. Fain would I run into the crowd for shelter and warmth, but cannot prevail with myself to mix with such deformity. I call upon others to join me in order to make a company apart, but no one will hearken to me. Every one keeps at a distance, and dreads that storm which beats upon me from every side. I have exposed myself to the enmity of all metaphysicians, logicians, mathematicians, and even theologians; and can I wonder at the insults I must suffer? I have declared my disapprobation of their systems; and can I be surprised if they should express a hatred of mine and of my person? When I look abroad, I foresee on every side dispute, contradiction, anger, calumny, and detraction. When I turn my eye inward, I find nothing but doubt and ignorance. All the world conspires to oppose and contradict me: though such is my weakness, that I feel all my opinions loosen and fall of themselves when unsupported by the approbation of others. Every step I take is with hesitation, and every new reflection makes me dread an error and absurdity in my reasoning."¹ In the same spirit he writes to his friend Mr. Henry Home, immediately after the publication of the *Treatise*: "Those," he says, "who are accustomed to reflect on such abstract subjects are commonly full of prejudices; and those who are unprejudiced, are unacquainted with metaphysical reasonings. My principles are also so remote from all the vulgar sentiments on the subject, that were they to take place they would produce almost a total alteration in philosophy; and you know revolutions of this kind are not easily brought about."²

Hume, when the reflection of more advanced life, and his habits of unceasing thought, had made a more clear arrangement in his mind of the principles of his philosophy, found many things to blame and alter in his treatise, not so much in the fundamental arguments, as in their want of arrangement, and the obscure garb of words in which he had clothed them. On the feelings he entertained on this subject we find him afterwards writing to Dr. John Stewart, and we shall here quote a rather mutilated fragment of this epistle, which has hitherto been

unprinted, and is interesting as containing an illustration of his arguments on belief:—"Allow me to tell you that I never asserted so absurd a proposition, as that anything might arise without a cause. I only maintained that our certainty of the falsehood of that proposition proceeded neither from intuition nor demonstration, but from another source. That Cesar existed, that there is such an island as Sicily; for these propositions, I affirm, we have no demonstration nor intuitive proof. Would you infer that I deny their truth, or even their certainty? and some of them as satisfactory to the mind, though perhaps not so regular, as the demonstrative kind. Where a man of sense mistakes my meaning, I own I am angry, but it is only with myself, for having expressed my meaning so ill as to have given occasion to the mistake. That you may see I would no way scruple of owning my mistakes in argument, I shall acknowledge (what is infinitely more material) a very great mistake in conduct; viz. my publishing at all the *Treatise on Human Nature*, a book which pretended to innovate in all the sublimest parts of philosophy, and which I composed before I was five and twenty. Above all, the positive air which pervades that book, and which may be imputed to the ardour of youth, so much displeases me, that I have not patience to review it. I am willing to be unheeded by the public, though human life is so short that I despair of ever seeing the decision. I wish I had always confined myself to the more easy paths of erudition; but you will excuse me from submitting to proverbial decision, let it even be in Greek."

The effect produced on the literary world by the appearance of the *Treatise on Human Nature*, was not flattering to a young author. "Never literary attempt," says Mr. Hume, "was more unfortunate than my *Treatise on Human Nature*. It fell *dead-born from the press*, without reaching such distinction as even to excite a murmur among the zealots. But being naturally of a cheerful and sanguine temper, I very soon recovered the blow, and prosecuted with great ardour my studies in the country." The third part of Mr. Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature* was published in 1740: it treated the subject of morals, and was divided into two parts, the first discussing "Virtue and Vice in general," the second treating of "Justice and Injustice." The scope of this essay is to show that there is no abstract and certain distinction betwixt moral good and evil; and while it admits a sense of virtue to have a practical existence in the mind of every human being (however it may have established itself), it draws a distinction betwixt those virtues of which every man's sense of right is capable of taking cognizance; and justice, which it maintains to be an artificial virtue, erected certainly on the general wish of mankind to act rightly, but a virtue which men do not naturally follow, until a system is invented by human means, and based on reasonable principles of general utility to the species, which shows men what is just and what is unjust, and can best be followed by the man who has best studied its general artificial form, in conjunction with its application to utility, and who brings the most acute perception and judgment to assist him in the task.³ Before publishing this part of the work Hume submitted the manuscript to Francis Hutcheson,

³ Thus this portion of the system bore a considerable resemblance to the theory so elaborately expounded in the *Leviathan* of Hobbes, with this grand distinction, that Hume, while maintaining the necessity that a system of justice should be framed, does not maintain that it had its origin in the natural injustice of mankind, and their hatred of each other, nor does he attribute the formation of the system to a complicated social contract, like that which occurred to the mind of the Malinesbury philosopher.

¹ *Works*, i. p. 335.

² *Tytler's Life of Kames*.

professor of moral philosophy in the university of Glasgow, whose opinions he was more disposed to receive with deference than those of any other man. Nevertheless, it was only in matters of detail that he would consent to be guided by that eminent person. The fundamental principles of the system he firmly defended. The correctness of which passed between them shows how far Hume saw into the depths of the utilitarian system, and proves that it was more completely formed in his mind than it appeared in his book. "To every virtuous action (says he) there must be a motive or impelling passion distinct from the virtue, and virtue can never be the sole motive to any action." The greater plainness of the subject, and its particular reference to the hourly duties of life, made this essay more interesting to moral philosophers, and laid it more widely open to criticism, than the *Treatise on the Understanding*, and even that on the *Passions*. The extensive reference to principles of utility produced discussions to which it were an idle and endless work here to refer; but without any disrespect to those celebrated men who have directly combated the principles of this work, and supported totally different theories of the formation of morals, those who have twisted the principles of the author into excuses for vice and immorality, and the destruction of all inducements to the practice of virtue, deserve only the fame of being themselves the fabricators of the crooked morality of which they have endeavoured to cast the odium upon another. When Mr. Hume said, "The necessity of justice to the support of society is the sole foundation of that virtue: and since no moral excellence is more highly esteemed, we may conclude that this circumstance of usefulness has in general the strongest energy, and most entire command over our sentiments. It must, therefore, be the source of a considerable part of the merit ascribed to humanity, benevolence, friendship, public spirit, and other social virtues of that stamp; as it is the sole source of the moral approbation paid to fidelity, justice, veracity, integrity, and those other estimable and useful qualities and principles:"—when he said this, it was not difficult for those benevolent guardians of the public mind who sat in watch to intercept such declarations, to hold such an opinion up to public indignation, and to maintain that it admitted every man to examine his actions by his own sense of their utility, and to commit vice by the application of a theory of expediency appropriated to the act.

The neglect with which his first production was received by the public, while it did not abate the steady industry of its author, turned his attention for a time to subjects which might be more acceptable to general readers, and in the calm retirement of his brother's house at Ninewells, where he pursued his studies with solitary zeal, he prepared two volumes of unconnected dissertations, entitled *Essays Moral and Philosophical*, which he published in 1742. These essays he had intended to have published in weekly papers, after the method pursued by the authors of the *Spectator*; "but," he observes, in an advertisement prefixed to the first edition, "having dropped that undertaking, partly from laziness, partly from want of leisure, and being willing to make trial of my talents for writing before I ventured upon any more serious compositions, I was induced to commit these trifles to the judgment of the public." A few of the subjects of these essays are the following: "Of the Delicacy of Taste and Passion," "That Politics may be reduced to a Science," "Of the Independency of Parliament," "Of the Parties in Great Britain," "Of Superstition and Enthusiasm," "Of Liberty and Despotism," "Of Eloquence,"

"Of Simplicity and Refinement," "A Character of Sir Robert Walpole," &c. Of these miscellaneous productions we cannot venture the most passing analysis in a memoir which must necessarily be brief: of their general character it may be sufficient to say, that his style of writing, which in his *Treatise* was far from approaching the purity and elegance of composition which he afterwards displayed, had made a rapid advance to excellence, and that the reading world quickly discovered from the justness and accuracy of his views, the elegance of his sentiments, and the clear precision with which he stated his arguments, that the subtle calculator of the origin of all human knowledge could direct an acute eye to the proceedings of the world around him, and that he was capable of making less abstract calculations on the motives which affected mankind. A few of these essays, which he seems to have denounced as of too light a nature to accompany his other works, were not republished during his life; among the subjects of these are "Impudence and Modesty," "Love and Marriage," "Avarice," &c. Although these have been negatively stigmatized by their author, a general reader will find much gratification in their perusal: the subjects are handled with the careless touch of a satirist; and in drawing so lightly and almost playfully pictures of what is contemptible and ridiculous, one can scarcely avoid the conviction that such is the aspect in which the author wishes to appear. But on the other hand there is such a complete absence of all grotesqueness, of exaggeration, or attempt at ridicule, that it is apparent he is drawing a picture of what he knows to be unchangeably rooted in human nature, and that knowing raillery to be useless, he is content as a philosopher merely to depict the deformity which cannot be altered. Among the essays he did not republish, is the "Character of Sir Robert Walpole," a singular specimen of the author's ability to abstract himself from the political feelings of the time, calmly describing the character of a living statesman, whose conduct was perhaps more feverishly debated by his friends and enemies than that of almost any minister in any nation, as if he were a person of a distant age, with which the author had no sympathy, or of a land with which he was only acquainted through the pages of the traveller. It was after the publication of this work that Hume first enjoyed the gratification of something like public applause. "The work," he says, "was favourably received, and soon made me entirely forget my former disappointment." He still rigidly adhered to his plans of economy and retirement, and continued to reside at Ninewells, applying himself to the study of Greek, which he had previously neglected. In 1745 he was invited to become tutor to the Marquis of Annandale, a young nobleman whose state of mind at that period rendered a superintendent necessary; and though the situation must have been one not conducive to study, or pleasing to such a mind as that of Hume, he found that his circumstances would not justify a refusal of the invitation, and he continued for the period of a year in the family of the marquis.

During his residence in this family, the death of Mr. Cleghorn, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, caused a vacancy, which Mr. Hume very naturally considered he might be capable of filling. The patrons of the university, however, and their advisers, took a different view of the matter, and judged that they would be at least more safe in considering a person of his reputed principles of philosophy as by no means a proper instructor of youth: nor were virulence and party feeling unmingled with cool judgment in fixing their

choice. The disappointment of not being able to obtain a situation so desirable as affording a respectable and permanent salary, and so suited to his studies, seems to have preyed more heavily than any other event in his life on the spirits of Mr. Hume; and with the desire of being independent of the world, he seems for a short time to have hesitated whether he should continue his studies, or at once relinquish the pursuit of philosophical fame by joining the army. During the ensuing year his desire to be placed in a situation of respectability was to a certain extent gratified, by his being appointed secretary to Lieutenant-general St. Clair, who had been chosen to command an expedition avowedly against Canada, but which terminated in a useless incursion on the coast of France. In the year 1747 General St. Clair was appointed to superintend an embassy to the courts of Vienna and Turin, and declining to accept a secretary from government, Hume, for whom he seems to have entertained a partiality, accompanied him in his former capacity. He here enjoyed the society of Sir Henry Erskine and Captain (afterwards General) Grant, and mixing a little with the world, and joining in the fashionable society of the places which he visited, he seems to have enjoyed a partial relaxation from his philosophical labours. Although he mentions that these two years were almost the only interruptions which his studies had received during the course of his life, he does not seem to have entirely neglected his pursuits as an author; in a letter to his friend Henry Home he hints at the probability of his devoting his time to historical subjects, and continues, "I have here two things going on, a new edition of my *Essays*, all of which you have seen except *one* of the "Protestant Succession," where I treat that subject as coolly and indifferently as I would the dispute betwixt Cesar and Pompey. The conclusion shows me a Whig, but a very sceptical one."¹

Lord Charlemont, who at this period met with Mr. Hume at Turin, has given the following account of his habits and appearance, penned apparently with a greater aim at effect than at truth, yet somewhat characteristic of the philosopher: "Nature I believe never formed any man more unlike his real character than David Hume. The powers of physiognomy were baffled by his countenance; neither could the most skilful in that science pretend to discover the smallest trace of the faculties of his mind in the unmeaning features of his visage. His face was broad and fat, his mouth wide, and without any other expression than that of imbecility. His eyes vacant and spiritless; and the corpulence of his whole person was far better fitted to communicate the idea of a turtle-eating alderman than of a refined philosopher. His speech in English was rendered ridiculous by the broadest Scottish accent, and his French was, if possible, still more laughable; so that wisdom, most certainly, never disguised herself before in so uncouth a garb. Though now near fifty years old,² he was healthy and strong; but his health and strength, far from being advantageous to his figure, instead of manly comeliness, had only the appearance of rusticity. His wearing a uniform added greatly to his natural awkwardness, for he wore it like a grocer of the train-bands. Sinclair was a lieutenant-general, and was sent to the courts of Vienna and Turin as a military envoy, to see that their quota of troops was furnished by the Austrians and Piedmontese. It was therefore thought necessary that his

secretary should appear to be an officer; and Hume was accordingly disguised in scarlet."³

The letter to Mr. Home we have quoted above, gives an idea of the literary employments of the author during the intervals of his official engagements at Turin, and on his return to Britain he exhibited the fruit of his labour in a second edition of his *Essays Moral and Political*, which was published in 1748, with four additional essays, and in a reconstruction of the first part of his *Treatise on Human Nature*, which he published immediately after, under the title *Philosophical Essays concerning the Human Understanding*, and formed the first part of the well-known corrected digest of the *Treatise of Human Nature* into the *Inquiry concerning Human Nature*. In the advertisement the author informs the public that "most of the principles and reasonings in this volume were published in a work in three volumes, called *A Treatise on Human Nature*, a work which the author had projected before he left college, and which he wrote and published not long after. The philosophy of this work is essentially the same as that of which he had previously sketched a more rude and complicated draught. The object (or more properly speaking, the conclusion arrived at, for the person who sets out without admissions, and inquires whether anything can be *ascertained* in philosophy, can scarcely be said to have an *object* in view) is the same system of doubt which he previously expounded; a scepticism, not like that of Boyle and others, which merely went to show the uncertainty of the conclusions attending particular species of argument, but a sweeping argument to show that by the structure of the understanding, the result of all investigations, on all subjects, must ever be doubt." The *Inquiry* must be to every reader a work far more pleasing, and we may even say instructive, than the *Treatise*. While many of the more startling arguments, assuming the appearance of paradoxes, sometimes indistinctly connected with the subject, are omitted, others are laid down in a clearer form; the whole is subjected to a more compact arrangement, and the early style of the writer, which to many natural beauties united a considerable feebleness and occasional harshness, makes in this work a very near approach to the elegance and classic accuracy which much perseverance and a refined taste enabled the author to acquire in the more advanced period of his life. Passing over, as our limits must compel us, any attempt at an analytical comparison of the two works, and a narrative of the changes in the author's opinions, we must not omit the circumstance, that the *Essay on Miracles*, which it will be remembered the author withheld from his *Treatise*, was attached to the *Inquiry*, probably after a careful revision and correction. Locke had hinted in a few desultory observations the grounds of a disbelief in the miracles attributed to the early Christian church, and Dr. Conyers Middleton, in his "Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the Earliest Ages," published very nearly at the same period with the *Essay* of Hume, struck a more decided blow at all supernatural agency beyond what was justified by the sacred Scriptures, and approached by his arguments a dangerous neighbourhood to an interference with what he did not avowedly attack. Hume considered the subject as a general point in the human understanding to which he admitted no exceptions. The argument of this remarkable *Essay* is too well known to require an explanation. Hume is repeatedly at pains to protest against his being supposed to be

¹ Tytler's *Life of Kames*.

² His lordship must have made a miscalculation. Hume was then only in his thirty-eighth year.

³ Hardy's *Life of Lord Charlemont*, p. 8.

arguing in the *Essay* against the Christian faith. These protests, however, as his biographer, Mr. Burton, is constrained to admit, were uttered briefly and coldly, and in such a manner as made people feel, that if Hume believed in the doctrines of the Bible, he certainly had not his heart in them. A want of proper deference for religious feeling (adds this writer) is a defect that runs through all his works. There is no ribaldry, but at the same time there are no expressions of decent reverence. It is to be observed, also, that the argument of Hume against miracles is still a favourite weapon of the enemies of revealed religion. At the same time, it must be admitted that, under proper regulation, the argument is of use in defining the boundaries of inductive reasoning, and in this way has proved undoubtedly serviceable to the progress of science.

The work by Dr. Campbell in confutation of this *Essay*, at first produced in the form of a sermon, and afterwards expanded into a treatise, which was published in 1762, is well known and appreciated. This admirable and conclusive production, while yet in manuscript, was shown to Hume by Dr. Blair. Hume was much pleased with the candour of the transaction; he remarked a few passages hardly in accordance with the calm feelings of the other portions of the work, which at his suggestion the author amended; and he personally wrote to Dr. Campbell, with his usual calm politeness, thanking him for treatment so unexpected from a clergyman of the Church of Scotland; and, with the statement that he had made an early resolution not to answer attacks on his opinions, acknowledged that he never felt so violent an inclination to defend himself. The respect which Campbell admitted himself to entertain for the sceptic is thus expressed:—"The *Essay on Miracles* deserves to be considered as one of the most dangerous attacks that have been made on our religion. The danger results not solely from the merit of the piece: it results much more from that of the author. The piece itself, like every other work of Mr. Hume, is ingenious; but its merit is more of the oratorical kind than of the philosophical. The merit of the author, I acknowledge, is great. The many useful volumes he has published of *history*, as well as on *criticism*, *politics*, and *trade*, have justly procured him, with all persons of taste and discernment, the highest reputation as a writer. . . . In such *analysis* and *exposition*, which I own I have attempted without ceremony or reserve, an air of *ridicule* is unavoidable; but this *ridicule*, I am well aware, if founded on *misrepresentation*, will at last rebound upon myself."¹ Dr. Campbell was a man of strong good sense, and knew well the description of argument which the world would best appreciate, approve, and comprehend, in answer to the perplexing subtleties of his opponent. He struck at the root of the system of perceptions merging into experience, and experience regulating the value of testimony, which had been erected by his adversary—and appealing, not to the passions and feelings in favour of religion, but to the common convictions which we deem to be founded on reason, and cannot separate from our minds, maintained that "testimony has a natural and original influence on belief, antecedent to experience," from which position he proceeded to show that the miracles of the gospel had received attestation sufficient to satisfy the reason.

About this period Hume suffered the loss of a mother, who, according to his own account, when speaking of his earlier days, was "a woman of singular merit, who, though young and handsome,

devoted herself entirely to the rearing of her children;" and the philosopher seems to have regarded her with a strong and devoted affection. He was a man whose disposition led him to unite himself to the world by few of the ordinary ties, but the few which imperceptibly held him were not broken without pain; on these occasions, the philosopher yielded to the man, and the cold sceptic discovered the feelings with which nature had gifted him, which at other moments lay chained by the bonds of his powerful reason. A very different account of the effect of this event, from what we have just now stated, is given in the passage we are about to quote (as copied in the *Quarterly Review*) from the *Travels* of the American Silliman. Without arguing as to the probability or improbability of its containing a true statement, let us remark that it is destitute of *proof*, a quality it amply requires, being given by the traveller forty years after the death of the philosopher, from the report of an individual, while the circumstance is not one which would have probably escaped the religious zeal of some of Mr. Hume's commentators.

"It seems that Hume received a religious education from his mother, and early in life was the subject of strong and hopeful religious impressions; but as he approached manhood they were effaced, and confirmed infidelity succeeded. Maternal partiality, however, alarmed at first, came at length to look with less and less pain upon this declension, and filial love and reverence seem to have been absorbed in the pride of philosophical scepticism; for Hume now applied himself with unwearied and unhappily with successful efforts to sap the foundation of his mother's faith. Having succeeded in this dreadful work, he went abroad into foreign countries; and as he was returning, an express met him in London, with a letter from his mother, informing him that she was in a deep decline, and could not long survive: she said she found herself without any support in her distress: that he had taken away that source of comfort upon which, in all cases of affliction, she used to rely, and that she now found her mind sinking into despair. She did not doubt but her son would afford her some substitute for her religion, and she conjured him to hasten to her, or at least to send her a letter containing such consolations as philosophy can afford to a dying mortal. Hume was overwhelmed with anguish on receiving this letter, and hastened to Scotland, travelling day and night; but before he arrived, his mother expired. No permanent impression seems, however, to have been made on his mind by this most trying event; and whatever remorse he might have felt at the moment, he soon relapsed into his wonted obduracy of heart."

On the appearance of this anecdote, Baron Hume, the philosopher's nephew, communicated to the editor of the *Quarterly Review* the following anecdote of a more pleasing nature connected with the same circumstance; and while it is apparent that it stands on better ground, we may mention that it is acknowledged by the reviewer as an authenticated contradiction to the statement of Silliman. "David and he (the Hon. Mr. Boyle, brother of the Earl of Glasgow) were both in London at the period when David's mother died. Mr. Boyle, hearing of it, soon after went into his apartment, for they lodged in the same house, where he found him in the deepest affliction, and in a flood of tears. After the usual topics of condolence Mr. Boyle said to him, 'My friend, you owe this uncommon grief to your having thrown off the principles of religion; for if you had not, you would have been consoled with the firm belief that the good lady, who was not only the best of

¹ Edit. 1797, Advert. p. viii.

mothers, but the most pious of Christians, was completely happy in the realms of the just.' To which David replied, 'Though I throw out my speculations to entertain the learned and metaphysical world, yet, in other things, I do not think so differently from the rest of mankind as you imagine.'"

Hume returned in 1749 to the retirement of his brother's house at Ninewells, and during a residence there for two years continued his remodelling of his *Treatise on Human Nature*, and prepared for the press his celebrated *Political Discourses*. The former production appeared in 1751, under the title of an *Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, published by Millar, the celebrated bookseller. Hume considered this the most perfect of his works, and it is impossible to resist admiration of the clearness of the arguments, and the beautiful precision of the theories; the world, however, did not extend to it the balmy influence of popularity, and it appeared to the author that all his literary efforts were doomed to the unhappy fate of being little regarded at first, and of gradually decaying into oblivion. "In my opinion," he says "(who ought not to judge on that subject), [it] is, of all my writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best. It came unnoticed and unobserved into the world."

In 1752, and during the author's residence in Edinburgh, appeared his *Political Discourses*. The subjects of these admirable essays were of interest to every one, the method of treating them was comprehensible to persons of common discernment; above all, they treated subjects on which the prejudices of few absolutely refused conviction by argument, and the author had the opportunity of being appreciated and admired, even when telling truths. The book in these circumstances was, in the author's words, "the only work of mine that was successful on the first publication. It was well received abroad and at home." The chief subjects were, "Commerce, Money, Interest, the Balance of Trade, the Populousness of Ancient Nations, the Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth." Sir Josiah Child, Sir William Petty, Hobbes, and Locke had previously given the glimmerings of more liberal principles on trade and manufacture than those which they saw practised, and hinted at the common prejudices on the use of money and the value of labour; but Hume was the first to sketch an outline of some branches of the benevolent system of political economy framed by his illustrious friend Adam Smith. He laid down labour as the only criterion of all value, made a near approach to an ascertainment of the true value of the precious metals, a point not yet fully fixed among economists; discovered the baneful effects of commercial limitations as obliging the nation to trade in a less profitable manner than it would choose to do if unconstrained, and predicted the dangerous consequences of the funding system. The essay on the populousness of ancient nations was a sceptical analysis of the authorities on that subject, doubting their accuracy, on the principle of political economy that the number of the inhabitants of a nation must have a ratio to its fruitfulness and *their* industry. The essay was elaborately answered by Dr. Wallace in a *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind*; but that gentleman only produced a host of those "authorities," the efficacy of which Mr. Hume has doubted on principle. This essay is an extremely useful practical application of the doctrines in the *Essay on Miracles*. Mr. Hume's "Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth" has been objected to as an impracticable system. The author probably had the wisdom to make this discovery himself, and might have as soon expected it to be applicable to practice

as a geometrician might dream of his angles, straight lines, and points being literally accomplished in the measurement of an estate or the building of a house. The whole represents men without passions or prejudices working like machines; and Hume no doubt admitted, that while passion, prejudice, and habit forbade the safe attempt of such projects, such abstract structures ought to be held up to the view of the legislator, as the forms into which, so far as he can do it with safety, he ought to stretch the systems under his administration. Plato, More, Harrington, Hobbes, and (according to some accounts) Berkeley¹ had employed their ingenuity in a similar manner, and Hume seems to have considered it worthy of his attention.

In February, 1752, David Hume succeeded the celebrated Ruddiman as librarian to the Faculty of Advocates. The salary was at that time very trifling, somewhere we believe about £40, but the duties were probably little more than nominal, and the situation was considered an acquisition to a man of literary habits. It was with this ample field of authority at his command, that he seems to have finally determined to write a portion of the *History of England*. In 1757 he relinquished this appointment on his removing to London, when preparing for publication the *History of the House of Tudor*.

In 1752 appeared the first (published) volume of the *History of England*, embracing the period from the accession of the house of Stuart to the death of Charles I.; and, passing over intermediate events, we may mention that the next volume, containing a continuation of the series of events to the period of the Revolution, appeared in 1756, and the third, containing the "History of the House of Tudor," was published in 1759. "I was, I own," says the author with reference to the first volume, "sanguine in my expectations of the success of this work. I thought that I was the only historian that had at once neglected present power, interest, and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices; and as the subject was suited to every capacity, I expected proportional applause. But miserable was my disappointment; I was assailed by one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even detestation; English, Scottish, and Irish, Whig and Tory, churchman and sectary, freethinker and religionist, patriot and courtier, united in their rage against the man who had presumed to shed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I. and the Earl of Strafford; and after the first ebullitions of their fury were over, what was still more mortifying, the book seemed to sink into oblivion." Of the second he says, "This performance happened to give less displeasure to the Whigs, and was better received. It not only rose itself, but helped to buoy up its unfortunate brother." Of the *History of England* it is extremely difficult to give a fair and unbiased opinion, because, while the author is, in general, one of the most impartial writers on this subject, it is scarcely a paradox to say, that the few partialities in which he has indulged have done more to warp the mind than the violent prejudices of others. Previous to his history, those who wrote on political subjects ranged themselves in parties, and each man proclaimed with open mouth the side for which he was about to argue, and men heard him as a special pleader. Hume looked over events with the eye of a philosopher; he seemed to be careless of the extent of the good or bad of either party. On neither side did he abuse, on neither did he laud or even justify. The side which he adopted seldom enjoyed approbation or even vindication, and only

¹ In the anonymous *Adventures of Giovanni de Lucca*.

in apology did he distinguish it from that to which he was inimical. From this peculiarity the opinions to which he leaned acquired strength from the suffrage of one so apparently impartial and unconcerned. Notwithstanding the prejudices generally attributed, however, to Hume as a historian, we cannot see him down as an enemy to liberty. No man had grander views of the power of the human mind, and of the higher majesty of intellect, when compared with the external attributes of rank; and the writings of a republican could not exceed in depicting this feeling the picture he has drawn of the parliament of Charles I., and of the striking circumstances of the king's condemnation. The instances in which he has shown himself to be inconsistent, may perhaps be more attributed to his habits than to his opinions. His indolent benevolence prompted a sympathy with the oppressed, and he felt a reluctance to justify those who assumed the aspect of active assailants, from whatever cause; while in matters of religion, viewing all persuasions in much the same aspect, unprejudiced himself, he felt a contempt for those who indulged in prejudice, and was more inclined to censure than to vindicate those who acted from religious impulse. With all his partialities, however, let those who study the character of the author while they read his history recollect, that he never made literature bow to rank, that he never flattered a great man to obtain a favour, and that, though long poor, he was always independent. Of the seeming contradiction between his life and opinions, we quote the following applicable remarks from the *Edinburgh Review*:

"Few things seem more unaccountable, and indeed absurd, than that Hume should have taken part with high church and high monarchy men. The persecutions which he suffered in his youth from the Presbyterians may, perhaps, have influenced his ecclesiastical partialities. But that he should have sided with the Tudors and the Stuarts against the people seems quite inconsistent with all the great traits of his character. His unrivalled sagacity must have looked with contempt on the preposterous arguments by which the *ius divinum* was maintained. His natural benevolence must have suggested the cruelty of subjecting the enjoyments of thousands to the caprice of one unfeeling individual: and his own practical independence in private life might have taught him the value of those feelings which he has so mischievously derided. Mr. Fox seems to have been struck with some surprise at this strange trait in the character of our philosopher. In a letter to Mr. Laing he says, 'He was an excellent man, and of great powers of mind; but his partiality to kings and princes is intolerable. Nay, it is, in my opinion, quite ridiculous: and is more like the foolish admiration which women and children sometimes have for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher.'"

It would be a vain task to enumerate the controversial attacks on Hume's *History of England*. Dr. Hurd in his *Dialogues on the English Constitution* stoutly combated his opinions. Miller brought the force of his strongly thinking mind to a consideration of the subject at great length, but he assumed too much the aspect of a special pleader. Dr. Birch and Dr. Towers entered on minute examinations of particular portions of the narrative; and Major Cartwright, with more fancy than reason, almost caricatured the opinions of those who considered that Hume had designedly painted the government of the Tudors in arbitrary colours, to relieve that of the Stuarts. Mr. Laing appeared as the champion of the Scottish patriots, and Dr. M'Crie as the vindicator of the Presbyterians; and in our own day

two elaborate works have fully examined the statements and representations of Hume—the *British Empire* of Mr. Brodie, and the extremely impartial *Constitutional History* of Hallam.

In the interval betwixt the publication of the first and second volumes of the *History*, Hume produced the *Natural History of Religion*. This production is one of those which Warburton delighted to honour. In a pamphlet which Hume attributed to Hurd he thus politely notices it:—"The few excepted out of the whole race of mankind are, we see, our philosopher and his gang, with their pedlers' ware of matter and motion, who penetrate by their disquisitions into the secret structure of vegetable and animal bodies, to extract, like the naturalists in Gulliver, sunbeams out of cucumbers; just as wise a project as this of raising religion out of the intrigues of matter and motion. We see what the man would be at through all his disguises, and no doubt he would be much mortified if we did not; though the discovery we make is only this, that of all the slanders against revelation, this before us is the truest, the dirtiest, and the most worn in the drudgery of free-thinking, not but it may pass with his friends, and they have my free leave to make their best of it. What I quote it for is only to show the rancour of heart which possesses this unhappy man, and which could induce him to employ an insinuation against the Christian and the Jewish religions not only of no weight in itself, but of none, I will venture to say, even in his own opinion."¹ Hume says he "found by Warburton's railing" that his "books were beginning to be esteemed in good company;" and of the particular attention which the prelate bestowed on the sceptic, such specimens as the following are to be found in the correspondence of the former: "I am strongly tempted too to have a stroke at Hume in parting. He is the author of a little book called *Philosophical Essays*: in one of which he argues against the hope of a God, and in another (very needlessly, you will say) against the possibility of miracles. He has crowned the liberty of the press, and yet he has a considerable post under government. I have a great mind to do justice on his arguments against miracles, which I think might be done in few words. But does he deserve notice? Is he known among you? Pray answer me these questions; for if his own weight keeps him down, I should be sorry to contribute to his advancement to any place but the pillory."²

Of the very different manner in which he esteemed a calm and a scurrilous critic, we have happily been able to obtain an instance, in a copy of a curious letter of Hume, which, although the envelope is unfortunately lost, and the whole is somewhat mutilated, we can perceive from the circumstances to have been addressed to Dr. John Stewart, author of an *Essay on the Laws of Motion*. It affords a singular instance of the calm and forgiving spirit of the philosopher: "I am so great a lover of peace that I am resolved to drop this matter altogether, and not to insert a syllable in the preface which can have a reference to your essay. The truth is, I could take no revenge but such a one as would have been a great deal too cruel, and much exceeding the offence; for though most authors think that a contemptuous manner of treating their writings is but slightly revenged by hurting the personal character and the honour of their antagonists, I am very far from being of that opinion. Besides, as I am as certain as I can be of anything (and I am not such a sceptic as you may perhaps imagine), that your inserting such remarkable altera-

¹ Warburton's *Works*, vii. 851, 868.

² *Letters from a Late Rev. Prelate to One of his Friends*, 1808, p. 11.

tions in the printed copy proceeded entirely from precipitancy and passion, not from any formed intention of deceiving the society, I would not take advantage of such an incident to throw a slur on a man of merit whom I esteem, though I might have reason to complain of him. When I am abused by such a fellow as Warburton, whom I neither know nor care for, I can laugh at him. But if Dr. Stewart approaches any way towards the same style of writing, I own it vexes me; because I conclude that some unguarded circumstances of my conduct, though contrary to my intention, had given occasion to it. As to your situation with regard to Lord Kames, I am not so good a judge. I only know that you had so much the better of the argument that you ought upon that account to have been more reserved in your expressions. All railery ought to be avoided in philosophical argument, both because (it is) unphilosophical, and because it cannot but be offensive, let it be ever so gentle. What then must we think with regard to so many insinuations of irreligion to which Lord Kames' paper gave not the least occasion? This spirit of the inquisitor is, in you, the effect of passion, and what a cool moment would easily correct. But when it predominates in the character, what ravages has it committed on reason, virtue, truth, sobriety, and everything that is valuable among mankind!" We may at this period of his life consider Hume as having reached the age when the mind has entirely ceased to bend to circumstances, and cannot be made to alter its habits. Speaking of him in this advanced period of his life, an author signing himself G. N., and detailing some anecdotes of Hume, with whom he says he was acquainted, states (in the *Scots Magazine*) that "his great views of being singular, and a vanity to show himself superior to most people, led him to advance many axioms that were dissonant to the opinions of others, and led him into sceptical doctrines, only to show how minute and puzzling they were to other folk; in so far, that I have often seen him (in various companies, according as he saw some enthusiastic person there) combat either their religious or political principles; nay, after he had struck them dumb, take up the argument on their side, with equal good-humour, wit, and jocoseness, all to show his pre-eminence." The same person mentions his social feelings, and the natural disposition of his temper to flow with the current of whatever society he was in; and that while he never gambled he had a natural liking to whist-playing, and was so accomplished a player as to be the subject of a shameless proposal on the part of a needy man of rank, for bettering their mutual fortunes, which it need not be said was repelled. But Henry M'Kenzie, who has attempted to embody the character of the sceptic in the beautiful fiction of *La Roche*, has drawn, from his intimate knowledge of character, and his great acquaintance with the philosopher, a more pleasing picture. His words are: "The unfortunate nature of his opinions with regard to the theoretical principles of moral and religious truth never influenced his regard for men who held very opposite sentiments on those subjects, which he never, like some vain shallow sceptics, introduced into social discourse; on the contrary, when at any time the conversation tended that way, he was desirous rather of avoiding any serious discussion on matters which he wished to confine to the graver and less dangerous consideration of cool philosophy. He had, it might be said, in the language which the Grecian historian applies to an illustrious Roman, two minds; one which indulged in the metaphysical scepticism which his genius could invent, but which it could not always disentangle; another simple, natural, and playful,

which made his conversation delightful to his friends, and even frequently conciliated men whose principles of belief his philosophical doubts, if they had not power to shake, had grieved and offended. During the latter period of his life I was frequently in his company amidst persons of genuine piety, and I never heard him venture a remark at which such men, or ladies—still more susceptible than men—could take offence. His good nature and benevolence prevented such an injury to his hearers; it was unfortunate that he often forgot what injury some of his writings might do to his readers."¹

Hume was now a man of a very full habit, and somewhat given to indolence in all occupations but that of literature. An account of himself, in a letter to his relation Mrs. Dysart, may amuse from its calm pleasantry and good-humour: "My compliments to his solicitorship. Unfortunately I have not a horse at present to carry my fat carcass to pay its respects to his superior obesity. But if he finds travelling requisite either for his health or the captain's, we shall be glad to entertain him here as long as we can do it at another's expense, in hopes that we shall soon be able to do it at our own. Pray, tell the solicitor that I have been reading lately, in an old author called Strabo, that in some cities of ancient Gaul there was a fixed legal standard established for corpulency, and that the senate kept a measure, beyond which, if any belly presumed to increase, the proprietor of that belly was obliged to pay a fine to the public, proportionable to its rotundity. Ill would it fare with his worship and I (me), if such a law should pass our parliament, for I am afraid we are already got beyond the statute. I wonder indeed no harpy of the treasury has ever thought of this method of raising money. Taxes on luxury are always most approved of, and no one will say that the carrying about a portly belly is of any use or necessity. 'Tis a mere superfluous ornament, and is a proof too that its proprietor enjoys greater plenty than he puts to a good use; and, therefore, 'tis fit to reduce him to a level with his fellow-subjects by taxes and impositions. As the lean people are the most active, unquiet, and ambitious, they everywhere govern the world, and may certainly oppress their antagonists whenever they please. Heaven forbid that Whig and Tory should ever be abolished, for then the nation might be split into fat and lean, and our faction, I am afraid, would be in a piteous taking. The only comfort is, if they oppress us very much we should at last change sides with them. Besides, who knows if a tax were imposed on fatness, but some jealous divine might pretend that the church was in danger. I cannot but bless the memory of Julius Cæsar for the great esteem he expressed for fat men, and his aversion to lean ones. All the world allows that the emperor was the greatest genius that ever was, and the greatest judge of mankind."

In the year 1756, the philosophical calm of Hume appeared in danger of being disturbed by the fulminations of the church. The outcry against his doubting philosophy became loud, scepticism began to be looked on as synonymous with infidelity, and some of the fiercer spirits endeavoured to urge on the church to invade the sacred precincts of freedom of opinion. The discussion of the subject commenced before the committee of overtures on the 27th of May, and a long debate ensued, in which some were pleased to maintain that Hume, not being a Christian, was not a fit person to be judged by the venerable court. For a more full narrative of those proceedings we refer to the life of HENRY HOME of Kames, who

¹ Mackenzie's *Life of Hume*, p. 29.

was subjected to the same attempt at persecution. In an analysis of the works of the two authors, published during the session of the assembly, and circulated among the members, the writer laid down the following as propositions which he would be enabled to prove were the avowed opinions of Mr. Hume:—“1st, All distinction between virtue and vice is merely imaginary—2d, Justice has no foundation further than it contributes to public advantage—3d, Adultery is very lawful, but sometimes not expedient—4th, Religion and its ministers are prejudicial to mankind, and will always be found either to run into the heights of superstition or enthusiasm—5th, Christianity has no evidence of its being a divine revelation—6th, Of all the modes of Christianity, Popery is the best, and the reformation from thence was only the work of madmen and enthusiasts.” The overture was rejected by the committee, and the indefatigable vindicators of religion brought the matter under a different shape before the presbytery of Edinburgh, but that body very properly decided on several grounds, among which, not the least applicable was, “to prevent their entering further into so abstruse and metaphysical a subject,” that it “would be more for the purposes of edification to dismiss the process.”

In 1759 appeared Dr. Robertson's *History of Scotland*, and the similarity of the subjects in which he and Hume were engaged produced an interchange of information, and a lasting friendship, honourable to both these great men. Hume was singularly destitute of literary jealousy; and of the unaffected welcome which he gave to a work treading on his own peculiar path, we could give many instances did our limits permit. He never withheld a helping hand to any author who might be considered his rival, and, excepting in one instance, never peevishly mentioned a living literary author in his works. The instance we allude to is a remark on Mr. Tytler's vindication of Queen Mary, and referring the reader to a copy of it below,¹ it is right to remark, that it seems more dictated by contempt of the arguments, than spleen towards the person of the author.

Any account of the literary society in which Hume spent his hours of leisure and conviviality would involve us in a complete literary history of Scotland during that period, unsuitable to a biographical dictionary. With all the eminent men of that illustrious period of Scottish literature he was intimately acquainted; as a philosopher, and as a man of dignified and respected intellect, he stood at the head of the list of great names; but in the less calm employments in which literary men of all periods occupy themselves, he was somewhat shunned, as a person too lukewarm, indolent, and good-humoured, to support literary warfare. An amusing specimen of his character in this respect is mentioned by M'Kenzie in his life of Home. When two numbers of a periodical work, entitled the *Edinburgh Review*, were published in 1755, the bosom friends of Hume, who were the

conductors, concealed it from him, because, “I have heard,” says M'Kenzie, “that they were afraid both of his extreme good nature, and his extreme artlessness; that, from the one, their criticisms would have been weakened or suppressed, and, from the other, their secret discovered;” and it was not till Hume had repeated his astonishment that persons in Scotland beyond the sphere of the literary circle of Edinburgh could have produced so able a work, that he was made acquainted with the secret. In whimsical revenge of the want of confidence displayed by his friends, Hume gravely maintained himself to be the author of a humorous work of Adam Ferguson, *The History of Sister Peg*, and penned a letter to the publisher, which any person who might peruse it without knowing the circumstances could not fail to consider a sincere acknowledgment. Hume was a member of the Philosophical Society, which afterwards merged into the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and acted as joint secretary along with Dr. Monro, junr. He was also a member of the illustrious Poker Club, and not an uncongenial one, so long as the members held their unobtrusive discussion in a tavern, over a small quantity of claret; but when this method of managing matters was abolished, and the institution merged into the more consequential denomination of “The Select Society,” amidst the exertions of many eloquent and distinguished men, he was only remarkable, along with his friend Adam Smith, for having never opened his mouth.

In 1761 Mr. Hume published the two remaining volumes of the *History of England*, treating of the period previous to the accession of the house of Tudor. He tells us that it was received with “tolerable, and but tolerable success.” Whitaker, Hallam, Turner, and others, have examined their respective portions of this period of history with care, and pointed out the inaccuracies of Hume; but the subject did not possess so much political interest as the later periods, and general readers have not been much disposed to discuss the question of his general accuracy. Men such as the first name we have mentioned have attacked him with peevishness on local and obscure matters of antiquarian research, which a historian can hardly be blamed for neglecting; others, however, who seem well informed, have found serious objections to his accuracy. In an article on the “Saxon Chronicle,” which appeared in the *Retrospective Review*, by an apparently well-informed writer, he is charged in these terms: “It would be perfectly startling to popular credulity should all the instances be quoted in which the text of Hume, in the remoter periods more especially, is at the most positive variance with the authorities he pretends to rest upon. In a series of historical inquiries which the writer of this article had some years since particular occasion to superintend, aberrations of this kind were so frequently detected, that it became necessary to lay it down as a rule never to admit a quotation from that popular historian when the authorities he pretends to refer to were not accessible for the purpose of previous comparison and confirmation.”

Hume, now pretty far advanced in life, had formed the resolution of ending his days in literary retirement in his own country, when, in 1763, he was solicited by the Earl of Hertford to attend him on his embassy to Paris, and after having declined, on a second invitation he accepted the situation. In the full blaze of a wide-spread reputation the philosopher was now surrounded by a new world of literary rivals, imitators, and admirers, and he received from a circle of society ever searching for what was new, brilliant, and striking, numberless marks of distinction, highly flattering to his literary pride, though not un-

¹ But there is a person that has written an *Inquiry*, historical and critical, into the evidence against Mary Queen of Scots; and has attempted to refute the foregoing narrative. He quotes a single passage of the narrative, in which Mary is said simply to refuse answering; and then a single passage from Goodall, in which she boasts simply that she will answer; and he very civilly, and almost directly, calls the author a liar, on account of this pretended contradiction. That whole *Inquiry*, from beginning to end, is composed of such scandalous articles; and from this instance the reader may judge of the candour, fair dealing, veracity, and good manners of the inquirer. There are, indeed, three events in our history which may be regarded as touchstones of party-men. An English Whig, who asserts the reality of the Popish Plot—an Irish Catholic, who denies the massacre in 1641—and a Scottish Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of Queen Mary—must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason; and must be left to their prejudices.”

mixed with affectation. In some very amusing letters to his friends written during this period he shows that if he was weak enough to feel vain of these distinctions, he had sincerity enough to say so.

The fashionable people of Paris, and especially the ladies, practised on the patient and good-humoured philosopher every torture which their extreme desire to render him and themselves distinguished could dictate. "From what has been already said of him," says Lord Charlemont, "it is apparent that his conversation to strangers, and particularly to Frenchmen, could be little delightful, and still more particularly one would suppose to French women; and yet no lady's toilette was complete without Hume's attendance. At the opera his broad unmeaning face was usually seen *entre deux jolis minois*. The ladies in France gave the ton, and the ton was deism." Madame D'Epinay, who terms him "Grand et gros historiographe d'Angleterre," mentions that it was the will of one of his entertainers that he should act the part of a sultan, endeavouring to secure by his eloquence the affection of two beautiful female slaves. The philosopher was accordingly whiskered, turbaned, and blackened, and placed on a sofa betwixt two of the most celebrated beauties of Paris. According to the instructions he had received, he bent his knees, and struck his breast (or, as madame has it, "le ventre"), but his tongue could not be brought to assist his actions further than by uttering "Eh bien! mes demoiselles—Eh bien! vous voilà donc—Eh bien! vous voilà—vous voilà ici?" exclamations which he repeated until he had exhausted the patience of those he was expected to entertain.¹

In 1765, Lord Hertford being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Mr. Hume, according to his expectation, was appointed secretary to the embassy, and he officiated as chargé d'affaires until the arrival of the Duke of Richmond. Hume, who had a singular antipathy to England, and who had previously enjoyed himself only in the midst of his social literary circle at Edinburgh, insensibly acquired a relish for the good-humoured politeness and the gaiety of the French; and on his return home in 1766 he left behind him a number of regretted friends, among whom were two celebrated females, the Marchioness De Barbantane and the Countess De Boufflers, who conducted a friendly, and even extremely intimate, correspondence with the philosopher to the day of his death.²

In the order of time we come now to the discussion of an incident connected with his residence on the Continent which forms a very remarkable epoch in the life of Hume—we mean his controversy with Rousseau. Before making any statements, however, it is right to warn our readers that an account of this memorable transaction, sufficient to give him an acquaintance with all its peculiarities, would exceed our limits, which permit of but a slight glance at the incidents, and that indeed it is quite impossible to form a conception of the grotesqueness of some of the incidents, and the peculiarities of character so vividly displayed, without a perusal of the original documents, which are easily accessible, and will well repay the trouble of perusal.

When in 1762 the parliament of Paris issued an *arrêt* against Rousseau on account of his opinions, Hume was applied to by a friend in Paris to discover for him a retreat in England. Hume willingly undertook a task so congenial, but it did not suit the celebrated exile at that time to avail himself of his offer. Rousseau, taking every opportunity to complain of

the misfortunes he suffered, the transaction with Hume was again set on foot at the instigation of the Marchioness De Verdin. Hume wrote to Rousseau, offering his services, and the latter returned him an answer overflowing with extravagant gratitude. Rousseau had, it appeared, discovered an ingenious method of making himself interesting: he pretended extreme poverty, and had offers of assistance repeatedly made him, which he publicly and disdainfully refused, while he had in reality, as Hume afterwards discovered, resources sufficient to provide for his support. In pure simplicity Hume formed several designs for imposing on Rousseau's ignorance of the world, and establishing him comfortably in life, without allowing him to know that he was assisted by others; and the plan finally concluded and acted on was, that he should be comfortably boarded in the mansion of Mr. Davenport, at Wooton, in the county of Derby—a gentleman who kindly undertook to lull the suspicions of the irritable philosopher by accepting of a remuneration amounting to £30 a year. Rousseau arrived in London, and appearing in public in his Armenian dress, excited much notice, both from the public in general, and from literary men. Hume, by his interest with the government, obtained for him a pension of £100 a year, which it suited those in authority to wish should be kept secret. Rousseau expressed much satisfaction at this condition, but he afterwards declined the grant, hinting at the secrecy as an impediment to his acceptance of it; his zealous friend procured the removal of this impediment, and the pension was again offered, but its publicity afforded a far more gratifying opportunity of refusal. Immediately after he had retired to Wooton with his housekeeper and his dog, nothing occurred apparently to infringe his amicable intercourse with Hume; but that individual was little aware of the storm in preparation. The foreign philosopher began to discover the interest of his first appearance in Britain subsiding. He was not in a place where he could be followed by crowds of wondering admirers; the press was lukewarm and regardless, and sometimes ventured to bestow on him a sneer; and above all, no one sought to persecute him. The feelings which these unpleasant circumstances occasioned appear to have been roused to sudden action by a sarcastic letter in the name of the King of Prussia, of which Rousseau presumed D'Alembert to have been the author, but which was claimed by Horace Walpole, and which made the circle of the European journals; and by an anonymous critique of a somewhat slighting nature, which had issued from a British magazine, but which appears not to have been remarked or much known at the period. Of these two productions it pleased Rousseau to presume David Hume the instigator, and he immediately framed in his mind the idea of a black project laid for his ruin, countenanced and devised by his benefactor under the mask of friendship. Rousseau then wrote a fierce letter to Hume, charging him in somewhat vague terms with a number of horrible designs, and in the general manner of those who bring accusations of unutterable things, referring him to his own guilty breast for a more full explanation. Hume naturally requested a farther explanation of the meaning of this ominous epistle, and he received in answer a narrative which occupies forty printed pages. It were vain to enumerate the subjects of complaint in this celebrated document. There was an accusation of terrible affectation on the part of Hume in getting a portrait of the unfortunate exile engraved; he had insulted him by procuring dinners to be sent to his lodgings in London (a circumstance which Hume accounted for on the ground

¹ *Mémoires et Correspondance de Madame D'Epinay*, iii. 284.

² *General Correspondence of David Hume*, 410, 1826. *passim*.

of there having been no convenient chop-house in the neighbourhood). He had also flattered him (an attention which Hume maintains was not unacceptable at the period) with a deep-laid malignity. Hume had also formed a plan of opening all his letters and examining his correspondence (an accusation which Hume denied). Hume was intimate with the son of an individual who entertained towards Rousseau a mortal hatred. A narrative of the treatment which Rousseau had met with at Neuchâtel, and which he wished to have published in England, was delayed at the press; but we shall give in Rousseau's own words (as translated) the most deadly article of the charge, premising that the circumstances were occasioned by Hume's having attempted to impose on him a coach hired and paid for as a retour vehicle:—"As we were sitting one evening, after supper, silently by the fire-side, I caught his eye intently fixed on mine, as indeed happened very often: and that in a manner of which it is very difficult to give an idea. At that time he gave me a steadfast, piercing look, mixed with a sneer, which greatly disturbed me. To get rid of the embarrassment I lay under, I endeavoured to look full at him in my turn; but in fixing my eyes against his I felt the most inexpressible terror, and was obliged soon to turn them away. The speech and physiognomy of the good David is that of an honest man; but where, great God! did this good man borrow those eyes he fixes so sternly and unaccountably on those of his friends? The impression of this look remained with me and gave me much uneasiness. My trouble increased even to a degree of fainting; and if I had not been relieved by an effusion of tears I had been suffocated. Presently after this I was seized with the most violent remorse; I even despised myself; till at length in a transport, which I still remember with delight, I sprang on his neck, embraced him eagerly, while almost choked with sobbing, and bathed in tears, I cried out in broken accents, No, no, David Hume cannot be treacherous. If he be not the best of men, he must be the basest of mankind. David Hume politely returned my embraces, and, gently tapping me on the back, repeated several times, in a good-natured and easy tone, Why, what, my dear sir! nay, my dear sir! Oh, my dear sir! He said nothing more. I felt my heart yearn within me. We went to bed; and I set out the next day for the country."

The charge terminates with accusing Hume of wilful blindness, in not being aware, from the neglect with which Rousseau treated him, that the blackness of his heart had been discovered. Soon after the controversy was terminated, a ludicrous account of its amusing circumstances was given to the public; the extreme wit and humorous pungency of which will excuse our insertion of it, while we may also mention, that with its air of railery it gives an extremely correct abstract of the charge of Rousseau. It is worthy of remark, that the terms made use of show the author to have been colloquially acquainted with the technicalities of *Scottish law*, although it is not likely that a professional person would have introduced terms applicable only to civil transactions into the model of a criminal indictment. We have found this production in the *Scots Magazine*. Mr. Ritchie says it appeared in the *St. James's Chronicle*: in which it may have been first published.

HEADS OF AN INDICTMENT LAID BY J. J. ROUSSEAU,
PHILOSOPHER, AGAINST D. HUME, ESQ.

1. That the said David Hume, to the great scandal of philosophy, and not having the fitness of things before his eyes, did concert a plan with Messrs.

Froachin, Voltaire, and D'Alembert, to ruin the said J. J. Rousseau for ever by bringing him over to England, and there settling him to his heart's content.

2. That the said David Hume did, with a malicious and traitorous intent, procure, or cause to be procured, by himself or somebody else, one pension of the yearly value of £100, or thereabouts, to be paid to the said J. J. Rousseau, on account of his being a philosopher, either privately or publicly, as to him, the said J. J. Rousseau, should seem meet.

3. That the said David Hume did, one night after he left Paris, put the said J. J. Rousseau in bodily fear by talking in his sleep; although the said J. J. Rousseau doth not know whether the said David Hume was really asleep, or whether he shammed Abraham, or what he meant.

4. That, at another time, as the said David Hume and the said J. J. Rousseau were sitting opposite each other by the fireside in London, he, the said David Hume, did look at him, the said J. J. Rousseau, in a manner of which it is difficult to give any idea; that he, the said J. J. Rousseau, to get rid of the embarrassment he was under, endeavoured to look full at him, the said David Hume, in return, to try if he could not stare him out of countenance; but in fixing his eyes against his, the said David Hume's, he felt the most inexpressible terror, and was obliged to turn them away, inasmuch that the said J. J. Rousseau doth in his heart think and believe, as much as he believes anything, that he the said David Hume is a certain composition of a white-witch and a rattlesnake.

5. That the said David Hume on the same evening, after politely returning the embraces of him, the said J. J. Rousseau, and gently tapping him on the back, did repeat several times in a good-natured easy tone, the words, "Why, what, my dear sir! Nay, my dear sir! Oh, my dear sir!"—From whence the said J. J. Rousseau doth conclude, as he thinks upon solid and sufficient grounds, that he the said David Hume is a traitor; albeit he, the said J. J. Rousseau, doth acknowledge that the physiognomy of the good David is that of an honest man, all but those terrible eyes of his, which he must have borrowed; but he, the said J. J. Rousseau, vows to God he cannot conceive from whom or what.

6. That the said David Hume hath more inquisitiveness about him than becometh a philosopher, and did never let slip an opportunity of being alone with the governante of him, the said J. J. Rousseau.

7. That the said David Hume did most atrociously and flagitiously put him, the said J. J. Rousseau, philosopher, into a passion; as knowing that then he would be guilty of a number of absurdities.

8. That the said David Hume must have published Mr. Walpole's letter in the newspapers, because, at that time, there was neither man, woman, nor child in the island of Great Britain, but the said David Hume, the said J. J. Rousseau, and the printers of the several newspapers aforesaid.

9. That somebody in a certain magazine, and somebody else in a certain newspaper, said something against him, the said John James Rousseau, which he, the said J. J. Rousseau, is persuaded, for the reason above mentioned, could be nobody but the said David Hume.

10. That the said J. J. Rousseau knows that he, the said David Hume, did open and peruse the letters of him, the said J. J. Rousseau, because he one day saw the said David Hume go out of the room after his own servant, who had at that time a letter of the said J. J. Rousseau's in his hands; which must have been in order to take it from the servant, open it, and read the contents.

11. That the said David Hume did, at the instigation of the devil, in a most wicked and unnatural manner, send, or cause to be sent, to the lodgings of him, the said J. J. Rousseau, one dish of beef-steaks, thereby meaning to insinuate that he, the said J. J. Rousseau, was a beggar, and came over to England to ask alms; whereas, be it known to all men by these presents, that he, the said John James Rousseau, brought with him the means of sustenance, and did not come with an empty purse; as he doubts not but he can live upon his labours with the assistance of his friends; and in short can do better without the said David Hume than with him.

12. That besides all these facts put together, the said J. J. Rousseau did not like a certain appearance of things on the whole.

Rousseau, with his accustomed activity on such occasions, loudly repeated his complaints to the world, and filled the ears of his friends with the villany of his seeming benefactor. The method which Hume felt himself compelled to adopt for his own justification was one which proved a severe punishment to his opponent; he published the correspondence, with a few explanatory observations, and was ever afterwards silent on the subject. Some have thought that he ought to have remained silent from the commencement, and that such was his wish we have ample proof from his correspondence at that period, but to have continued so in the face of the declarations of his enemy, he must have been more than human; and the danger which his fame incurred from the acts of a man who had the means of making what he said respected will at least *justify* him.

Hume had returned to Edinburgh with the renewed intention of there spending his days in retirement, and in the affluence which his frugality, perseverance, genius, and good conduct had acquired for him; but in 1765, at the solicitation of General Conway, he acted for that gentleman as an under-secretary of state. It is probable that he did not make a better under-secretary than most men of equally diligent habits might have done, and nothing occurs worthy of notice during his tenure of that office, which he resigned in January, 1768, when General Conway resigned his secretaryship.

We have nothing to record from this period till we come to the closing scene of the philosopher's life. In the spring of 1775 he was struck with a disorder of the bowels, which he soon became aware brought with it the sure prognostication of a speedy end. "I now," he says, "reckon upon a speedy dissolution. I have suffered very little pain from my disorder; and what is more strange, have, notwithstanding the great decline of my person, never suffered a moment's abatement of my spirits, inasmuch, that were I to name the period of my life which I should most choose to pass over again, I might be tempted to point to this latter period. I possess the same ardour as ever in study, and the same gaiety in company. I consider, besides, that a man of sixty-five, by dying, cuts off only a few years of infirmities, and though I see many symptoms of my literary reputation breaking out at last with additional lustre, I know that I could have but few years to enjoy it. It is difficult to be more detached from life than I am at present."

The entreaties of his friends prevailed on Hume to make a last effort to regain his health by drinking the Bath waters, and he left Edinburgh for that purpose in the month of April, after having prepared his will and written the memoir of himself so often referred to. The journey had the effect of partly

alleviating Mr. Hume's disorder, but it returned with renewed virulence. While his strength permitted such an attempt, he called a meeting of his literary friends to partake with him of a farewell dinner. The invitation sent to Dr. Blair is extant, and is in these terms: "Mr. John Hume, *alias* Home, *alias* the late lord-conservator, *alias* the late minister of the gospel at Athelstaneford, has calculated matters so as to arrive infallibly with his friend in St. David Street on Wednesday evening. He has asked several of Dr. Blair's friends to dine with him there on Thursday, being the 4th of July, and begs the favour of the doctor to make one of the number." Subjoined to the card there is this note in Dr. Blair's handwriting: "*Mem.* This the last note received from David Hume. He died on the 25th of August, 1776." This mournful festival, in honour as it were of the departure of the most esteemed and illustrious member of their brilliant circle, was attended by Lord Elibank, Adam Smith, Dr. Blair, Dr. Black, Professor Ferguson, and John Home. On Sunday, the 25th August, 1776, Mr. Hume expired. Of the manner of his death, after the beautiful picture which has been drawn of the event by his friend Adam Smith, we need not enlarge. The calmness of his last moments, unexpected by many, was in every one's mouth at the period, and it is still well known. He was buried on a point of rock overhanging the old town of Edinburgh, now surrounded by buildings, but then bare and wild—the spot he had himself chosen for the purpose. A conflict betwixt a vague horror at his imputed opinions, and respect for the individual who had passed among them a life so irreproachable, created a sensation among the populace of Edinburgh, and a crowd of people attended the body to its grave, which for some time was an object of curiosity. According to his request Hume's *Dialogues on Natural Religion* were published after his death, a beautifully classic piece of composition, bringing us back to the days of Cicero. It treats of many of the speculations propounded in his other works.

HUME, JOSEPH, M.P. This distinguished member of parliament and political reformer was one of the many Scotsmen who, without the advantages of birth, rank, inheritance, or social influence, raised himself to place and political eminence, and won for himself a high name among the chief men of the age. He was born at Montrose, in January, 1777. His father, who was master of a small coasting vessel trading from that town, died, leaving his widow and a numerous family, of whom Joseph was a younger son, in very narrow circumstances. But this circumstance only roused the mother's heart to double exertion: she opened a small crockery shop (some allow it was only a stall) in the town of Montrose, and from the profits of her humble trade supported her children. The education of Joseph was owing to a curious circumstance. The Honourable William Maule, father of the present Earl of Dalhousie, professed himself a believer in animal magnetism, or mesmerism, at that time a new and wonderful science, and to convince his incredulous companions who were assembled with him at the inn of Montrose, he engaged at that distance so powerfully to magnetize the old lady that she would break her whole stock of crockery. He accordingly commenced his conjurations in the wonted form—and to the astonishment as well as awe of the young unbelievers, Mrs. Hume commenced the work of destruction until every cup and pitcher was shivered into potsherds. It is unnecessary of course to add that the whole affair was preconcerted, and that she acted according

to his instructions. When Mr. Maule had liberally repaid her for the damage, he added, "and now, my good woman, is there anything else I can do for you?" She replied, "She had a son, a sharp little fellow, whom she wished to receive a better education than she could give him." She alluded to Joseph, the future smasher of abuses and superfluities in the House of Commons. Mr. Maule saw the boy, was well pleased with him, and sent him to school, and afterwards assisted him at college. His provident mother, who afterwards traded in coals, was of such an industrious independent spirit, that after providing for her family she continued her occupation to the last, and refused every offer of her son to place her in a better position. In such a resolute disinterested spirit who can fail to recognize the character which was inherited by the member for Montrose and Middlesex?

The education which Joseph Hume received in the schools of Montrose was more practical and useful than ample, consisting of reading, writing and arithmetic, and a little Latin. At the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to a surgeon in his native town, with whom he remained three years, chiefly employed in compounding prescriptions, and in 1793 he attended the medical classes of the college of Edinburgh. In 1796 he was admitted a member of the College of Surgeons, after which he repaired to London, "walked the hospitals," and through the influence of the late Mr. Daniel Scott, M.P. for Forfar, and Maule of Panmure, he was entered assistant-surgeon in the marine service of the East India Company. In 1797, and the following year, he made his first voyage to India and then home, which occupied eighteen months. In his second voyage to India, in one of those wretched arks which the Company employed, and which was filled, or rather crammed, with all kinds of passengers, high and low, delicate and desperate, that most important functionary, the purser, accidentally died. In this dilemma Joseph Hume volunteered to supply his place, and discharged the duties of the office in addition to his own as surgeon so effectually as to secure the goodwill of all on board. In consequence of this, when the ship arrived in Calcutta, he received a grateful testimonial from all on board—officers, crew, and passengers—for his gratuitous services, through which he landed with the best of recommendations, and was enabled to commence the business of life with every prospect of success.

On landing in India for his professional duties, the quick eye and practical sense of the young Scotch surgeon detected a grievous error in the Anglo-Indian government. Although the Company was the ruling power, and held its dominion by a precarious tenure, few of its officials were acquainted with the language of the people. It was the same unpardonable negligence which at a later day allowed the Indian mutiny to ripen undetected, until it burst forth into action, and nearly occasioned the loss of our empire in India. Mr. Hume forthwith set himself to learn the Indian languages, and especially the Persian, the court language of India; and to these difficult studies, which he mastered with rapidity and ease, he added a knowledge of the religions of the country through all their multiplied sects and superstitions. Nor was the fit reward of all these studies long delayed. In 1802-3, when Lord Lake's *Mahratta* war was about to break out, it was discovered with dismay that the gunpowder in store was useless from damp. This carelessness, by which the whole campaign would have been arrested, was happily remedied by Hume's knowledge of chemistry: he offered to restore the gunpowder to its former state

of efficiency, and completely succeeded. The attention of government was now fixed upon him as a most able and useful servant, and too much could not be done for one who had relieved them in such a difficulty. In the campaign his knowledge of the Eastern tongues was equally available. Being attached to a regiment in his medical capacity, the commander-in-chief was in need of an interpreter to negotiate with the hostile powers, and none in the army was found so capable of the office as Joseph Hume. His services in this department led to employment in others, so that he was not only army surgeon and interpreter, but was also paymaster and postmaster of the forces, in the prize agencies, and the commissariat. Each office, in itself sufficient for one man, he discharged either collectively or successively, with an ability that never blundered and an energy that never was weary. The effect of this wonderful power of application was exemplified near the close of his life, when he was an active and most efficient member of a select committee of the House of Commons on the military, ordnance, and commissariat expenditure. On this occasion, when Mr. Hume's colleagues were astounded at his minute and intelligent examination of witnesses, and could not help expressing their astonishment, he observed, "You forget I was once commissary-general to an army of 12,000 men in India." For such an amount and variety of labour Mr. Hume was so fortunate as to be adequately rewarded; and when after five years this Indian war terminated, he had realized a fortune of thirty or forty thousand pounds. And yet though rapidly, it had been honestly and worthily, won. He had as yet only passed his thirtieth year, and by ten or twenty more years of similar industry he might have retired from India with the fortune of a millionaire, and the prospect of continued years to enjoy it. But content with what he had already won, and which was more than sufficient for his simple wants, he retired from his profession in the service of the East India Company, and returned to England. It is probable that having tried his strength, and ascertained what he might accomplish, he already contemplated that public career at home for which his Indian training was a hopeful commencement.

On returning to England in 1808, and enjoying a short period of rest, Mr. Hume started afresh for the new career that lay before him. In acquiring the knowledge of European politics he resolved to examine and judge for himself, and in 1809 he visited nearly every populous town in the United Kingdom, examining the condition of their inhabitants, and the state of their ports, commerce, and manufactures. Having made this exploration of England, Scotland, and Ireland, he devoted the years 1810 and 1811 to foreign travel, and applied a similar inquest to the Continent, Spain, Portugal, Sicily, Malta, Sardinia, Greece, the Ionian Isles, Turkey, Egypt, &c. As yet his political opinions, so far as party was concerned, leaned to the Tory side: among its members his earlier associations had been formed, and his first political convictions adopted, while his life of constant occupation in India had afforded little opportunity for further inquiry. To men so situated the orthodoxy of their political creed is but a matter of secondary consideration, and so it was with Joseph Hume. On returning from his foreign tour, his first aim was to obtain a seat in the House of Commons; and in this he was soon successful. Sir John Lowther Johnston, patron of the borough of Weymouth, and also its representative in the commons, having died, a Scotch solicitor of the deceased baronet introduced Mr. Hume to the constituents for a valuable consideration, and the latter succeeded to the vacant

seat in January, 1812. In this manner the future Radical came into parliament as a Tory, and at his entrance took his seat on the treasury bench, and supported the Perceval administration. As this was the last session of parliament, his bargain had included his re-election, and on the dissolution in the following autumn he naturally expected to be returned anew. But a difficulty had already occurred sufficient to prevent his re-election. On becoming a member of parliament, his radical and reforming tendencies had begun to break out like an instinct. He had been wont, in periodically visiting his constituents, to give them an account of his stewardship, and this the tranquil borough regarded as a work of supererogation. He had also advocated schools and other social benefits, a proceeding that savoured of Radicalism. There were suspicious tendencies which the Duke of Cumberland and his associate trustees could not away with, and Mr. Hume was not re-appointed to represent Weymouth and Melcombe Regis. An arbitration followed, by the verdict of which he was paid an equivalent in money for breach of contract; but this instance of the corruptions of the borough system seems to have convinced Mr. Hume of the existing abuses in our government, and the necessity of reforming them. The die was cast, and he would be a Tory no longer.

During the six years that Mr. Hume ceased to have a seat in the House of Commons his mind was not idle, and we find him constantly employed, chiefly in those pursuits that qualified him for readmission to parliament. He was an active member of the central committee of the Lancastrian school system. He formed an acquaintanceship with Francis Place, John Mill, Sir John Bowring, and other leading members of the Bentham school of political reformers, whose ideas he afterwards turned to practical account in the moral and intellectual interests of the working classes, and in the improvement of their physical condition. He published a pamphlet advocating the establishment of savings-banks, and explanatory of the principles on which they were subsequently founded. But of all Mr. Hume's aspirations, next to a seat in the House of Commons, was that of a directorship in the East India Company, as no one had studied more closely the nature and necessities of our Indian government. But these qualifications were such as many of the electors did not value, and not a few were interested in excluding. His repeated applications were therefore unsuccessful, and these rejections only made him more earnest in exposing the abuses of our Indian government at every meeting of the proprietors. It happened however with him, as with a few of the choice favourites of fortune, that while seeking what he could not obtain, he unexpectedly got something better in its room. The late Mr. Burnley of Guildford Street had four votes, and great influence at the India House, but a rooted dislike to all canvassing for directorships. This Mr. Hume knew; but knowing also that truth is great and must in the end prevail, he obtained access to this gentleman, and besought his interest, representing the greatness of Indian abuses, the efficacy of his remedy, and the advantages that would accrue to the holders of India stock, were he admitted to the directorship. His earnestness, his knowledge of the subject, and the lucid manner in which he explained it, moved the worthy gentleman, and what was of still more account, his daughter also, so that although the canvasser did not become a director of the East India Company, he became Miss Burnley's husband—a union by which his fortune, and better still, his happiness, was more than doubled.

Having remained unseated for six long years, but which were not years of idleness, Mr. Hume at last re-entered parliament, which met on the 14th January, 1819. His political principles were matured, his deeds had announced them both to friend and enemy, and there was no danger that he would take his seat as a neutral or as a doubtful partisan. He entered as representative of the Aberdeen district of burghs, which comprised his native town of Montrose, with Brechin, Inverberrie, and Aberbrothock. The election also was suited to the man and the political doctrines he held, for it was made through the influence of the liberal party of the north of Scotland, with his early patron Lord Panmure at their head, after a hard fight with the borough-mongers, who wished to return a man of their own stamp. In 1830 Mr. Hume gave up his seat for Montrose, being returned unopposed for Middlesex, having for his colleague Mr. Byng, the late "father of the House of Commons." For Middlesex he continued to sit until the dissolution of parliament in 1837, when in July Colonel Wood defeated him by a small majority. In the same month, however, he was returned through the influence of Mr. Daniel O'Connell for Kilkenny. In 1841 he contested for Leeds, and there also was unsuccessful. But in 1842, on the retirement of Mr. Chalmers from Montrose, Mr. Hume succeeded him, and continued to represent his native town until the close of his life. Such a long political career, and one of such incessant action, however, it would be impossible to detail or even to epitomize within ordinary limits. "How," exclaims an eloquent writer in the *Times* newspaper, "are we to characterize or even note the herculean labours of this prodigy in representative government? It is impossible, within the limits of volumes, to record his innumerable speeches in parliament, his motions, his returns, his select committees, his reports, his personal and party contests in the House of Commons, much less his various agitations 'out of doors.' His speeches alone, during thirty-seven years, occupy volumes of Hansard. In some, Mr. Hume's speeches occur in 150 pages, on various political and legislative questions."

Continuing the theme, the writer contents himself with the following very brief summary: "We cannot attempt even an analysis of the chief subjects of his active and busy discussion. He is the modern Prynne, who defies all reprint, comment, or review. In this age of levelling legislation on social interests, he was always 'on his legs.' He spoke oftener, and frequently made longer speeches, than any other member of the commons since England enjoyed a House of Commons. In the court of directors and in parliament he stood for many years almost alone contending for the freedom of trade against the East India monopoly. He proposed sweeping and repeated plans of reform of the army, navy, and ordinance, and of almost every civil department, of the established churches and ecclesiastical courts, of the civil and criminal laws, of the system of public accounts, of general taxation, duties, and customs. He early advocated the abolition of military flogging, naval impressment, and imprisonment for debt. He carried, almost single-handed, the repeal of the old combination laws, the prohibition of the export of machinery, and the act preventing workmen from going abroad. He led forlorn hopes against colonial abuses, against town and country municipal self-elect government, election expenses, the licensing systems, the duties on paper, print, 'on tea, tobacco, and snuff.' He assaulted and carried by storm Orange lodges and close vestries, to say nothing of his aid of Catholic emancipation, the repeal of the test and

corporation with the return of 1832. He was the unrelenting persecutor of sinecurists, drones, and old men pretending to do the work of the young in the state. That of course he was a member of every liberal and radical club and association. He occupied for years the throne at the old Crown and Anchor Tavern, in Palace-yard, and in Covent-garden meetings."

In the preceding enumeration of Joseph Hume's political achievements the carrying of Orange lodges by storm has been mentioned—and as this event was little understood at the time, and was afterwards hushed up, some explanation of the event may be necessary. From Ireland these Orange institutions had been transplanted into England, where they took root and flourished, but where they also acquired a new and strange character from the change of soil and climate. Their avowed object was the preservation of the Protestant religion, but to effect this object they contemplated political changes such as the Orange societies of Ireland had never dreamt of. In 1828 they elected the Duke of Cumberland for their grand-master, and on ascending his Orange throne he appointed a certain Lieutenant-colonel Fairman as his envoy, to establish Orangeism wherever he could, and by whatever means he thought proper. This commission the colonel executed with zeal and secrecy at least, if not with honesty and loyalty: he went to Dublin for the purpose of combining its lodges with those of England, and traversed the island of Great Britain to establish lodges in the principal towns of England and Scotland. The last illness of George IV. and the carrying of the catholic emancipation act happened opportunely for the purpose, and the leaders of these mysterious associations began to express themselves more freely. They pretended that the religion of these Protestant kingdoms was to be overthrown, and that, in the event of the royal demise, the Duke of Wellington would seize the vacant throne. To avert such consequences, they also suggested that on the death of George IV. William should be set aside, and a regency formed, of which the Duke of Cumberland should be the head. The conspiracy, although a crazy one, and known to a few leaders, was also full of danger, as of the 381 lodges existing in Great Britain, 30 were in the army: their members were 140,000 in Great Britain, and 175,000 in Ireland, among whom were several peers and members of parliament, with a right reverend prelate for their grand chaplain. It was a coalition sufficient when the opportunity had arrived to overthrow a government and revolutionize a kingdom. But dark and treasonable as were its ulterior designs, the danger was revealed by the circulars of the lodges and the letters of Colonel Fairman, and the merit of the discovery was due to the energy and diligence of Mr. Hume. No sooner was the full blaze of daylight thrown upon this infamous plot than it shrank into helplessness, and even the members themselves were astonished at the designs of which they had been made the accomplices. A committee of inquiry was appointed in the House of Commons, the convicting letters and documents were laid before it, and Mr. Hume moved eleven resolutions, by which Orange lodges were suppressed, and the Duke of Cumberland censured. The exposure of the conspiracy had united all classes in politics against it, while the high rank and political influence of its leading members procured its extinction in a silent and gentle form. It was thus little noticed at the time, and is now almost forgot. And yet, it was not the less a slumbering volcano, that might be kindled at any moment, and the upheaving of which would

have been attended with dangers too great to calculate. Soon after the Duke of Cumberland became King of Hanover, and Queen Victoria peacefully succeeded to the British throne.

After the brief enumeration which we have given from the *Times* of a few of those principal objects to which the attention of Joseph Hume as a reformer was directed, we cannot do better than quote from another influential journal the following summary of the moral and political effects of his statesmanship during his long and active career:—"His greatest merit was his usefulness. An uncompromising honesty; an instinctive hatred of abuses; an innate love of liberty; and an unflinching will to extend its benefits to others—these, and the close experience of men derived by himself during the earlier part of his life, rendered Mr. Hume one of the most powerful, and at the same time one of the most practical, of reformers in a reforming age. Others might make more flowery speeches, but he secured more lasting fruits. His long, independent, and disinterested career; his untiring advocacy of the extension and improvement of the education of the people; his unflinching opposition to official abuses; his resolute exposure of their causes and consequences; his constitutional hatred of extravagance—enabled him to effect reforms of the most useful kind, of which few men have kept a record, but of which the effects are shown in the improved condition of the people, in the simplification and lucidity of the public accounts, in the establishment of a system of public morality till his time unknown, and, above all, in the guarantees established against the renewal of the abuses he overthrew. It would, however, be wrong to suppose that Mr. Hume's mind was contracted to the effecting mere pecuniary savings, although the mountain of abuses he had to destroy rendered necessary an incessant application to the task. He was a reformer of a higher order, quite capable of appreciating the influence of public honesty and morality on the national character, and desirous to elevate by education the standard of national intelligence. He met with his reward in the tardy but sincere homage paid to his integrity and long service by his most inveterate political opponents, and in the eulogy publicly passed on him by the most competent parliamentary judge of modern times—the late Sir Robert Peel. Mr. Hume passes to the grave honoured not more for his public services than for his private worth, his unswerving integrity, his unselfishness, his gentleness, and his unvarying consideration for others. His unostentatious but eminently successful and useful career remains as an example to those who may succeed him, in the admirable qualities he displayed, although happily his exertions have left them without the same field for their display."¹

After having shamed down the scorn and overcome the opposition of such a long political conflict—after having made his small minority the chief power in the state, and established his obnoxious principles as recognized axioms in British government—and after having been the artificer of his own fortune and fame, and risen from the office of an obscure surgeon to that of a leader in the British parliament and a statesman of European reputation, Mr. Hume died at his seat, Burnley Hall, Norfolk, on February 20, 1855, at the age of seventy-eight years. Such a long life amidst the incessant wear and tear of public action was owing to that *sana mens in corpore sano* for which he was so remarkable, combined with those regular and temperate habits from which he was never known to deviate. No difficulty could deter

¹ *Morning Chronicle*.

and no amount of labour weary him, and any crisis, however sudden or annoying, seemed to have no effect in ruffling his equanimity. He was always self-possessed, and always ready for the occasion, whether of the hour or the moment, while his square broad-set frame, the perfection of health, strength, and endurance, seemed not only to defy but to court opposition, in the sure confidence that he could bear it down and surmount it. Thus, even his qualities, physical as well as mental, were admirably accommodated to his field of action and the work that lay before him. At the time of his death, besides being M.P. for the Montrose district of burghs, he was deputy-lieutenant of Middlesex, a magistrate in Westminster and the counties of Middlesex and Norfolk, a vice-president of the Society of Arts, F.R.S. and F.R.A.S. He had also been twice lord-rector of the university of Aberdeen. He was survived by his wife and a numerous family; some of the latter are married—and although himself the most unpoetical and unideal of men, he was the father of two poets, of whom one, his eldest son, Mr. Joseph Burnley Hume, a barrister-at-law, published a poetical memoir of his parent; while the other, a daughter, dedicated to him a volume of her poetry, which was favourably received by the public. Amidst the universal excitement occasioned by the death of Mr. Hume, it was resolved to erect for him a national monument, and for the purpose of including every class of society, and every individual however poor in such a testimonial, it was resolved that the contribution of each subscriber should not exceed one penny. But the Crimean war which had already commenced, and the terrible Indian mutiny which followed, were of too exciting a character for the immediate realization of such a purpose. We trust, however, that although postponed it has not been abandoned, and that before the present generation passes away the proposal will be resumed of thus signaling the worth of a universal benefactor. In the meantime, the political history of Britain during the first half of the present century, and the manifold improvements in its government—form a monument to the memory of Joseph Hume more graceful than any mausoleum, and more lasting than any pyramid.

HUME, PATRICK, first Earl of Marchmont, a distinguished patriot and statesman, was born January 13th, 1641. His original place in society was that of the laird of Polwarth, in Berwickshire, being the eldest son of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, the representative of an old baronial family, by Christian Hamilton, daughter of Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick. The subject of our memoir succeeded his father in 1648, while as yet a mere child; and was accordingly indebted to his excellent mother for the better part of his early education. He appears to have been brought up by her in the strictest tenets of the Presbyterian religion, which flourished, without any constraint upon its private exercise, during all his early years, till it was discontinued by government after the Restoration. Sir Patrick, however, was not only an admirer of the form of worship enjoined by that religious system, but a zealous maintainer of its pretensions to a divine right as the only true church of Christ; and this, it is said, was what first inspired him with the feelings of a patriot. Having been sent to parliament in 1665 as representative of the county of Berwick, he soon distinguished himself by the opposition which he gave, along with the Duke of Hamilton and others, to the headlong measures of the government. In 1673 the king sent a letter to parliament desiring a levy of soldiers and

money to support them, and the Duke of Lauderdale moved that it be referred to the lords of the articles, who were always at the beck of government. This proposal, though strictly in accordance with the custom of the Scottish parliament, was opposed by the Duke of Hamilton, who asserted that the royal wishes ought to be considered by the whole assembled representatives of the nation. On Sir Patrick Hume expressing his concurrence with the duke, he was openly pointed out to parliament by Lauderdale as a dangerous person. Hereupon Sir Patrick said, "he hoped this was a free parliament, and it concerned all the members to be free in what concerned the nation." In the ensuing year he was one of those who went with the Duke of Hamilton to lay the grievances of the nation before the king, whose delusive answer to their application is well known. It was not possible that a person who maintained so free a spirit in such an age could long escape trouble. In 1675, having remonstrated against the measure for establishing garrisons to keep down the people, he was committed by the privy-council to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as "a factious person, and one who had done that which might usher in confusion." After suffering confinement for six months in Stirling Castle, he was liberated through the intercession of friends, but not long after was again confined, and altogether suffered imprisonment for about two years. The order for his liberation, dated 17th April, 1679, states that "he had been imprisoned for reasons known to his majesty, and tending to secure the public peace;" and adds, "the occasions of suspicion and public jealousy being over, he is ordered to be liberate." To continue our memoir in the words of Mr. George Crawford,¹ who had received information from Sir Patrick's own mouth, "Finding after this that the ministers of state were most earnestly set on his destruction, and that he could not live in security at home, he went to England, and entered into a strict friendship with the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Lord Russell, who was his near relation. With them he often met, and had many conferences on the state of Scotland, and what might be done there to secure the kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power, in the event of a popish successor. But, as his lordship protested to me, there never passed among them the least intimation of any design against the king's life, or the Duke of York's; that was what they all had an abhorrence of. But he said he thought it was lawful for subjects, being under such pressures, to try how they might be relieved from them; and their design never went further."

Notwithstanding the pure intentions of this little band of patriots, the government, as is well known, was able to fasten upon them the charge of having conspired the deaths of the king and his brother; and to this infamous accusation Lord Russell fell a victim in England, and Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood in Scotland. It was on the 24th of December, 1684, that the latter individual suffered; before that time Sir Patrick Hume, though conscious of innocence, had gone into hiding, being justified in that step by a degree of personal infirmity, which unfitted him for enduring imprisonment. The place selected for his concealment was the sepulchral vault of his family, underneath the parish church of Polwarth, about two miles from Redbraes Castle, the house in which he generally resided. Here he lived for many weeks of the autumn of 1684, without fire and hardly any light, and surrounded by the ghastly objects

¹ *Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown, and of the State in Scotland.*

which usually furnish forth such a scene. He was comforted, however, by the firmness of his own mind and the affections of his amiable family to suffer this dreary self-imprisonment without shrinking. No one knew of his concealment but his family, and one "Jamie Winter," a carpenter, of whose fidelity they had good reason to be assured. Having been provided with a bed through the aid of this humble friend, Sir Patrick depended for food and other necessities upon the heroic devotedness of his daughter Grizel, who, though only twelve years of age, nightly visited this dismal scene, without manifesting the least agitation either on account of real or imaginary dangers. Supported by such means, Sir Patrick never lost his cheerfulness of temper, but, on the contrary, could laugh heartily at any little incident detailed to him by his daughter. The noble child had no other means of obtaining his food except by secreting part of what she had upon her own plate at the family meals. Her having one day secured an entire sheep's-head, which her younger brother Alexander thought she had swallowed in a moment, supplied one of those domestic jests with which the fugitive father was entertained. While in this lonely place, Sir Patrick had no other reading than Buchanan's Psalms, which he conned so thoroughly that he ever after had the most of them by heart. As the winter advanced Lady Polwarth contrived a retreat underneath the floor of a low apartment at Redbraes, and thinking that this might serve to conceal her husband in the event of any search taking place, had him removed to his own house, where he accordingly lived for some time, till it was found one morning that the place designed for concealment had become half filled with water.

Warned by this incident, and by the execution of his friend Mr. Baillie, he resolved to remain no longer in his native country. It was projected that he should leave the house next morning in disguise, attended by his griever or farm-overseer, John Allan, who was instructed to give out that he was going to attend a horse-market at Morpeth. The party stole away by night, and had proceeded a considerable distance on their way, when Sir Patrick, falling into a reverie, parted company with his attendant, and did not discover the mistake till he found himself on the banks of the Tweed. This, however, was a most fortunate misadventure, for, soon after his parting with Allan, a company of soldiers that had been in search of him at Redbraes, and followed in the expectation of overtaking him, came up, and would have inevitably discovered and seized him if he had not been upon another track. On learning what had happened, he dismissed his servant, and, leaving the main road, reached London through by-ways. On this journey he represented himself as a surgeon, a character which he could have supported effectually, if called upon, as he carried a case of lancets, and was acquainted with their use. From London he found his way to France, and thence, after a short stay, walked on foot to Brussels, intending to converse with the Duke of Monmouth. Finding the duke had gone to the Hague, he proceeded to Holland, but did not immediately obtain a conference with that ill-fated nobleman. He had an audience, however, of the Prince of Orange, who, "looking on him (to use the words of Crawford) as a confessor for the Protestant religion and the liberties of his country, treated him with a very particular respect."

On the death of Charles II., in February, 1685, and the accession of the Duke of York, whose attachment to the Catholic faith rendered him, in their eyes, unfit to reign, the British refugees in Holland concerted two distinct but relative expeditions, for

the salvation of the Protestant religion, and to maintain "the natural and native rights and liberties of the free people of Britain and Ireland, and all the legal fences of society and property there established." One of these expeditions was to land in England, under the Duke of Monmouth, whose prosecution of his own views upon the crown, under the favour of the Protestant interest, is well known. The other was to be under the conduct of the Earl of Argyle, and was to land in Scotland, where it was expected that an army would be formed in the first place from his lordship's Highland retainers, and speedily reinforced by the malcontents of Ayrshire and other parts of the Lowlands. Sir Patrick Hume has left a memoir respecting the latter enterprise, from which it clearly appears that Monmouth gave distinct pledges (afterwards lamentably broken) as to the deference of his own personal views to the sense of the party in general—and also that Argyle acted throughout the whole preparations, and in the expedition itself, with a wilfulness, self-seeking, and want of energy, which were but poorly compensated by the general excellence of his motives and the many worthier points in his character. Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, alike admirable for the purity and steadiness of their political views, were next in command, or at least in the actual conduct of affairs, to the earl. The sword of the former gentleman is still preserved, and bears upon both sides of its blade the following inscription in German:

"Got bewarr die aufrechte Schotten,"

that is, God preserve the righteous Scots. It was not destined, however, that fortune should smile on this enterprise. The patriots sailed on the 2d of May, in three small vessels, and on the 6th arrived near Kirkwall in the Orkney Islands. The imprudent landing of two gentlemen, who were detained by the bishop, served to alarm the government, so that when the expedition reached the country of Argyle, he found that all his friends, upon whom he depended, had been placed under arrest at the capital. After trifling away several weeks in his own district, and affording time to the government to collect its forces, he formed the resolution of descending upon Glasgow. Meanwhile, Sir Patrick Hume and others were forfeited, their estates confiscated, and a high reward offered for their apprehension. While Argyle was lingering at Rothesay, Sir Patrick conducted the descent of a foraging party upon Greenock, and, though opposed by a party of militia, succeeded in his object. Allowing as largely as could be demanded for the personal feelings of this gentleman, it would really appear from his memoir that the only judgment or vigour displayed in the whole enterprise resided in himself and Sir John Cochrane. When the earl finally resolved at Kilpatrick to give up the appearance of an army, and let each man shift for himself, these two gentlemen conducted a party of less than a hundred men across the Clyde, in the face of a superior force of the enemy, and were able to protect themselves till they reached Muirdykes. Here they were assailed by a large troop of cavalry, and were compelled each man to fight a number of personal contests in order to save his own life. Yet, by a judicious disposition of their little force, and the most unflinching bravery and perseverance, Hume and Cochrane kept their ground till night, when, apprehending the approach of a larger body of foot, they stole away to an unfrequented part of the country, where they deliberately dispersed.

Sir Patrick Hume found protection for three weeks in the house of Montgomery of Lainshaw, where, or

at Kilwinning, it would appear that he wrote the memoir above alluded to, which was first printed in Rose's observations on Foxe's historical work, and latterly in the *Marchmont Papers* (1831). The better to confound the search made for him, a report of his death was circulated by his friends. Having escaped by a vessel from the west coast, he proceeded by Dublin to Bordeaux, where we find he was on the 15th of November. He now resumed his surgical character, and passed under the name of Dr. Peter Wallace. Early in 1686 he appears to have proceeded by Geneva to Holland, where his family joined him, and they resided together at Utrecht for three years. The picture of this distressed, but pious and cheerful family, is very affectingly given by Lady Murray, in the well-known memoirs of her mother, Lady Grizel Baillie. They were reduced to such straits through the absence of all regular income, that Lady Hume could not keep a servant, and Sir Patrick was obliged—but this must have been a labour of love—to teach his own children. They were frequently compelled to pawn their plate to provide the necessaries of life until a fresh supply reached them. Yet, even in this distress, their house was ever open to the numerous refugees who shared in their unhappy fate. Not forgetting political objects, Sir Patrick, in 1688, wrote a letter powerful in style and arguments, to put the Presbyterian clergy in Scotland on their guard against the insidious toleration which King James proposed for the purpose of effecting the ascendancy of Popery. In this document, which has been printed among the *Marchmont Papers* by Sir G. H. Rose, we find him giving an animated picture of the Prince of Orange, whom he already contemplated as the future deliverer of his country, and no doubt wished to point in that character to the attention of Scotsmen; "one," says he, "bred a Calvinist, who, for religious practice, excels most men so high in quality, and is equal to the most part of whatever rank of the sincere and serious in that communion; for virtue and good morals beyond many; those infirmities natural to poor mankind, and consistent with seriousness in religion, breaking out as little, either for degree or frequency, from him, as from most part of good men, and not one habitual to him: one of a mild and courteous temper; of a plain, ingenuous, and honest nature; of a humane, gay, and affable carriage, without any token of pride or disdain; one educated and brought up in a republic as free as any in the world, and inured to the freedom allowed by and possessed in it. His greatest enemy, if he know him, or my greatest enemy, if he read this, must find his own conscience witnessing to his face, that what I have said is truth, and that I am one of more worth than to sully my argument with a flaunting hyperbole even in favour of a prince." The modern reader, who is acquainted with the picture usually drawn of the same personage by the English historians, will probably be startled at the gayety and affability here attributed to the prince; but, besides the unavoidable prepossession of Sir Patrick for a person who, it would appear, had treated him kindly, and stood in the most endearing relation to all his favourite objects in religion and politics, it must be allowed that, at an age which might be called youth (thirty-eight), and previous to his undertaking the heavy and ungrateful burden of royalty in Britain, William might have been better entitled to such a description than he was in the latter part of his life.

Before this time the eldest son of Sir Patrick Hume, and his future son-in-law, Baillie, had obtained commissions in the horse-guards of the Prince of Orange, in whose expedition to England all three

soon after took a part. These gentlemen were among those who suffered in the storm by which a part of the prince's fleet was disabled; they had to return to port with the loss of all their luggage, which in the existing state of their affairs was a very severe misfortune. The little party appears to have speedily refitted and accompanied the prince at his landing in Devonshire, as we find Sir Patrick writing a diary of the progress to London, in which he seems to have been near the prince all the way from Exeter. In the deliberations held at London respecting the settlement of the new government, Sir Patrick bore a conspicuous part; but it was in Scotland that his zeal and judgment found a proper field of display. In the convention parliament, which sat down at Edinburgh, March 14, 1689, he appeared as representative of the county of Berwick; and, an objection being made on the score of his forfeiture, he was unanimously voted a member by the house. The decision of this assembly in favour of a settlement of the crown upon William and his consort Mary soon followed.

The career of public service was now opened to the subject of our memoir at a period of life when his judgment must have been completely matured, and after he had proved, by many years of suffering under a tyrannical government, how worthy he was to obtain honours under one of a liberal complexion. In July, 1690, his attainder was rescinded by act of parliament; he was soon after sworn a member of the privy-council; and in December, 1690, he was created a peer by the title of Lord Polwarth. The preamble of the patent is a splendid testimony to the eminent virtues he had displayed in asserting the rights and religion of his country. King William at the same time vouchsafed to him an addition to his armorial bearings, "an orange proper ensigned, with an imperial crown, to be placed in a surcoat in his coat of arms in all time coming, as a lasting mark of his majesty's royal favour to the family of Polwarth, and in commemoration of his lordship's great affection to his said majesty."

From this period the life of Lord Polwarth is chiefly to be found in the history of his country. He was appointed in 1692 to be principal sheriff of Berwickshire, and in 1693 to be one of the four extraordinary lords of session. Though there is no trace of his having been bred to the law, his conduct in these two employments is said to have been without blemish. His reputation, indeed, for decisions conformable to the laws, for sagacity and soundness of judgment, is perhaps one of the most remarkable parts of the brilliant fame which he has left behind him. In 1696 he attained the highest office in Scotland, that of lord-chancellor, and in less than a year after he was promoted in the peerage by the titles Earl of Marchmont, Viscount of Blasonberry, Lord Polwarth, Redbraes, and Greenlaw, to him and to his heirs male whatsoever. He was soon after named one of the commission of the treasury and admiralty; and in 1698 was appointed lord high-commissioner to represent the king's person in the parliament which met at Edinburgh in July of that year. To follow up the statement of Sir George Rose, who gives a sketch of the life of the earl in his preface to the *Marchmont Papers*, "his correspondence with King William and his ministers, whilst he exercised these high functions, exhibits an earnest and constant desire to act, and to advise, as should best promote at once the honour of his master and benefactor, and the weal of the state; and he had the good fortune to serve a prince who imposed no duties upon him which brought into conflict his obligations to the sovereign and to his country."

The Earl of Marchmont was acting as commissioner at the General Assembly of 1702, when the death of his affectionate sovereign interrupted the proceedings, and plunged him into the deepest grief. He was appointed by Queen Anne to continue to preside over the assembly till the conclusion of its proceedings; but the principles of this great man were too rigid to allow of his long continuing in office under the new government. In his letter to Queen Anne, written on the death of King William, he was too little of a courtier to disguise the feelings which possessed him as a man, although he must have known that every word he used in admiration or lamentation of her predecessor must have been grating to her ears. In the first session of the parliament after her accession he presented to it an act for the abjuration of the Pretender; and, though it was in conformity to, and in imitation of, the English act passed immediately on her ascending the throne, and was read a first time, the high-commissioner adjourned the house in order to stop the measure. In a memorial to the queen of the 1st of July, 1702 (*Marchmont Papers*), will be found a full vindication of his conduct in this matter, and a statement of that held by his friends and the commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, differing essentially from Lockhart's. He was on this dismissed from his office of chancellor, the place being conferred on the Earl of Seafield.

Having thus sacrificed his office to his principles, he pursued the latter in the ensuing parliaments with the consistency and fervour which might have been expected from such a man. The Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, and the union of the two divisions of the island under one legislature, were the two objects on which he now centered his attention and energies. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the general temper of the Scottish people was perversely opposed to both of these measures, and that it was only the minority of such consistent Whigs as Lord Marchmont, who, reposing more upon great abstract principles than narrow views of immediate advantage, saw them in their proper light, and gave them the weight of their influence. An attempt of the earl to introduce an act for the Hanover succession, at a time when his fellow-statesmen were chiefly bent on asserting by the act of security the abstract independence of their country, was so ill received that there was even some talk of consigning this noble patriot to the state-prison in Edinburgh Castle. Afterwards, however, when the government of Queen Anne was obliged to adopt the measure of a union, his lordship had the pleasure of contributing his aid—and most willingly was it rendered—towards what had been the grand object of his political life. The selection of the Scottish commissioners, upon which the whole matter hinged, was effected in obedience to a sagacious advice tendered by Lord Marchmont—namely, that they should be “the most considerable men, provided they were Whigs, and therefore friends to the Revolution; but such alone, with disregard to their feelings respecting an incorporating union as hostile to it or not.” The reasonings he employed to enforce this principle of selection are to be found in the *Marchmont Papers*; and we learn from Lockhart to how great an extent they were acted on. Speaking of the commissioners, this gentleman says, that “all were of the court or Whig interest except himself,” an ardent Jacobite, an exception only made in the hope of gaining him through his uncle, the Whig Lord Wharton. It is universally allowed that this principle, though the author of it has not heretofore been very distinctly known, achieved the union.

We are now to advert to a circumstance of a pain-

ful nature respecting the Earl of Marchmont, but which we have no doubt has taken its rise either from error or from calumny. As a leader of the independent party in the Scots parliament—called the *Squadron Volante*—it is alleged that his lordship was one of those individuals who were brought over to the government views by bribery; and Lockhart actually places the sum of £1104, 15s. 7d. against his name, as his share of the £20,000 said to have been disbursed by the English exchequer, for the purpose of conciliating the chief opponents of the measure. Sir George H. Rose has made an accurate and laborious investigation into the foundation of these allegations, from which it would not only appear that Lord Marchmont has been calumniated, but that a very incorrect notion has hitherto prevailed respecting the application of the money above referred to. We must confess that it has always appeared to us a most improbable story, that, even in the impoverished state of Scotland at that time, noblemen, some of whom were known to entertain liberal and enlightened views, and had previously maintained a pure character, were seduced by such trifling sums as those placed against them in the list given by Lockhart. Sir George Rose has shown, to our entire satisfaction, that the sum given on this occasion to the Earl of Marchmont was a payment of arrears due upon offices and pensions—in other words, the payment of a just debt; and that he is not blamable in the matter, unless it can be shown that receiving the payment of a debt can under any circumstances be disgraceful to the creditor. The best proof of his lordship's innocence is to be found in his conduct at the union, and for years before it. It is clear from his letters to the English statesmen, that the union was an object which he constantly had at heart, and that, so far from being drawn over by any means whatever to their views, he had in reality urged them into it with all his strength and spirit, and all along acted with them in the negotiations by which it was effected. Money does not appear to have been so abundant on this occasion, as to make it probable that any was spent, except upon opponents.

The Earl of Marchmont offered himself as a candidate at the election of the Scots representative peers in 1707, and again on the dissolution of parliament in 1708, but in each case without success. He could scarcely calculate on the countenance of Queen Anne's government; for, if he had rendered it eminent services, he had also taught it how uncompromising was his adherence to his principles. Thus his parliamentary life ceased with the union. But his letters written subsequently to it give evidence that his mind was engaged deeply in all the events affecting the weal and honour of his country. Nor was his patriotism deadened by the insult and injury he received from the court, when, at the accession of the Tory ministry in 1710, he was deprived of his office of sheriff of Berwickshire, which was conferred on the Earl of Home.

In 1703 Lord Marchmont had the misfortune to lose his amiable and affectionate spouse, of the family of Ker of Cavers, to whose virtues he has left a very affecting testimony. In 1709 he suffered a hardly less severe calamity in the death of his eldest son Lord Polwarth, a colonel of cavalry, who, beginning his service in King William's body-guard, served through his wars and the Duke of Marlborough's with reputation, and died childless, though twice married. He was treasurer-depute in 1696. His amiable and honourable character fully justified his father's grief. The second brother Robert, also a soldier, died many years before him.

The accession of George I. gave to Lord Marchmont what he called the desire of his heart, a Protestant king upon the throne. He was immediately re-appointed sheriff of Berwickshire. In 1715, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, acting on the feelings and principles of his youth, he forbade a meeting of the gentlemen of the county, which had been proposed in the professed view of obtaining a redress of hardships, but which would have embarrassed the newly established government; and his lordship took the necessary precautions to render his prohibition effectual. When he saw the Protestant succession secure, he gave up all thoughts of active life, and removed to Berwick-on-Tweed, to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. He retained his cheerful disposition to the last. A short time before his death he was visited by his daughter Lady Grizel Baillie, and his grand-children, who, with a number of his friends, had a dance. Being then very weak in his limbs he was unable to come down-stairs, but desired to be carried down to see them; and, as pleasingly recorded by his granddaughter Lady Murray, he was so much delighted with the happy faces he saw around him, that he remarked, "though he could not dance, he could yet beat time with his foot."

On the 1st of August, 1724, this illustrious patriot breathed his last at Berwick, in the eighty-third year of his age, leaving one of the most irreproachable characters which have come down to us from that time, if not from others of greater general virtue. He had become so reconciled to the prospect of death, that, though no doubt sensible of the solemn change which it was to produce, he could make it the subject of a gentle mirth. Being observed to smile, he was asked the reason by his grandson, the ingenious Lord Binning, to whom he answered, "I am diverted to think what a disappointment the worms will meet with, when they come to me expecting a good meal, and find nothing but bones." Lord Marchmont, be it remarked, though at one time a handsome man, had always been of a spare habit of body, and was now much attenuated. His character has already been sufficiently displayed in his actions and the slight commentaries we have ventured to make upon them. It is impossible, however, to refrain from adding the testimony of Fox, who, in his historical work, says of him, as Sir Patrick Hume, that "he is proved, by the whole tenor of his life and conduct, to have been uniformly zealous and sincere in the cause of his country."

HUME, ALEXANDER, second Earl of Marchmont, the eldest surviving son and successor of the first earl, having maintained the historical lustre of the family, deserves a place in the present work, though only perhaps in a subordinate way. He was born in 1675, and in his boyhood shared the exile and distress of his family. Before his elder brother's death he was distinguished as Sir Alexander Campbell of Cessnock, having married the daughter and heiress of that family. He was brought up as a lawyer, and became a judge of the Court of Session before he was thirty years of age. He was a privy-councillor and a baron of the Court of Exchequer, and served in the Scottish parliament, first for Kirkwall, and then for Berwickshire, when the act of union passed. Emulating his father's feelings, he zealously promoted that measure, and took a very active share in the arduous labours that were devolved upon the sub-committee, to which the articles of the union were referred.

But the principal historical transaction in which this nobleman was concerned, was the introduction

of the family of Hanover to the British throne. A report having been circulated that the electoral family was indifferent to the honours opened up to them by the act of succession, Lord Polwarth (for he had now attained this designation) proceeded in 1712 to Hanover, and entered into a correspondence with the august family there resident, which enabled him fully to contradict the rumour. He took a leading part in suppressing the rebellion of 1715, by which that succession was sought to be defeated, and in 1716 was rewarded for his services by being appointed ambassador to the court of Denmark.

After acceding to the family honours in 1722, the Earl of Marchmont was honoured with several important places of trust under government, till joining the opposition against the excise scheme of Sir Robert Walpole, he forfeited the favour of the court and his place as a privy-councillor, which he then held. "It appears," says Sir George Henry Rose,¹ "that the distinguished members of the Scottish nobility who joined in this act of hostility to the ministers, were less induced so to do by any particular objections to that measure of finance, than by the hope that their junction with the English who resisted it might lead to the subversion of Lord Ilay's government of Scotland, a rule which they felt to be painful and humiliating. They knew it moreover to be sustained by means, many of which they could not respect, and which they believed to tend to degrade and alienate the nation. That they judged rightly in apprehending that the system adopted by Sir Robert Walpole and his virtual viceroy for the management of the public affairs in North Britain was ill calculated to conciliate to the reigning family the affections of the people, was but too sufficiently proved by subsequent events. He sat as one of the sixteen Scots peers in the parliament of 1727; but at the general election in 1754 the hand of power was upon him; and being excluded, he, together with the Dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the Earl of Stair, and other Scottish noblemen, entered into a concert with the leading English members of the opposition, in order to bring the machinations unsparingly used to control the election of the peers in Scotland to light, and their authors to punishment. Sir Robert Walpole's better fortune, however, prevailed against it, as it did against a similar project in 1739." The Earl of Marchmont died in January, 1740, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Hugh, who was destined to exhibit the extraordinary spectacle of a family maintaining in the third generation the same talent, judgment, and worth which had distinguished the two preceding.

HUME, HUGH CAMPBELL, third and last Earl of Marchmont, was born at Edinburgh on the 15th February, 1708, and soon became remarkable for the precocity of his intellect and the versatility of his genius. His mind was equally directed to the acquisition of scholastic erudition and political knowledge, and on all subjects he was supposed to be excelled by few or none of his time. In 1734, when only twenty-six years of age, he was chosen member for the county of Berwick, and entered the House of Commons as Lord Polwarth, at the same time that his younger and twin brother, Mr. Hume Campbell, came forward as representative for the burghs of the district. The injustice and neglect which Sir Robert Walpole had shown to Lord Marchmont was speedily avenged by the trouble which these young men gave to his government. The former soon attained the first place in the opposition; and how keenly his attacks were felt by the ministry is shown in a remark

¹ Preface to *Marchmont Papers*.

made by the latter person, to the effect that "there were few things he more ardently desired than to see that young man at the head of his family," and thus deprived of a seat in the house. This wish was soon gratified, for his father dying in 1740, Lord Polwarth succeeded as Earl of Marchmont; nor did he again enter the walls of parliament until the year 1750, when a vacancy occurring in the representation of the Scottish peerage, he was almost unanimously elected. From his talents as a speaker, his extensive information, and active business habits, he acquired great influence in the upper house, and was constantly rechosen at every general election during the long period of thirty-four years. He was appointed first lord of police in 1747, and keeper of the great seal of Scotland in January, 1764, the latter of which he held till his death. The estimation in which his lordship was held by his contemporaries may be judged of by the circumstance of his living on terms of the strictest intimacy with the celebrated Lord Cobham (who gave his bust a place in the Temple of Worthies at Stow), Sir William Wyndham, Lord Bolingbroke, the Duchess of Marlborough, Mr. Pope, and other eminent persons of that memorable era. The duchess appointed him one of her executors, and bequeathed him a legacy of £2500 for his trouble, and as a proof of her esteem. Mr. Pope likewise appointed him one of his executors, leaving him a large-paper edition of *Thuanus*, and a portrait of Lord Bolingbroke, painted by Richardson. The poet likewise immortalized him by introducing his name into the well-known inscription in the Twickenham grove:—

"Then the bright flame was shot through Marchmont's soul."

His lordship's library contained one of the most curious and valuable collections of books and manuscripts in Great Britain—all of which he bequeathed at his death to his sole executor, the Right Honourable George Rose.

His lordship was twice married; first, in 1731, to Miss Western of London, by whom he had four children, a son (who died young), and three daughters, the youngest of whom was afterwards married to Walter Scott, Esq., of Harden. Upon the death of his wife in 1747 he next year married a Miss Elizabeth Crompton, whose father was a linendraper in Cheap-side, by whom he had one son, Alexander, Lord Polwarth, who died without issue, in the thirty-first year of his age. The circumstances attending this second marriage were very peculiar, and his lordship's conduct on the occasion seems altogether so much at variance with his general character, as well as with one in his rank and circumstances in life, that we reckon them worthy of being recorded here;—and in doing so, we think we cannot do better than adopt the account of them given by the celebrated David Hume, in a familiar epistle to Mr. Oswald of Dunnikier, and published in the latter gentleman's correspondence. The letter is dated London, January 29th, 1748:—"Lord Marchmont has had the most extraordinary adventure in the world. About three weeks ago he was at the play, when he espied in one of the boxes a fair virgin, whose looks, airs, and manners had such a powerful and wonderful effect upon him as was visible by every by-stander. His raptures were so undisguised, his looks so expressive of passion, his inquiries so earnest, that every person took notice of it. He soon was told that her name was Crompton, a linendraper's daughter, that had been bankrupt last year, and had not been able to pay above five shillings in the pound. The fair nymph herself was about sixteen or seventeen, and being supported by some relations, ap-

peared in every public place, and had fatigued every eye but that of his lordship, which, being entirely employed in the severer studies, had never till that fatal moment opened upon her charms. Such and so powerful was their effect as to be able to justify all the Pharamonds and Cyrusses in their utmost extravagancies. He wrote next morning to her father, desiring to visit his daughter on honourable terms: and in a few days she will be the Countess of Marchmont. All this is certainly true. They say many small fevers prevent a great one. Heaven be praised that I have always liked the persons and company of the fair sex! for by that means I hope to escape such ridiculous passions. But could you ever suspect the ambitious, the severe, the bustling, the impetuous, the violent Marchmont, of becoming so tender and gentle a swain—an Artamenes—an Oronodates!"

His lordship died at his seat, at Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire, on the 10th of January, 1794, and leaving no heirs male, all the titles of the family became extinct; but his estate descended to his three daughters. According to Sir George H. Rose, who, from his family connection with the Earl of Marchmont, had the best means of knowing, this nobleman "was an accomplished and scientific horseman, and a theoretical and practical husbandman and gardener. He pursued his rides and visits to his farm and garden as long as his strength would suffice for the exertion; and some hours of the forenoon, and frequently of the evening, were dedicated to his books. His most favourite studies appear to have been in the civil law and in the laws of England and Scotland, in the records and history of the European nations, and in ancient history; and the traces of them are very unequivocal. The fruits of his labours in extracts, observations, comparisons, and researches—all made in his own handwriting—are not more to be admired than wondered at, as the result of the industry of one who was stimulated neither by poverty nor by eagerness for literary celebrity. His Dutch education had given him method, which was the best possible auxiliary to an ardent and powerful mind, such as his was."

In the publication which we have entitled the *Marchmont Papers*, are many of Earl Hugh, of which the most important feature is a diary, which he kept during three different periods of peculiar interest in the reign of George II. The first extends from the latter end of July, 1744, to the end of that year, and embraces the events which led to the formation of what was called the Broad-bottom Administration, when Lord Carteret, who just then became Earl of Granville, was compelled to retire by the Pelhams, the king consenting thereto very reluctantly, and when the Dukes of Devonshire, Bedford, and Dorset, and the Earls of Harrington and Chesterfield, came into office. The second period begins in September, 1745, when news had just been received in London that the Pretender was near Edinburgh, and that it would probably be soon in his occupation. It closes in the February following, with the extraordinary events of that month, the resignation of the Pelham ministry, and its re-establishment after the Earl of Bath's and the Earl of Granville's interregnum of three days. The third period commences in July, 1747, and terminates in March, 1748, soon after the Earl of Chesterfield's resignation, and the Duke of Bedford's appointment to succeed him as secretary of state.

HUME, PATRICK, is noticed by various writers as the name of an individual who adorned the literature of his country at the close of the seventeenth

century. Who or what he was is not known: it is only probable, from the regularity with which certain first names occur in genealogies in connection with surnames, that he belonged to the Polwarth branch of the family of Home, or Hume, as in that branch there were six or seven successive barons bearing the name of Patrick. This learned man is only known to have written the notes connected with the sixth edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which was published in folio by Tonson in 1695, and is one of the most elegant productions of the British press that have ever appeared. It has been a matter of just surprise to several writers of Scottish biography, that absolutely nothing should have been handed down respecting this person, seeing that his notes evince a high degree of taste and most extensive erudition, and are in fact the model of almost all commentaries subsequent to his time. "His notes," says an anonymous writer,¹ "are always curious; his observations on some of the finer passages of the poet show a mind deeply smit with an admiration for the sublime genius of their author; and there is often a masterly nervousness in his style, which is very remarkable for this age." But the ignorance of subsequent ages respecting the learned commentator is sufficiently accounted for by the way in which his name appears on the title-page, being simply in initials, with the affix *φιλοποιητης*, and by the indifference of the age to literary history. It would appear that the commentary, learned and admirable as it is, speedily fell out of public notice, as in 1750 the Messrs. Foulis of Glasgow published the first book of the *Paradise Lost*, with notes by Mr. Callender of Craigforth, which are shown to be, to a great extent, borrowed from the work of Hume, without the most distant hint of acknowledgment.

HUNTER, DR. HENRY, a divine highly distinguished in literature, was born at Culross in the year 1741. His parents, though in humble life, gave him a good education, which was concluded by an attendance at the university of Edinburgh. Here his talents and application attracted the notice of the professors, and at the early age of seventeen he was appointed tutor to Mr. Alexander Boswell, who subsequently became a judge of the Court of Session under the designation of Lord Balmouto. He afterwards accepted the same office in the family of the Earl of Dundonald at Culross Abbey, and thus had the honour of instructing the venerable earl, so distinguished by his scientific inquiries and inventions. In 1764, having passed the necessary trials with unusual approbation, he was licensed as a minister of the gospel, and soon excited attention to his pulpit talents. So highly were these rated in public esteem, that in 1766 he was ordained one of the ministers of South Leith, which has always been considered as one of the most respectable appointments in the Scottish church. He had here ingratiated himself in an uncommon degree with his congregation, when a visit to London in 1769 opened up to his ambition a still wider field of usefulness. The sermons which he happened to deliver on this occasion in several of the Scottish meeting-houses drew much attention, and the result was an invitation, which reached him soon after his return, to become minister of the chapel in Swallow Street. This he declined; but in 1771 a call from the London Wall congregation tempted him away from his Scottish flock, who manifested the sincerest sorrow at his departure. This translation not only was an ad-

vancement in his profession, but it paved the way for a series of literary exertions, upon which his fame was ultimately to rest. Several single sermons first introduced him to the world as an author. These were on the ordination of O. Nicholson, M.A., 1775, 2 Cor. iv. 7, 8; On the Study of the Sacred Scriptures, Acts xviii. 11, in the work called the *Scottish Preacher*, vol. iv.; at the funeral of the Rev. George Turnbull, 1783; On the opening of a Meeting-house at Walthamstow in 1787, Rev. xxi. 3, 4; On the Revolution, 1788; The Believer's Joy, Acts viii. 39; also in the fourth volume of the *Scottish Preacher*. These sermons, with some miscellaneous pieces, were collected and published in two volumes after the author's death. Dr. Hunter first appeared as a general writer in 1783, when he published the first volumes of his "*Sacred Biography, or the History of the Patriarchs and of Jesus Christ*," which was ultimately extended to seven volumes, and has become a standard work, the seventh edition having appeared in 1814. Before this work was completed, the notice attracted by the system of Lavater throughout civilized Europe tempted him to engage in an English version of the *Physiognomy* of that philosopher, whom he previously visited at his residence in Switzerland, in order to obtain from the conversation of the learned man himself as perfect an idea as possible of his particular doctrines. It is said that Lavater at first displayed an unexpected coolness on the subject of Dr. Hunter's visit, being afraid that an English translation might injure the sale of the French edition, in which he had a pecuniary interest. This, however, seems to have been got over; for Lavater eventually treated his English visitor in a manner highly agreeable. "As their professions were alike," says an anonymous writer, "so their sentiments, their feelings, and their opinions are altogether alike. A complete acquaintance with the French language enabled Dr. Hunter to enjoy Lavater's conversation freely; and he ever afterwards talked with enthusiasm of the simplicity of manners, the unaffected piety, the unbounded benevolence, and the penetrating genius of this valued friend. The bare mention of that barbarous cruelty which massacred the virtuous Lavater was sufficient to make him shrink back with horror." The first number of this work was published in 1789, and it was not completed till nine years after, when it ultimately formed five volumes in quarto, bearing the title of "*Essays on Physiognomy*, designed to promote the Knowledge and Love of Mankind, by John Caspar Lavater." Dr. Hunter's abilities as a translator were of the first order, and, in this instance, drew forth the entire approbation of the original author. The work was, moreover, embellished in a style which at that time might be considered as unrivalled. It contained above eight hundred engravings, executed by and under the direction of Mr. Holloway, and such was altogether the elaborate elegance of the publication, that it could not be sold to the public under thirty pounds per copy. We are only left to regret that so much talent, so much taste, and such a large sum of money as this price would indicate, should have been spent upon an inquiry which the acute and precise sense of the immediately succeeding generation has pronounced to be in a great measure a delusion.

At the time of the French revolution Dr. Hunter republished a treatise by Robert Fleming, whose life, with an account of the work in question, has already been given in this *Biographical Dictionary*. The pamphlet contained some prophetic intimations, which Dr. Hunter supposed to bear a reference to the events in the neighbouring kingdom. Dr.

¹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, iv. 662, where there is a series of extracts from Hume's *Commentary*, in contrast with similar passages from that published by Mr. Callender of Craigforth.

Hunter also published a *Sermon preached February 3, 1793, on the Exaltation of Louis XIV.*

In 1795 he attempted a translation from the German, selecting for this purpose Euler's celebrated *Letters to a German Prince*. This work met with the entire approbation of the public, and has proved a very useful addition to the stock of our native scientific literature. The first edition was in quarto, and a second in octavo appeared in 1802. The work has since been reprinted in a smaller size, with notes by Sir David Brewster. The merit of Dr. Hunter as a translator was now universally acknowledged, and work accordingly pressed upon him. While still engaged in his version of Lavater, he commenced in 1796 the publishing of a translation of St. Pierre's *Nation of Nature*, which was completed in 1799, in five volumes octavo, afterwards republished in three. "His translation," says the anonymous writer above quoted, "of the beautiful and enthusiastic works of St. Pierre was universally read and admired: here, if in any instance, the translator entered into the spirit of the author, for the glow of benevolence which gives life to every page of *Les Etudes de la Nature* was entirely congenial to the feelings of Dr. Hunter." Saurin's *Sermons* and Sonnini's *Travels to Upper and Lower Egypt* complete the list of Dr. Hunter's labours as a translator; and it is but small praise to say that few men have reached the same degree of excellence in that important branch of literature. During the progress of other labours Dr. Hunter published more than one volume of original sermons, and a volume entitled *Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity*, being the completion of a plan begun by the Rev. John Fell. He also commenced the publication, in parts, of a popular *History of London and its Environs*, which however he did not live to complete.

In the year 1790 Dr. Hunter was appointed secretary to the corresponding board of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. He was likewise chaplain to the Scots corporation in London, and both these institutions were much benefited by his zealous exertions in their behalf. It must be obvious, from the frequent and involved succession of his literary productions, that Dr. Hunter spent a most industrious life, and was upon the whole the most busy as he approached that stage of existence when the generality of men begin to find ease not only agreeable but necessary. It is probable that this unceasing exertion, which no doubt was more occasioned by necessity than by choice, tended to break down his constitution, which was further weakened in his latter years by the agitation and distress of mind consequent on the death of three beloved children. Having retired to Bristol wells for the recovery of his health, he died there, of inflammation in the lungs, October 27, 1802, in the sixty-second year of his age.

"If Dr. Hunter," says his anonymous biographer,¹ "was conspicuous as an author, he was still more to be admired as a man. An unbounded flow of benevolence, which made him enjoy and give enjoyment to every society, joined to a warmth of feeling which made him take an interest in every occurrence, rendered him the delight of all his acquaintance. His social talents were of the highest order. An easy flow of conversation, never loud, never overbearing, and completely free from affectation; an inexhaustible fund of pleasant anecdotes, and occasional flashes of wit and humour, made every company he joined pleased with him and with themselves. He was particularly happy in adapting his conversation to those

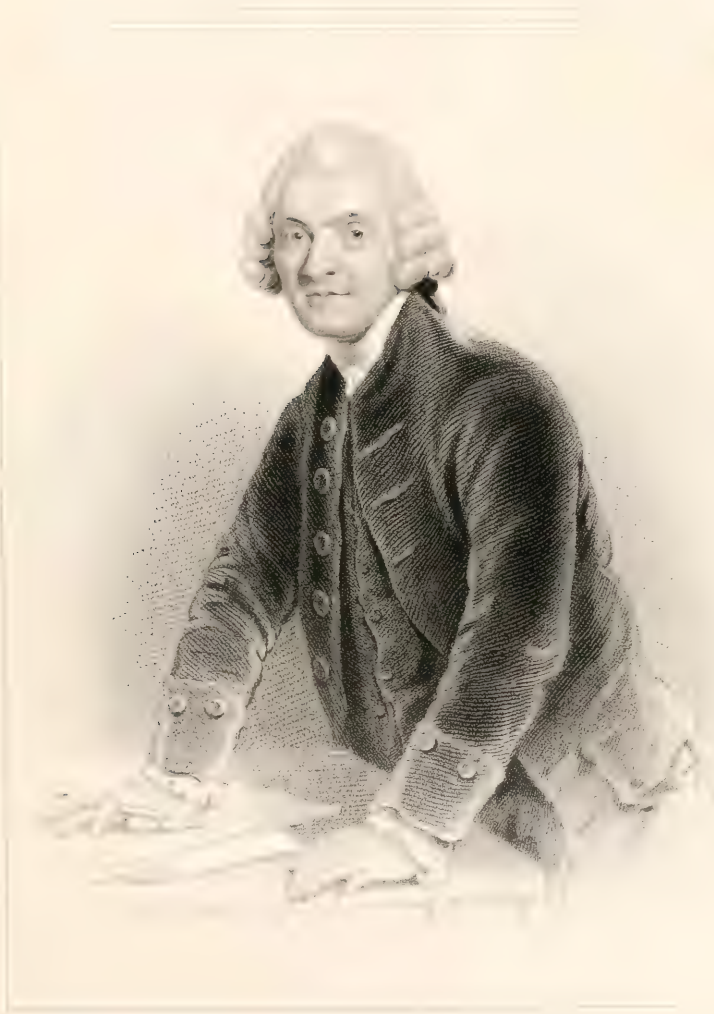
he conversed with; and while to a lady his discourse appeared that of a polished gentleman, the scholar was surprised by his apt quotations from the classics, and the ease with which he turned to any subject that was brought before him. . . . His private charities were as numerous as the objects of compassion which occurred to him; nor should his unbounded and cheerful hospitality be forgot among his other virtues." [He is said to have carried this virtue beyond the bounds which a regard to prudence and economy should have prescribed.] "The crowded attendance and the universal regret of his congregation are the best proofs of the effect of his pulpit eloquence. His enlightened and liberal views of religion made his meeting-house the resort of the leading Scotsmen in London; and it was here that the natives of the southern part of the island had an opportunity of observing a specimen of that church which produced a Robertson and a Blair. . . . Dr. Hunter was of a spare habit of body, and remarkably active; and his usual cheerfulness and flow of good humour continued till within a few weeks of his death." He left a family, consisting of a wife, two sons, and a daughter.

HUNTER, WILLIAM and JOHN, two eminent physicians, fall to be noticed here under one head, in order that we may, without violating alphabetical arrangement, give William that priority to which his seniority and precedence in public life entitle him.

WILLIAM HUNTER was born May 23, 1718, at Kilbride, in the county of Lanark. His great-grandfather, by his father's side, was a younger son of Hunter of Hunterston. His father and mother lived on a small estate in the above county, called Calderwood, which had been some time in the possession of their family. They had ten children, of whom the subject of our present memoir was the seventh, while John was the tenth. One of his sisters married the Rev. James Baillie, professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, and became the mother of Matthew Baillie, the celebrated physician, whose labours in morbid anatomy have been of such essential service in promoting the study of pathology. William Hunter was sent to the college of Glasgow at the age of fourteen, where he pursued his studies with diligence, and obtained the esteem of the professors and his fellow-students. He was at this time designed for the church, but hesitated, from conscientious motives, to subscribe all the articles of its faith. Such was the state of his mind when he became acquainted with the eminent Dr. Cullen, who was then established in practice at Hamilton, under whom he resolved to devote himself exclusively to the profession of medicine. Accordingly, having obtained the consent of his father, in the year 1737 he went to reside with Dr. Cullen, in whose family he lived nearly three years—a period which ever afterwards he looked back upon with peculiar pleasure. Between these two gifted individuals a partnership was now formed, and it was agreed that William Hunter should take charge of the surgical and Dr. Cullen of the medical cases that occurred in their practice. To carry their mutual wishes more efficiently into operation, it was arranged that William Hunter should proceed to Edinburgh, and then to London, for the purpose of pursuing his medical studies in each of these cities, after which, that he should return to settle at Hamilton.

In November, 1740, William Hunter went to Edinburgh, where he remained until the following spring, attending the lectures of the medical professors there, among whom he had the advantage of attending Dr. Alexander Monro, who was one of the

¹ *Obituary of Gentlemen's Magazine*, lxxii. 1772.



most talented and able professors who perhaps ever adorned that university. In the summer of 1741 he proceeded to London, and resided with Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Smellie, then an apothecary in Pall Mall. He took with him a letter of introduction from Mr. Foulis, the printer at Glasgow, to Dr. James Douglas. At first Mr. Hunter commenced the study of anatomy under the tuition of Dr. Frank Nicholls, who was the most eminent teacher of anatomy then in London, and who had formerly professed the science at Oxford. It appears that Dr. Douglas had been under some obligation to Mr. Foulis, who had procured for him several editions of Horace, and he naturally, therefore, paid attention to young Hunter, whom he at once recognized to be an acute and talented observer. Dr. Douglas was at that time intent on a great anatomical work on the bones, which he did not live to complete, and was looking out for a young man of industry and ability to employ as his dissector. He soon perceived that his new acquaintance would be an eligible assistant, and after some preliminary conversation, invited him into his family, for the double purpose of aiding him with his dissections, and directing the education of his son. The pecuniary resources of young Hunter were at this time very slender, and the situation was to him therefore highly advantageous; but it was with difficulty that he could obtain the consent of his father for him to accept it, who being now old and infirm, awaited with impatience his return to Scotland. Ultimately, however, he was prevailed on to acquiesce in the wishes of his son, which he did with reluctance; he did not, however, long survive, as he died on the 30th of the October following, aged seventy-eight. Mr. Hunter's previous arrangements with Dr. Cullen formed no obstacle to his new views; for he had no sooner explained his position than Dr. Cullen, anxious for his advancement, readily cancelled the articles of agreement. At liberty now to take advantage of all the means of instruction by which he was surrounded, he pursued his studies with assiduity. By the friendly assistance of Dr. Douglas he was enabled to enter himself as a surgeon's pupil at St. George's Hospital, under Mr. James Wilkie, and as dissecting pupil under Mr. Frank Nicholls. He also attended a course of experimental philosophy, which was delivered by Desaguliers. He soon became very expert as a dissector, inasmuch that Dr. Douglas went to the expense of having several of his preparations engraved. But he did not enjoy his liberal patronage and aid long, for many months had not elapsed when his kind benefactor died—an event which happened April 1, 1742, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Dr. Douglas left a widow and two children; but his death made no alteration in respect to Mr. Hunter, who continued as before to reside in his family, and perform the same duties which he had previously done.

In the year 1743 the first production from the pen of Mr. Hunter was communicated to the Royal Society. It was an *Essay on the Structure and Diseases of Articulating Cartilages*—a subject which had not been at that time sufficiently investigated, and on which his observations threw considerable light. His favourite scheme was now to commence as a lecturer on anatomy; but he did not rashly enter on this undertaking, but passed some years more in mastering the necessary knowledge, and in making the numerous preparations which are necessary to exhibit in a complete course of anatomy. There is, perhaps, no branch of medical science which demands more patient and assiduous toil than this; it was more especially so at that period, when there were few

aids to anatomical knowledge. He communicated his project to Dr. Nicholls, who had declined lecturing in favour of Dr. Lawrence, who gave him little encouragement, and he retired, to await a fit opportunity for commencing his designs. The wished-for opportunity soon occurred. A society of navy surgeons at that time existed, which occupied rooms in Covent Garden, and to this society Mr. Samuel Sharpe had been engaged as a lecturer on the operations of surgery. This course Mr. Sharpe continued to repeat, until finding that it interfered too much with his other engagements, he resigned in favour of William Hunter, who gave his first anatomical course in the winter of 1746. It is said that when he first began to speak in public he experienced much solicitude; but the applause he met with inspired him with that confidence which is so essential an element of all good oratory. Indeed, he gradually became so fond of teaching, that some few years before his death he acknowledged that he was never happier than when engaged in lecturing. The profits of the first two courses were considerable; but having with much generosity contributed to supply the pecuniary wants of his friends, he found himself so reduced on the return of the next season that he was obliged to postpone his lectures, because he had not money to defray the necessary expenses of advertising. An anecdote is mentioned by his biographer, Symmons, very characteristic of the early difficulties which are experienced by many men of genius. Mr. Watson, one of his earliest pupils, accompanied him home after his next introductory lecture. He had just received seventy guineas for admission fees, which he carried in a bag under his cloak, and observed to his friend, "that it was a larger sum than he had ever been master of before." His previous experience now taught him more circumspection—he became more cautious of lending money, and by strict economy amassed that great fortune which he afterwards so liberally devoted to the interests of science. His success as a lecturer before the society of navy surgeons was so decided, that its members requested him to extend his course to anatomy, and gave him the free use of their room for his lectures. This compliment he could not fail to have duly appreciated, and it may be regarded as the precursory sign of that brilliant career which he was soon afterwards destined to pursue.

In the year 1747 he was admitted a member of the Incorporation of Surgeons, and after the close of his lectures in the spring of the following year, he set out with his pupil, Mr. James Douglas, on a tour through Holland and Paris. At Leyden he visited the illustrious Albinus, whose admirable injections inspired him with the zeal to excel in this useful department of anatomy. Having made this tour, he returned to prepare his winter course of lectures, which he commenced at the usual time.

Mr. Hunter at this time practised surgery as well as midwifery; but the former branch of the profession he always disliked. His patron, Dr. Douglas, had acquired considerable reputation as an accoucheur, which probably induced him to direct his views to this line of practice. An additional inducement also presented itself, in the circumstance of his being elected one of the surgeon-accoucheurs to the Middlesex Hospital, and afterwards to the British Lying-in Hospital. The introduction of male practitioners in this department of the profession, according to Astruc, took place on the confinement of Madame la Valliere in 1663. She was anxious for concealment, and called in Julian Clement, an eminent surgeon, who was secretly conducted into the house where she lay, covering her face with a hood,

and where the king is said to have been hidden behind the curtains. He attended her in her subsequent accouchments, and his success soon brought the class of male practitioners into fashion. Nor was this a matter of minor import, for hereby the mortality among lying-in women has been materially reduced. Mowbray is said to have been the first lecturer on obstetrics in London, and he delivered his course of lectures in the year 1725. To him succeeded the Chamberlains, after whom Smellie gave a new air of importance and dignity to the science. It is said that the manners of Smellie were by no means prepossessing—indeed they are described to have been unpleasing and rough; therefore, although a man of superior talent, he necessarily found a difficulty in making his way among the refined and the more polished circles of society. Herein Hunter had a decided advantage, for while he was recognized to be a man of superior abilities, his manners and address were extremely conciliating and engaging. The most lucrative part of the practice of midwifery was at this time divided between Sir Richard Manningham and Dr. Sandys;—the former of whom died, and the latter retired into the country just after Mr. Hunter became known as an accoucheur.

The field was now in a great measure left open to him, and in proportion as his reputation increased he became more extensively consulted. His predecessor, Dr. Sandys, had been formerly professor of anatomy at Cambridge, where he had formed a valuable collection of preparations, which on his death having fallen into the hands of Dr. Bloomfield, was now purchased by Mr. Hunter for the sum of £200. There can be no doubt that the celebrity of Mr. Hunter as an anatomist contributed to increase his practice as an accoucheur, as it was reasonably expected that his minute knowledge of anatomy would give him a correspondingly great command in difficult and dangerous cases. Acting now principally as an accoucheur, he appears to have entirely relinquished the surgical department of his profession; and, desirous of practising as a physician, he obtained in 1750 the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the university of Glasgow. The degree of Doctor of Medicine at that and other universities of Scotland was at this period granted on the candidate's paying a certain sum of money and presenting a certificate from other doctors of medicine of his being qualified to practise the healing art—but so much was the facility of obtaining these degrees abused that this method of granting them has been very properly abolished. Shortly after obtaining his diploma, Dr. Hunter left the family of Mr. Douglas, and went to reside in Jermyn Street, Soho Square.

The following summer he revisited his native country, for which, amidst the professional prosperity of a town life, he continued to entertain a cordial affection. He found on his arrival that his mother was still living at Long Calderwood, which was now become his own property, in consequence of the death of his brother James, who died in the twenty-eighth year of his age. It is worthy of notice that this young man had been a writer to the signet in Edinburgh; but disliking the profession of the law, he went to London, with the intention of studying anatomy under his brother William—so that it would almost appear that in the family of the Hunters there was an hereditary love for medical science. Ill health, however, preyed upon his constitution; so that he could not carry out his plans, and he therefore returned to his birthplace, where he died. At this period Dr. Cullen was progressing to that fame which he subsequently attained; and was resid-

ing at Glasgow, where Dr. Hunter again met him, to take a retrospect over the eventful changes which had signalized the progress of their separate lives. On the return of Dr. Hunter to London he continued corresponding with Dr. Cullen on a variety of interesting scientific subjects, and many of the letters have been published by Dr. Thomson, in his life of this eminent physician, a work which should be familiar to all who take any interest in the history of medical science.

On the resignation of Dr. Layard, who had officiated as one of the physicians to the British Lying-in Hospital, we find the governors of that institution voting their "thanks to Dr. Hunter for the services he had done the hospital, and for his continuance in it as one of the physicians." Accordingly, he was established in this office without the usual form of an election. He was admitted in the following year licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and was soon after elected a member of the Medical Society. His history of an aneurism of the aorta appears in the first volume of their *Observations and Inquiries*, published in 1757. In 1762 we find him, in the *Medical Commentaries*, supporting his claim of priority in making numerous anatomical discoveries over that of Dr. Monro secundus, at that time professor of anatomy in the university of Edinburgh. It is not easy to adjust the claims of contemporary discoverers in numerous branches of science; and though, on this occasion, a wordy war of considerable length was waged concerning the real author of the great doctrine of the absorbent action of the lymphatic system, yet the disputants seem to have left the field, each dissatisfied with the conduct of his antagonist, and each equally confident of being entitled to the honour of being regarded as the real discoverer. It is not worth while to rake up the ashes of any such controversy; but it is no more than justice to assert, that Dr. Hunter vindicated his claims in a manly and honourable tone, at the same time acknowledging that "the subject was an unpleasant one, and he was therefore seldom in the humour to take it up."

In 1762, when the queen became pregnant, Dr. William Hunter was consulted, and two years afterwards had the honour to be appointed physician extraordinary to her majesty. We may now regard him as having attained the highest rank in his profession; and from the increase of his practice he selected Mr. Hewson, an industrious and accomplished young man, to be his assistant, and afterwards took him into partnership with him in his lectures. This connection subsisted until the year 1770, when, in consequence of some misunderstanding, it was dissolved, and Cruickshank succeeded to the same situation. In the year 1767 Dr. William Hunter became a fellow of the Royal Society, to which the following year he communicated his observations on the bones, commonly supposed to be elephants' bones, which were found near the river Ohio in America. At this period the attention of men of science had been directed to the large bones, tusks, and teeth, which had been found on the banks of the above river, and the French Academicians came to the conclusion that they were, in all probability, the bones of elephants. From the different character of the jaw-bone, and other anatomical signs, Dr. William Hunter, however, came to the conclusion that they did not belong to the elephant, but to an animal *incognitum*, probably the same as the mammoth of Siberia.¹ Nor was this the only subject of natural history on which Dr. Hunter ex-

¹ *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lviii.

exercised his ingenuity, for in a subsequent volume of the *Transactions* we find him offering his remarks on some bones found in the Rock of Gibraltar, which he proves to have belonged to some quadruped. Further, we find an account published by him of the nylghau, an Indian animal not before described. Thus, amidst the anxious duties of that department of the profession in which he excelled, we find his active mind leading him into investigations on subjects of natural history, which are eminently interesting to all who delight in examining into the mysteries, and beauties, and past history of the surrounding world.

In the year 1768 Dr. William Hunter became fellow of the Society of Arts, and the same year, at the institution of an Academy of Arts, he was appointed by his majesty professor of anatomy. His talents were now directed into a new sphere of action, in which he engaged with unabated ardour and zeal. He studied the adaptation of the expression of anatomy to sculpture and painting, and his observations are said to have been characterized by much originality and just critical acumen.

In January, 1781, he was unanimously elected successor to Dr. John Fothergill, as president of the Royal College of Physicians of London, the interests of which institution he zealously promoted. In 1780 the Royal Medical Society of Paris elected him one of their foreign associates, and in 1782 he received a similar mark of distinction from the Royal Academy of Sciences in that city. Thus, in tracing the life of this eminent physician, we find honour upon honour conferred upon him, in acknowledgment of the essential services which he rendered to the cause of science. But his *chef d'œuvre* yet remains to be noticed; it was consummated in the invaluable *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus*, one of the most splendid medical works of the age in which he lived. It was commenced in 1751, but not completed until 1775, owing to the author's desire to render it as complete as possible. It contains a series of thirty-four folio plates, from superior drawings of subjects and preparations, executed by the first artists, exhibiting all the principal changes which occur during the nine months of pregnancy. Here we find the first representation that was given of the retroverted uterus, and the membrana decidua reflexa discovered by himself. He did not live, however, to complete the anatomical description of the figures, which his nephew Dr. Baillie did in 1794.¹ He dedicated this valuable work to the king; and it needs only to be added, in testimony of its merit, that notwithstanding the march of medical knowledge, it has not been superseded by any rival author. It remains now, and will go down to posterity, as a standard work, complete in its designs and admirable in its execution. But this was not the only service which Dr. William Hunter rendered to the profession; it remains for us yet to record the circumstances under which he founded a museum which has justly called forth the admiration of every medical man by whom it has been visited. When he began to reap the fruits of his professional skill and exertions, he determined on laying aside a fund from which he would derive support, if overtaken by the calamities of sickness or the infirmities of age. This he very shortly accomplished; and it is said, that on one occasion he stated that, having borrowed from this fund a sum to defray some expenses of his museum, he felt very much dissatisfied and uneasy until it was replaced. His competency

having been obtained, and his wealth continuing to accumulate, he formed a laudable design of founding a school of medicine, and for this purpose addressed a memorial to Mr. Grenville, then minister, in which he requested the grant of a piece of ground in the Mews for the site of an anatomical theatre. He undertook to expend £7000 on the building, and to endow a professorship of anatomy in perpetuity; but the scheme did not meet the reception it deserved, and fell to the ground. It is said that the Earl of Shelburne afterwards, in conversation with the learned doctor, expressed his approbation of the design, and desired his name to be put down as a subscriber for £1000. But Dr. Hunter had now, it would appear, determined on other arrangements, having purchased a spot of ground in Great Windmill Street, which he determined to appropriate to the proposed use. He there built accordingly a house and anatomical theatre, and removed from Jernyn Street to these premises in 1770. Medical men engaged in active practice, who have a taste for the study of morbid anatomy, have little difficulty in obtaining specimens; and by his own exertions and those of his pupils, many of whom engaged zealously in the cause, he soon succeeded in bringing together a vast number of morbid preparations, to augment the number of which he purchased numerous collections that were at various times exposed to sale in London. The taste for collecting, which all acquire who commence founding a museum, "increased by what it fed on," and he now, in addition to the anatomical specimens, sought to accumulate fossils, curious books, coins—in short, whatever might interest either the man of letters, the physician, the naturalist, or the antiquary. We are informed that in respect to books he became possessed of "the most magnificent treasure of Greek and Latin books that has been accumulated since the days of Mead;"—furthermore, Mr. Combe, a learned friend of the doctor's, published a description of part of the coins in the collection, under the following title:—*Nummorum Veterum Populorum et Urbium qui in Museo Gulielmi Hunter asservantur, Descriptio, figuris illustrata*. In the preface to this volume, which is dedicated by Dr. William Hunter to her majesty, some account is given of the progress of the collection, which had been accumulating since 1770, at an expense of upwards of £20,000. In 1781 a valuable addition to it was received, consisting of shells, corals, and other curious subjects of natural history, which had been collected by the late Dr. Fothergill, who gave directions by his will that his collection should be appraised after his death, and that Dr. William Hunter should have the refusal of it at £500. This was accordingly done, and Dr. Hunter purchased it eventually for £1200. To complete the history of this museum, we may here add, that on the death of Dr. William Hunter he bequeathed it, under the direction of trustees, for the use of his nephew Dr. Matthew Baillie, and in case of his death to Mr. Cruickshank, for the term of thirty years, at the expiration of which it was to be transmitted to the university of Glasgow. The sum of £8000 was furthermore left as a fund for the support and augmentation of the collection, and each of the trustees was left £20 per annum for the term of thirty years—that is, during the period that they would be executing the purposes of the will. Before the expiration of the period assigned, Dr. Baillie removed the museum to Glasgow, where it at present is visited by all who take an interest in medical or general science.

We have followed Dr. William Hunter through the chief and most remarkable events by which his life was characterized; and now, pausing to contem-

¹ *Anatomical Description of the Gravid Uterus and its Contents*, 1794.

plate his having arrived at the summit of his ambition—honoured by the esteem of his sovereign, complimented by foreign academies, and consulted by persons of all ranks—with an independence of wealth which left him no desires for further accumulation of riches—we must acknowledge that the cup of human enjoyment, while it mantles to the brim, must still contain some bitter drop—that there is in this world no happiness without alloy. Ill health now preyed upon his constitution, and he seriously made up his mind to retire to his native country, where he might look back upon the vista of his past life and die in peace. With this view he requested his friends Dr. Cullen and Dr. Baillie to look out for a pleasant estate for him, which they did, and fixed on a spot in Annandale, which they recommended him to purchase. The bargain was concluded, but when the title-deeds were examined they were found to be defective—and accordingly the whole project fell to the ground, for although harassed by ill health, Dr. Hunter found that the expenditure to support the museum was so enormous, that he preferred still remaining in his practice. He was at this time dreadfully afflicted with gout; the attacks became more frequent; but on the 20th of March, 1783, he found himself so much recovered, that he determined to give the introductory lecture to the operations of surgery, and it was to no purpose that his friends urged on him the impropriety of the attempt. Accordingly he delivered the lecture, but towards the conclusion his strength became so much exhausted that he fainted, and was obliged to be carried by his servants out of the lecture-room. The night after the delivery of the above lecture, and the following day, his symptoms became aggravated, and on Saturday morning he informed his medical adviser, Mr. Combe, that he had during the night had a paralytic stroke. As neither his speech nor his pulse was affected, and as he was able to raise himself in bed, Mr. Combe was in hopes that his patient was mistaken; but the symptoms that supervened indicated that the nerves which arise in the lumbar region had become paralyzed; for the organs to which they are distributed lost the power of performing their functions. Accordingly he lingered, with the symptoms which in all similar cases exist, until Sunday the 30th March, when he expired. During his last moments he maintained very great fortitude and calmness, and it is reported that shortly before his death he said, turning round to Mr. Combe, "If I had strength enough to hold a pen I would write how easy and pleasant a thing it is to die." During the latter part of his illness his brother John—with whom he had previously been on unfriendly terms—requested permission to attend him, and felt severely the parting scene. His remains were interred on the 5th April, in the rector's vault of St. James' Church, Westminster.

The lives of all eminent men may be viewed in a double relation—they may be contemplated simply with a reference to their professional and public career—or they may be viewed in connection with the character they have displayed in the retired paths of domestic life. It would appear that Dr. Hunter devoted himself exclusively to the pursuits of his profession; nor did he contract any tie of a gentler and more endearing nature to bind him to the world. His habits were temperate and frugal. When he invited friends to dine with him he seldom regaled them with more than two dishes, and he was often heard to say, that "a man who cannot dine on one dish deserves to have no dinner." After the repast the servant handed round a single glass of wine to each of his guests; which trifles show the

economical disposition he possessed, and which enabled him to realize £70,000 for the purpose of completing a museum for the benefit of posterity. He was an early riser, and after his professional visits was to be found always occupied in his museum. He was in person "regularly shaped, but of slender make, and rather below the middle stature." There are several good portraits of him, one of which is an unfinished painting by Toffany, representing him in the act of giving a lecture on the muscles at the Royal Academy, surrounded by a group of Academicians. Another by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and of which a correct and elegant fac-simile is given in connection with the present work, is preserved in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow.

The professional character of Dr. Hunter is deservedly held high in the estimation of all who are acquainted with the history of medicine. His *Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus* is alone a monument of his ability; but, besides this, he made discoveries for which his name deserves the highest possible respect. His claims to being the discoverer of the origin and use of the lymphatic vessels were, it is true, warmly contested; but many who have taken pains to examine the merits of the controversy, among whom we may mention the celebrated Blumenbach, agree in awarding to him the honour of the discovery. He had the merit also of first describing the varicose aneurism, which he did in the *Observations and Inquiries* published by the Medical Society of London. His discovery and delineation of the *membrana decidua reflexa* in the retroverted uterus, deserves also honourable mention; in short, both the sciences of anatomy and midwifery were materially advanced by his labours. He was a good orator, and an able and clear lecturer; indeed the extent of his knowledge, more especially in physiology, enabled him to throw a charm of interest over the dry details of descriptive anatomy. His general knowledge was, as we have seen, very extensive; and his name and talents were respected in every part of Europe. Among the MSS. which he left behind him, were found the commencement of a work on *Biliary and Urinary Concretions*, and two introductory lectures, one of which contains the history of anatomy from the earliest period down to the time when he wrote; also, considerations on the immediate connection of that science with the practice of physic and surgery. Among other of his works, which are highly esteemed by the profession, we may notice his *Essay on the Origin of the Venereal Disease*, which he communicated to the Royal Society; and also his *Reflections on the Sympthesis Pubis*.

By his will Dr. Hunter bequeathed an annuity of £100 to his sister Mrs. Baillie during her life, and the sum of £2000 to each of her daughters. The residue of his estate and effects went to his nephew.

We may conclude our memoir of this eminent physician by relating the following anecdote, which is said to have occurred in his visit to Scotland before he had acquired the celebrity he so earnestly desired. As he and Dr. Cullen were riding one day in a low part of the country, the latter pointed out to him his native place, Long Calderwood, at a considerable distance, and remarked how conspicuous it appeared. "Well," said he, with some degree of energy, "if I live I shall make it more conspicuous." We need not add any comment on his having lived to verify fully this prediction. Such are the achievements which assiduity and perseverance are ever enabled to accomplish. The moral deducible from the lives of all eminent men teaches the same lesson.

JOHN HUNTER, younger brother of the preceding, was one of the most profound anatomists and



expert surgeons of the age in which he lived. We have already seen how much his brother did to promote the interests of medical science, and we shall find in the sequel that the subject of our present memoir accomplished still more, and attained even to a higher and prouder eminence, inasmuch that his name is, as it were, consecrated in the history of his profession, and respected and esteemed by all who are in the slightest degree acquainted with the science. The exact date of his birth has been a subject of some dispute:—by Sir Everard Home it is placed in July 14, 1728; and this day has been celebrated as its anniversary by the College of Surgeons of London;—Dr. Adams, however, has dated it on the 13th of February, on the authority of the parish register shown to him by the Rev. James French, the minister of the parish. This evidence is sufficiently satisfactory; and we therefore consider that the latter is the correct date of his birth. He was, as we have already stated, the youngest of the family, and born when his father had nearly reached the age of seventy. Being the youngest, he was a great favourite with both of his parents; indeed, they allowed him to enjoy without restraint all the pleasures and pastimes which are the delight of early life, without imposing on him those tasks which are essential to an early and good education. Ten years after his birth his mother was left a widow, and he was then the only son at home, one or both of his sisters being now married. Herein, therefore, we may find every apology for the indulgence of his mother, who doubtless regarded him with an eye of no ordinary interest and affection. He was accordingly not sent to school until he had arrived at the age of seventeen, when he was placed at a grammar-school—but not having the patience to apply himself to the cultivation of languages, and furthermore disliking the restraint to which he was subjected, he neglected his studies, and devoted the greater part of his time to country amusements. About this time John Hunter went to Glasgow on a visit to his sister, for whom he had the greatest affection, to comfort her in her distress, and endeavour to assist in extricating her husband from the difficulties in which he was involved. There is a report that Mr. Hunter was destined to be a carpenter, and one of his biographers ventures to affirm that “a wheel-wright or carpenter he certainly was;” however, the only ground for such a statement seems to have been, that when orders were pressing he occasionally did assist his brother-in-law, by working with him at his trade. The occupation of a carpenter is, in towns distant from the metropolis, often combined with that of a cabinet-maker;—and thence arose the report to which we have just alluded. Soon become tired of witnessing embarrassments he could not relieve, and finding that his sister preferred grieving over her sorrows alone, to allowing him to be the constant witness of her grief, he returned to Long Calderwood, after an absence which had so far had a beneficial effect on him that it weaned him from home, reconciled his mother to his absence, and in all probability suggested to him reflections and motives for future activity, which never otherwise might have occurred. He had often heard of his brother William's success in London, and he now wrote to him requesting permission to pay him a visit, at the same time offering to assist him in his anatomical labours;—and in case these proposals were not accepted, he expressed a wish to go into the army. His brother returned a very kind answer, and gave him an invitation to visit him immediately, which he cheerfully accepted, and in September, 1748, he arrived in London. About a

fortnight before the winter session of lectures for that year, his brother, anxious to form some opinion of his talents for anatomy, gave him an arm to dissect the muscles, with some necessary instructions for his guidance, and the performance, we are informed, greatly exceeded expectation. William now gave him a dissection of a more difficult nature—an arm in which all the arteries were injected, and these as well as the muscles were to be exposed and preserved. His execution of this task gave his brother very great satisfaction, nor did he now hesitate to declare that he would soon become a good anatomist, and furthermore he promised that he should not want for employment. Here we may observe, that the manipulation in dissecting requires a species of tact, which, like many other acquirements, is best obtained in early life; and now under the instruction of his brother and his assistant Mr. Symonds, he had every opportunity for improvement, as all the dissections carried on in London at this time were confined to that school.

In the summer of 1749 the celebrated Cheselden, at the request of Dr. Hunter, permitted John to attend at the Chelsea Hospital, where he had ample opportunities for studying by the sick-bed the progress and modifications of disease. At this time surgical pathology was in a rude state; and, among other absurd doctrines, the progress of ulceration was held to be a solution of the solid parts into pus or matter. When the mind, however young, enters fresh and vigorous into the field of inquiry, untrammelled by early prejudices, it is apt to observe phenomena in new relations, and to discover glimmerings of paths which lead to the knowledge of unsuspected truths. Such at this time we may consider to have been the state of John Hunter's mind—acute in all its perceptions; discriminate in all its observations; and free to embrace fearlessly whatever new theories his reflections might suggest. Here, therefore, in learning the first rudiments of surgery, he first began to suspect the validity of the doctrines which were promulgated, which some few years afterwards it was his good fortune to combat and overthrow.

In the succeeding season Mr. Hunter was so far advanced in the knowledge of practical anatomy as to relieve his brother from the duty of attending in the dissecting-room. This now became the scene of the younger brother's employment during the winter months, whilst William confined himself to delivering lectures in the theatre. In the summer he resumed his attendance at the Chelsea Hospital, and in the following year, 1751, he became a pupil at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where he was generally present at the performance of the most remarkable operations. At this time Mr. Pott was one of the senior surgeons at the latter institution, and no man operated more expertly, or lectured with better effect, than he did; and although his pathological doctrines were subsequently, and with justice, arraigned by his present pupil, his name is nowhere mentioned by him but with the highest respect.

In the year 1753 Mr. Hunter entered as a gentleman commoner in St. Mary's Hall, Oxford; probably with the view of subsequently becoming a fellow of the College of Physicians. But his matriculation was not afterwards persevered in, and the following year he entered as surgeon's pupil at St. George's Hospital. His object in taking this step, which might at first sight appear to have been unnecessary, is obvious. He desired to obtain the appointment of surgeon to some public hospital; and he well knew, that while his chance of success at Chelsea Hospital was very remote, he was precluded from competing for the appointment at St. Bartholomew's,

from the circumstance of his now having served as an apprenticeship to any surgeon of that hospital, a qualification especially required of every candidate for that office. He accordingly concluded that the chances were more in his favour at St. George's, where he hoped to obtain without interfering among the medical students to learn of his wishes. To this hospital he was at first years afterwards appointed house-surgeon. Thus, we may observe, in a temporary office, the person holding which may be regarded as a resident pupil, who lives in the house, and is expected to be always on readiness to attend to any accident that may be brought to the house, or any case in the vicinity.

In the winter of 1755 he was admitted to a partnership in the business of his brother, a certain portion of the house being allotted to him, and he being required to attend during the absence and absence of his brother. Probably from the neglect of his early education, he was little qualified to compete with his brother as a lecturer, a task he always performed with very great difficulty. In making dissections and anatomical preparations he was surrounded in such a manner as to be of great importance when we remember that this art was at that time very little known, and that such exhibitions were of great utility during the period before Mr. Hunter worked for two years, says Sir Edward Home, "that human anatomy, being then almost perished, he made himself master of what was then known, as well as made some additions to that knowledge." He traced the ramifications of the voluntary nerves upon the musculature of the arm, and discovered the course of some of the branches of the fifth pair of nerves. In the gravid uterus he traced the arteries of the uterus to their termination in the placenta. He was also the first who discovered the existence of the lymphatic vessels in man. The difficulty of unravelling all the complex parts of the human frame induced him to extend his inquiries and extend into the structure of the lower animals, nature having, as Dr. Gualtero St. Hilaire has more recently demonstrated, preserved one type in the organization of all animal beings. He applied to the keeper of the Tower, and the men who are the proprietors of the menageries of wild beasts, for the bones of the animals that died under their care, besides which he purchased such rare animals as came in his way, and many were presented to him by his friends, which he very judiciously committed to the showmen to keep until they died, the better to secure their interest in assisting him in his labours.

Ill health is too often the penalty of unremitting application, and Mr. Hunter's health now became so much impaired, by excessive attention to his pursuits, that in the year 1760, when he had just completed his thirty-second year, he became affected by symptoms which appeared to be intemperate consumption, and for which a medical treatment was deemed advisable.

In October, 1760, he was appointed by Mr. Aclair surgeon on the staff, and the following spring he embarked with the army for Belleisle, leaving Mr. Hewson to assist his brother during his absence. Both in Belleisle and Portugal he served as senior surgeon on the staff until the year 1763, and during this period amassed the materials for his valuable work on gunshot wounds. Nor is this all; taking advantage of the opportunities presented to him, he examined the bodies of many of the recently killed, with the view of tracing the healthy structures of certain parts, as well as the nature of particular secretions. After the peace in 1763 Mr. Hunter returned to England, "which," says one of his biographers, "I have often heard him say he had left

long enough to be satisfied how preferable it is to all other countries."

Mr. Hewson had now supplied the place of Mr. Hunter in superintending dissections and assisting in the anatomical theatre during the space of two years, and it was scarcely to be expected that he would resume his connection with his brother. Here, then, we find Mr. Hunter at the age of thirty-six, with very limited means, and with few friends, settling in London. Scarcely can any situation of greater anxiety be conceived than that of an able and active-minded man sitting down to practise medicine in a city in which he is comparatively a stranger, and which is already supplied with numerous rival practitioners on whom the public has already pronounced a favourable verdict. Such at this time was the position of Mr. Hunter: as one of his biographers simply but emphatically expresses it, "the practice of surgery now and for a long time afterwards afforded no opening for him; Hawkins, Dunderd, Sharp, Foster embraced almost the whole of family practice, whilst Adam and Tomkins carried from him the chief of the practice derived from the army." Disheartening, and indeed gloomy, as these prospects now were, he returned with unabated ardour to his scientific pursuits, and laid the foundation of that eminence which he afterwards attained. Finding the emoluments from his half-pay and private practice insufficient to support him, he resolved to teach practical anatomy and operative surgery. With the pecuniary means which he was thus enabled to raise, he purchased about two miles from London a piece of ground near Dromington, at a place called Earl's Court, and there built a house for the purpose of experiments which he could not carry on successfully in a large town. Here, in the course of his inquiries, he made several important discoveries. He ascertained the changes which animal and vegetable substances undergo in the stomach when acted on by the gastric juice; he also, by feeding animals with madder, which tinges growing bones with a red colour, discovered the principles observable in the growth of bones; and, furthermore, succeeded in explaining the process by which a dead piece is separated from the living bone. During his absence from England his name had in some degree been kept up, before the attention of the public by his brother's essays in the *Medical Commentaries*, where we find several allusions to his experiments and observations. In consequence of these scientific researches, while he was yet as a practitioner overlooked by the public, the Royal Society, much to its honour, elected him a fellow in which title he preceded his brother, who was ten years older, and had been known ten years earlier in the metropolis. The adjudgment of this honour and the recognition of the merits which it necessarily carried along with it, must in Mr. Hunter's circumstances, have been to him peculiarly gratifying. It was a proud incentive to further exertion: and a strong inducement to bear up against the difficulties which, as we have explained, at this time retarded his professional advancement.

The love of science leads us at all times to resources which lie beyond the neglect and injustice of the world, and the mind of Hunter, unencumbered as it was in early life, now sought relief, occupation, and improvement in the pains which it opened up. Among other instructive amusements, he employed himself in watching the peculiar habits and instincts of various animals, for which purpose he kept several, which should have been domesticated in menageries, in his own house. Sir Edward Home relates the following anecdote:—"Two leopards, which were

left chained in an outhouse, had broken from their confinement and got into the yard among some dogs, which they immediately attacked; the howling this produced alarmed the whole neighbourhood. Mr. Hunter ran into the yard to see what was the matter, and found one of them climbing up the wall to make his escape, the other surrounded by the dogs; he immediately laid hold of them both and carried them back to their den. But as soon as they were secured, and he had time to reflect on the risk of his own situation, he was so much agitated that he was in danger of fainting."

This year, by a strong exertion in dancing, Mr. Hunter unfortunately broke the tendo Achillis (the strong and broad tendon felt at the back of the foot), in consequence of which he introduced an improvement on the mode of treating this accident, which was superior to that recommended by Dr. Alexander Munro, who had himself at a more advanced period of life experienced a similar misfortune.

We have no account from Sir Everard Home of Mr. Hunter's town residence, until his brother, having completed his house in Windmill Street, assigned over to him the lease of his house in Jernyn Street. It is presumed by one of his biographers, that on his first arrival in London he lodged in Covent Garden, for the purpose of being near to his brother's dissecting-rooms, and another informs us that on his return from abroad he resided in Golden Square. Be this as it may, he appears to have lived in Jernyn Street until the expiration of the lease in 1783, a period of fifteen years. Whatever may have been the slight difference which existed between him and his brother, the latter appears still to have interested himself in his welfare, as we find that, chiefly through his interest, he was in 1768 (on the authority of Dr. Symmons) elected surgeon to St. George's Hospital. He had now acquired the desired means for giving his talents and industry full scope; for, as fellow of the Royal Society, he gained the earliest notice of every scientific discovery and improvement which might take place in Europe; and as surgeon to this hospital he had the means of extending his observations and confirming his pathological doctrines. His whole time was now devoted to the examination of facts, and the patient accumulation of such knowledge as he could gradually attain; nor did he, as many others have done, captivated by love of fame, rush prematurely before the notice of the public. Herein he showed very considerable wisdom, and well would it have been for many authors had they, like him, persevered even in obscurity in maturing their knowledge before surrendering themselves to a tribunal whose verdict will always in the end be found to have been dictated by the severest and most rigid principles of justice.

The surgeons of most of the public hospitals in this country have the privilege of selecting, on their own terms, house-pupils, who reside with them a year or two after the completion of their education. Among many who became pupils of John Hunter, and afterwards acquired celebrity in their profession, we may notice the famous Dr. Jenner, who boarded in his house in 1770 and 1771, and lived in habits of intimacy with him until his death. "In every conversation," says a friend of Dr. Jenner's, "as well as in a letter I received from him, he spoke with becoming gratitude of his friend and master." Even the slightest recollection, or testimony of esteem, from such a man as Dr. Jenner, in favour or illustration of the character of John Hunter must be received with interest. In 1771 Mr. Hunter published the first part of his *Treatise on the Teeth*, a very valuable work, the merit of which has not been surpassed

by any later production. It may be observed, *en passant*, that this was the only work he sold to the booksellers, all his others being published on his own account, or communicated to miscellaneous collections, chiefly periodicals. Between the appearance of the first and second part of his treatise, Dr. Fothergill published his paper on that painful affection of the facial nerve, denominated *Tic Douloureux*.

While thus rising in eminence, Mr. Hunter became attached to the daughter of Mr. Boyne Home, surgeon of Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, who was also the father of the celebrated Sir Everard Home; but their marriage was necessarily delayed until he had obtained a sufficient competency. His exertions therefore were correspondingly increased; and during this time, when he could suspend his professional and scientific toils, nothing gave him greater gratification than the pleasure of enjoying her society. "The expenses of his pursuits," says Sir Everard Home, "had been so great, that it was not for some years after his first engagement with this lady that his affairs could be sufficiently arranged to admit of his marriage. This happy period at length arrived, and he was married to Miss Home in 1771."

"Whilst he was paying," continues Sir Everard, "his addresses to my sister, I was a boy at Westminster School. During the holidays I came home, and Mr. Hunter, who was frequently there, always showed me particular kindness; he made my father an offer to bring me up to his profession, a proposal which I readily accepted. I was struck with the novelty and extent of his researches, had the highest respect and admiration for his talents, and was ambitious to tread the paths of science under so able a master."

The year after his marriage, at the request of Sir John Pringle, he read to the Royal Society a communication showing that after death the gastric juice has the power of dissolving the coats of the stomach. This paper he was persuaded to read to the society before he had entirely completed the investigations which he further meditated;—but it appears that he did not afterwards return to the subject, considering that the fact on which any further inquiries might be formed had been sufficiently demonstrated.

In the winter of 1773 he formed a plan for giving a course of lectures on the theory and principles of surgery, with the view of vindicating his own principles, which he frequently heard misquoted or ascribed to others, and of teaching them systematically. The first two winters he read his lectures gratis to the pupils of St. George's Hospital, and the winter following charged the usual terms of other teachers in medicine and surgery. "For this, or for continuing them," says one of his biographers, "there could be no pecuniary motive. As he was under the necessity of hiring a room and lecturing by candle light, his emoluments must have been trifling. The lectures not being considered a part of medical education, his class was usually small; and of the few that heard him, the greater part acknowledged their difficulty in understanding him, which was often proved by their incapacity of keeping up their attention. The task itself was so formidable to him, that he was obliged to take thirty drops of laudanum before he entered the theatre at the beginning of each course. Yet he certainly felt great delight in finding himself understood, always waiting at the close of each lecture to answer any questions; and evincing evident satisfaction when those questions were pertinent, and he perceived that his answers were satisfactory and intelligible." In addition to this, Sir Everard Home, after stating the fact of his having recourse to laudanum—the elixir vite of the opium-eater—"to take off the effects of uneasiness," adds, "he trusted

nothing to memory, and made me draw up a short abstract of each lecture, which he read on the following evening, as a recapitulation to connect the subjects in the minds of the students."

Amidst all his avocations, both as a lecturer and practitioner, Dr. John Hunter still pursued with an unabated zeal and industry his researches into comparative anatomy. No opportunity for extending his knowledge on this interesting department of science did he permit to escape him. In the year 1773, at the request of Mr. Walsh, he dissected the torpedo, and laid before the Royal Society an account of its electrical organs. A young elephant which had been presented to the queen by Sir Robert Barker, and had died, afforded him an opportunity of examining the structure of that animal; after which two other elephants in the queen's menagerie likewise died, which he also carefully dissected. The year following, 1774, he published in the *Philosophical Transactions* an account of certain receptacles of air in birds, showing how these communicate with the lungs and are lodged in the fleshy parts and in the bones of these animals; likewise a paper on the gillaroo-trout, commonly called in Ireland the gizzard-trout. In 1775 several animals of the species called the *Gymnotus electricus* of Surinam were brought alive into this country, and by the curious phenomena they exhibited the attention of the scientific world was greatly excited. After making numerous experiments on the living animals, Mr. Walsh purchased those which died, and gave his friend Mr. Hunter an opportunity of examining them. This he readily accepted, and drew up an account of their electrical organs, which he published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. In the same volume of that valuable work will be found his paper containing experiments respecting the powers of animals and vegetables in producing heat. Thus, in the paths of natural history did he find a recreation from the more serious, and often irksome duties of his profession; and by his skilful dissections, and acute observations, enriched our knowledge in this interesting and fascinating department of science.

While thus engaged, Mr. Hunter found a great difficulty in showing to advantage the natural appearances of many parts of animals which he wished to be preserved. In some instances the minute vessels could not be seen when the preparation was immersed in spirits; in others the natural colour of the parts preserved; and even the character of the surface, faded and underwent a change after being some time immersed in this liquid—a circumstance which, to this day, diminishes very much the value of almost all the morbid preparations which are preserved in private and public museums. The only method therefore of accomplishing the object he had in view, was to have them carefully and correctly drawn at the time of the dissection. The expense of engaging draughtsmen, the difficulty of procuring them, and above all their ignorance of the subject to be delineated, were considerable objections to their employment. Accordingly he engaged a young and talented artist named Bell, to live with him for ten years, during which period it was agreed that he should be employed both as a draughtsman and in making anatomical preparations. This young man soon imbibed the spirit of his master; he worked assiduously with his knife, his forceps, and his pencil; he engaged himself during part of his time in copying out Mr. Hunter's lectures, and in less than ten years became a skilful anatomist and surgeon. By his labours Mr. Hunter's collection became enriched with many very accurate and spirited drawings, and a variety of curious and delicate anatomical preparations. This

skilful artist, by the interest of his friend Sir Joseph Bankes, obtained the appointment of assistant-surgeon in the Honourable East India Company for the settlement of Bencoolen in Sumatra, whither he set out with the view both of improving his fortune and collecting specimens of natural history. He was in both successful beyond his most sanguine expectations. He sent home some very rare specimens of animals and corals, and two papers which appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions*—one giving a description of the double-horned rhinoceros, and the other of an uncommonly formed fish. Unfortunately for the cause of science, he died of fever in 1792, being one of the many who have been summoned from this world amidst early promises of future excellence and success.

In January, 1776, Mr. Hunter was appointed surgeon-extraordinary to his majesty—an honour which contributed still farther to advance his professional interests. About this time the attention of the public was much directed to the efforts of the Humane Society. Dr. Cogan was the first who introduced the subject from Holland; and after him Dr. Hawes did not suffer it to rest until it experienced the royal patronage. Here again we find Mr. Hunter zealously engaged in endeavouring to ascertain the best mode of restoring apparently drowned persons, the consequence of which was the production of a paper which he read to the Royal Society, entitled *Proposals for the Recovery of Persons Apparently Drowned*. The able author of this paper draws the distinction between the mere suspension of the functions by which life is supported, and absolute death, which he illustrates by reference to various animals, in whom, under certain conditions, the actions of life are temporarily suspended. It further contains a description of the signs of life and death, which are of vast importance; indeed, notwithstanding the progress that has since been made, both in Germany and Britain, in medical jurisprudence, this paper contains information which has by no means been superseded.

In the autumn of this year Mr. Hunter was taken extremely ill, and the nature of his complaints induced both his friends and himself to apprehend that his life was in imminent danger. However, the anticipated calamity was averted; he rallied, and was restored to his friends and the public, to whom his subsequent services were of such vast importance. When on his sick-bed he reflected on his own worldly affairs, such as he was about to leave them;—he perceived that all his fortune had been expended in his pursuits; that his family had no provision excepting what might arise from the sale of his collection; and he naturally, on this account, suffered much solicitude and anxiety. No sooner did he leave his sick chamber than he commenced arranging his collection, so that it might, in whatever event, command its value, and with this view he began to make a catalogue of the collection; but the delicacy of his health obliged him to desist from his labours, and, persuaded by his friends and relatives, he retired for a time to Bath. During his absence Mr. Everard Home was employed to draw out descriptions of the preparations, leaving blanks for those with which he was unacquainted. His complaints were considerably ameliorated by his residence at Bath; and though he returned to town before he was quite convalescent, he continued to amend, and was soon recovered.

In 1778 he published the second part of his *Treatise on the Teeth*, and also, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, a paper on the heat of animals and vegetables. In 1780 Mr. Hunter laid before the Royal Society an account of a woman who had the small-pox dur-

ing pregnancy, and in whom the disease seems to have been communicated to the fœtus. The following year he was elected fellow of the Royal Society of Sciences and Belles-lettres at Gottenburg. During this period he read before the Royal Society many valuable communications; among which we may notice a paper on the *Organ of Hearing in Fish*, and six Croonian lectures on *Muscular Motion*. In these lectures he collected all the observations that had been made on the muscles, respecting their powers and effects, and the stimuli by which they are excited; and to these he added comparative observations concerning the moving powers of plants; but these lectures were not published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, as they were not considered by the author to be sufficiently complete dissertations.

Sir Everard Home informs us, that in the year 1783 Mr. Hunter was chosen into the Royal Society of Medicine and Royal Academy of Surgery in Paris. In this year, continues the same writer, the lease of his house in Jernyn Street expired, and his collection being now too large to be contained in his dwelling-house, he purchased the lease of a large house on the east side of Leicester Square, and the whole lot of ground extending to Castle Street, in which there was another house. In the middle space between the two houses he erected a building for his collection. Upon this building he expended above three thousand pounds, and, unfortunately for his family, the lease did not extend beyond twenty-four years. . . . "During the execution of this extensive plan I returned to England from Jamaica, where, at the close of the war, I had been appointed staff-surgeon. . . . I found Mr. Hunter now advanced to a considerable practice, and a still greater share of public confidence. His collection had increased with his income. In this he was materially assisted by his friendship with Sir Joseph Banks, who not only allowed him to take any of his own specimens, but procured him every curious animal production in his power, and afterwards divided between him and the British Museum all the specimens of animals he had collected in his voyage round the world. Drawing materials from such ample sources, standing alone in this branch of science, and high in the public estimation, he had so much attention paid to him, that no new animal was brought to this country which was not shown to him; many were given to him, and of those which were for sale he had commonly the refusal; under these circumstances his collection made a progress which would otherwise have been impossible. In April, 1785, his new rooms were completed, and I devoted the whole of the summer to the object of assisting him in moving his preparations, and arranging them in their proper order."¹

The surgical practice of Mr. Hunter now daily increased, and he performed with great skill and judgment numerous operations, which were at that time new in the art of surgery; but whatever may have been the multiplicity of his professional engagements, his mind was still devoted to effecting improvements in medical education; and with this view, assisted by his friend the celebrated Dr. Fordyce, he instituted a medical society called the *Lycæum Medicum Londinense*, the meetings of which were held in his own lecture-rooms, and which acquired no inconsiderable reputation, both from the numbers and character of its members.

In the year 1786, in consequence of the death of Mr. Middleton, Mr. Hunter was appointed deputy

surgeon-general to the army; shortly after which he published his work on the venereal disease, and another entitled *Observations on Certain Parts of the Animal Economy*; both which works rank high in the estimation of the profession. Sir Everard Home mentions the curious fact that he chose to have his works printed and published in his own house, but "finding," he adds, "this measure to bear hard upon the booksellers in a way which had not been explained, and which was not intended, the second editions were sold by Mr. Johnson in St. Paul's Churchyard, and Mr. Nicoll, Pall Mall." In the spring of this year he had another very severe illness, which confined him to bed and rendered him incapable of any kind of business. "In this state," says his biographer, "I was obliged to take upon myself the charge of his patients, as well as of his other affairs; and these were so extensive that my residence in his house became absolutely necessary. His recovery was very slow, and his health received so severe a shock, that he was never afterwards entirely free from complaint or capable of his usual bodily exertion. After his recovery from this illness he was subjected to affections of the heart upon every occasion which agitated his mind. In this infirm state he was unable to attend patients upon sudden calls in the night, or to perform operations without assistance; and for these years I continued to live with him until within a year of his death, and then took a house within a few doors, which, in no respect, detached me from his pursuits, or prevented me from taking a part in his private practice." The uncertainty of the continuance of life under this affection; the mental agitation, and frequent depression with which it is almost invariably attended, render the victims of such generally anxious and unhappy; the canker-worm is felt to be preying within the living frame, and there is no hope of restoration to permanent health. But notwithstanding all this, his energies remained unabated, and he still toiled with his wonted alacrity in the pursuit of knowledge. In the year 1787 he submitted to the Royal Society a paper giving an account of the experiment he had made to determine the effect of extirpating one ovary on the number of the young; also another communication in which he proves the wolf, jackal, and dog to be of the same species; and another on the anatomy of the whale tribe. In return for these labours, having been twelve years a fellow, he received the gold Copleyan medal. In the July of this year he was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society; and the same year, on account of his continued ill health, he applied to the governors of St. George's Hospital to allow him an assistant-surgeon, to which request they readily acceded; and Sir Everard Home was appointed to the office. In the year 1789 he succeeded Mr. Adair as inspector-general of hospitals and surgeon-general of the army, and about the same time was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland.

In the year 1792 Mr. Hunter found that the period which he allotted to lecturing interfered so much with his other avocations, that he gave his materials for the lectures into the hands of Sir Everard Home, who relieved him of this duty. He now therefore began to prepare for the press his *Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun-shot Wounds*, the data for which he had been collecting for many years. In his dedication to the king he states that his appointment as surgeon on the staff in the expedition against Belleisle afforded him the opportunities of attending to gun-shot wounds, of seeing the errors and defects in that branch of military surgery, and

¹ *Life of John Hunter*, by Sir Everard Home, prefixed to his *Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun-shot Wounds*.

of conveying to remove them. He further adds, that a person is sometimes so influenced by a growth, and confined as to make the observation which forms the basis of that doctrine which has since been extended to much of the theory of the physiology.

But, in the history of the human mind, and in a very ingenious mode of reasoning, he came to the conclusion, maintained by the doctrine, which he held, that the blood as existing in its fluid state is alive, and from its death arose the changes which are observed in that substance as it is dissolved in the body. In the Old Testament we read, "Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh; for the life of the flesh is in the blood" (Lev. xvi. 42). The same doctrine too seems promulgated in the Alcoran—and appears to have been maintained by the celebrated physicians and philosophers of the East. There is no doubt to be doubted that the idea was suggested by John Hunter, in the century, his name has been long and illustrious as it was elicited by the experiments which he himself performed.

This would be an occasion to occupy a separate place to discuss the general merits of this physiological doctrine, but we are not now at liberty to do it. It is suggested by every philosopher, and is supported by many of the most celebrated names of the age, and it is a doctrine which has been above the inanimate objects by which he is surrounded. It is a doctrine which has been the subject of much investigation; but it must be satisfactory to those who are engaged in the study of medicine, to see the evidence which has been on either side adduced, to find that such men as John Hunter and Abernethy recognized the existence of something beyond the mere mechanism of the human frame; that they in their acute reasonings urged the existence of an internal and self-sustaining principle, which modifies the different conditions of matter, and must be therefore superior to its decay.

In the year 1772 Mr. Hunter was elected an honorary member of the Chirurgico-Physical Society of Edinburgh, and likewise connected himself with the Veterinary College, then just projected in London.

The origin of this institution, says Sir Astley Cooper, in his History of the Agricultural Society of which had offered a premium for the best dissertation on the diseases of the horse. Mr. Sergeant Bell was the first to propose it, and the society was so well pleased with his piece, that in a little time after a veterinary college was projected, over which that gentleman should preside. As soon as the proposal was known to Mr. Hunter he eagerly joined it, and he was not only to quadrupeds, but to man, by extending our knowledge of physiology, and more especially of pathology. In order to forward the plan, several gentlemen, the Duke of Bedford at their head, determined to give to the cause of its being never returned. Mr. Hunter was one of the number. It was proposed that he should examine Mr. Sergeant Bell, to which he readily assented. It will easily be conceived by those who are not at all acquainted with the continental pathology of those days, that the examination proved unsatisfactory. Mr. Hunter could not but be disappointed at the result, but this did not at all lessen his zeal in promoting the object of the institution.* Such was the origin of his connection with the London Veterinary College, of which he now became one of the vice-presidents.

In the Transactions of the Society for Improving Medical Knowledge, of which Mr. Hunter was one of the original and most zealous members, he published about this period papers on the "Treatment of Inflamed Veins," and "Intussusception," and on a mode

of conveying food into the stomach in cases of paralysis of the oesophagus. He likewise finished his *Observations on the Economy of Bees*, and presented them to the Royal Society. These observations he finished at Earl's Court, which was his place of retirement from the toils of his profession, but by no means a retreat from those intellectual labours which diversified the whole tenor of his life. "It was there," says Sir Everard Home, "he carried on his experiments on digestion, on exfoliation, on the transplanting of teeth into the combs of cocks, and all his other investigations on the animal economy, as well in health as in disease. The common bee was not alone the subject of his observation, but the wasp, hornet, and the less known kinds of bees were also objects of his attention. It was there he made the series of preparations of the external and internal changes of the silkworm; also a series of the modification of the egg, with a very valuable set of drawings of the whole series. The growth of vegetables was also a favourite subject of inquiry, and one on which he was always engaged making experiments. In the retreat he had dedicated many kinds of animals and birds, and it was to him a favourite amusement in his walks to attend to their actions and to their habits, and to make them familiar with him. The fowls and birds were those to which he was most partial, and he had several of the bull kind from all parts of the world. Among these was a beautiful small bull he had received from the queen, with which he used to wrestle in play, and entertain himself with his exertions at the time of contest. In one of these contests the bull overpowered him and got him down, and had not one of the servants accidentally come by and frightened the animal away, his limbs would probably have cost him his life."[†]

We have thus already traced the life of John Hunter from youth to middle age; from obscurity to eminence; from adversity to prosperity; and it remains for us now to notice those affections of disease which rendered the tenure of his life one of extreme uncertainty. We have already stated that in the spring of 1760 he was confined to bed by a venous disease—an acute attack of gout, which returned the three following springs, but not in the fourth. In the spring of 1773 he became affected with very severe venous symptoms, owing to disease of the heart. His next illness took place in 1774, and this appears to have been occasioned by inflammation in the arteries of the brain, which gave rise to morbid appearances that were recognized after death. After being blind, and subjected to other reducing treatment, he recovered from this severe attack; but his constitution had received a shock which nothing could surmount.

An organic disease lodged within, which every excitement would aggravate, if not lead to death and suddenly fatal consequences. He had no particular illness, however, from the period until 1783; but in the beginning of the month of that year he became attacked with a dreadfully severe spasmodic disease, which, like his similar attacks, was induced by mental anxiety. Nevertheless he rallied, and partially recovered, nor did anything of the kind particularly remarkable occur until the December of 1786, when at the house of a friend he became affected by a total loss of memory. He did not know in what part of the town he was; nor even the name of the street when told it; nor where his own house was, nor had he any recollection of any place existing beyond the room he was in, yet in the midst of all this he was perfectly conscious of the loss of memory. He was sensible

* *Life of John Hunter*, by Sir Everard Home.

of impressions of all kinds from the senses, and therefore looked out of the window, although rather dark, to see if he could be made sensible of the situation of the house; at length this loss of memory gradually went off, and in less than half an hour his memory was perfectly recovered. About a fortnight afterwards, when visiting a patient, an attack, somewhat of a similar nature, recurred. He thus continued to drag on a painful and precarious existence, with the grave every moment threatening to open beneath his feet. At length the fatal event so long anticipated by his friends occurred; it was sudden, and occasioned, as his former fits had been, by mental excitement. "On the 16th October," says Sir Everard Home, "when in his usual state of health, he went to St. George's Hospital, and meeting with something which irritated his mind, and not being perfectly master of the circumstances, he withheld his sentiments; in which state of restraint he went into the next room, and turning round to Dr. Robinson, one of the physicians to the hospital, he gave a deep groan, and dropped down dead." His body was conveyed from the hospital in a sedan chair, and underwent a careful medical examination, by which it appeared that among other morbid changes that had occurred, the arteries both of the heart and brain had undergone ossification. His funeral was attended by a few of his oldest medical friends, and his remains were interred in the vault under the parish church of St. Martin's in the Fields. He expired, it may be added, in his sixty-fifth year, the same age at which his brother Dr. William Hunter died.

The early education of John Hunter had, it is true, been grievously neglected; but this very fact left him at liberty to explore more freely new and untrodden paths, which men shackled by scholastic dogmas seldom have the courage to attempt. He was of no school; he went with an unprejudiced mind to nature, and examined into all her operations with that freedom and independence which can best advance the true interests of philosophy. He read very little. "I have learned," says one of his biographers, "from a gentleman who was very intimate with him, that when he had made a discovery, it was his custom to relate it to Mr. Cruickshank, who frequently informed him that Haller had made the same observation before." He was a man of truly original observation; and distinguished himself as much by the practical application of his knowledge as by the ingenious theories which he adopted. As a surgeon he was a bold but judicious, a quick yet skilful operator; and suggested many improvements in the mode of performing difficult operations. He discovered the method of operating for popliteal aneurism by taking up the femoral artery on the anterior part of the thigh without interfering with the tumour in the ham, by which the pain, and danger, and future sufferings of the patient are materially mitigated. This indeed ranks among the most important of the improvements which have been introduced into the practice of surgery. It may be added, that John Hunter always held the showy part of surgery in the lowest estimation. "To perform an operation," said he, "is to mutilate a patient whom we are unable to cure; it should therefore be considered as an acknowledgment of the imperfection of our art."

We have adverted to the difficulties which this eminent surgeon experienced for some years in struggling against pecuniary adversities. During the first eleven years of his practice, which, it must be admitted, was for him a long and tedious mental probation, his income never amounted to a thousand pounds a year; however, the four succeeding years

it exceeded that sum: and for several years previous to his death it increased to five, and was at that period six thousand pounds a year. Whatever difficulties therefore at first beset his progress were eventually surmounted; he attained the highest rank in his profession; he was universally esteemed and lauded as a man of general science; he had as much practice as he could attend to; his emoluments were considerable; and if we raise up the curtain of domestic life, we shall find him cheered by the society of a wife whom he loved; besides all which, he was the parent of two children, in whom it was natural that his best hopes and warmest affections should be centered. But the cup of human enjoyment seldom mantles to the brim without containing some drops of alloying bitterness; and there is no doubt but that professional anxieties and ill health rendered his temper irritable and impetuous. He was, says Sir Everard Home, readily provoked, and when irritated not easily soothed. His disposition was candid and free from reserve, even to a fault. He hated deceit, and as he was above every kind of artifice, he detested it in others, and too openly avowed his sentiments. His mind was uncommonly active; it was naturally formed for investigation, and that turn displayed itself on the most trivial occasions, and always with mathematical exactness. What is curious, it fatigued him to be long in mixed company which did not admit of connected conversation, more particularly during the last ten years of his life. He required less relaxation than other men; seldom sleeping more than four hours in the night, but almost always nearly an hour after dinner; this probably arose from the natural turn of his mind being so much adapted to his own occupations, that they were in reality his amusements, and therefore did not fatigue.

We have already seen how much time, even amidst his arduous professional toils and miscellaneous pursuits, he devoted to comparative anatomy, and in collecting preparations to illustrate every department of that interesting science. The museum which he succeeded in founding remains to this day a monument of his industry, perseverance, and ingenuity. Here we find arranged, in a regular order of progressive classification, every species of animate being, or link in the chain of organization, from the lowest vegetable, in which life can be scarcely recognized, up to man; but no account or description, however minute, can do adequate justice to such a collection. By his will he left it, under the discretion of his executors, to be sold for the benefit of his family, in one entire lot, to the government of Great Britain; or in case of refusal, to any other government or state which would offer such a price for it as all parties might consider reasonable. Six years after his death it was purchased by the British parliament for £15,000, and given to the College of Surgeons, on condition that twenty-four lectures should be delivered annually to members of the college, and that under certain regulations it should be open to the public. We thus find that, while his elder brother completed a museum which does honour to the university in which it is preserved, the younger, by his industry and perseverance, completed another, which has been pronounced by the most competent judges to be an honour to his country.

In personal appearance John Hunter was much below the ordinary middle stature; but his body was well formed for muscular exertion, and when in health he was always extremely active. His countenance was open, and although impressed with lines of thought, was by no means habitually severe; on the contrary, its expression soon softened into

tenderness, or became lighted up by mirth, according as the impression swept across his mind. When Lavater saw his print, he said, "That man thinks for himself," an opinion which the whole tenor of his actions will be seen to have verified. He was quick in manner, and "in conversation," says Sir Everard Home, "spoke too freely and harshly of his contemporaries;" but this, we are given to understand, arose rather from his conviction that surgery was still in its infancy, than from any uncharitable motive, or wish to depreciate his contemporaries. Few men were more generous than John Hunter, and the only fault which can impugn his memory is, that in executing his designs for the benefit of science, he neglected too much the interests of his wife and children. On the death of her husband Mrs. John Hunter withdrew from society, and spent her life almost entirely in retirement. After a lingering illness, which she bore with much patience and resignation, she died on 7th January, 1821, in the seventy-ninth year of her age, leaving behind her a son and daughter, the former a major in the army, and the latter the widow of General Campbell, son of Sir James Campbell of Inverneil.

Besides her many amiable domestic qualifications, to which all who knew her bore testimony, she was exceedingly accomplished; and occasionally, during her husband's lifetime, mingled in society with Horace Walpole, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Vesey, and other characters well known in the literary world. She sang and played with admirable taste, and had a talent for poetry, which she chiefly displayed in the production of songs and poems, which were characterized by much refinement of thought, sensibility of feeling, and delicacy of expression. Among the former, the *Song of Ananias and Sapphira* became extremely popular; among the latter, her verses *On November 1784*, a beautiful address to fancy under the title of *La Douce Chimere*, with several other minor poems, display much feeling and imagination.¹

HUTTON, DR. JAMES, an eminent philosophical character, was born in Edinburgh on the 3d June, 1726. His father was a respectable merchant, who for many years held the office of city-treasurer, and was admired by all who knew him for his sound judgment and strict integrity. He died while James was very young; the care, therefore, of her son devolved upon Mrs. Hutton, whose great maternal kindness was only exceeded by her desire to give him a liberal education. She sent him first to the high-school of Edinburgh, and afterwards to the university, where he entered as a student of humanity in 1740. Professor M'Laurin was then the most celebrated teacher in that seminary, but though Dr. Hutton admired his lectures, he did not seem much disposed towards the science which he taught. To Professor Stevenson's prelections on logic may be attributed the first direction given to young Hutton's genius, not so much for having made him a logician, but for having accidentally directed his mind towards the science of chemistry. The professor having casually mentioned in one of his lectures, in illustration of some general doctrine, the fact that gold is dissolved in *aqua regia*, and that two acids, which can each of them singly dissolve any baser metals, must unite their strength before they can attack the most precious; the phenomenon struck so forcibly on the mind of Hutton, that he began to search with avidity after books which might explain its cause, and afford him an opportunity of pursuing

a study altogether new. He at first found some embarrassments in his pursuit from the superficial works that came to his hands, and it was from Harris' *Lexicon Techni* that he first derived his knowledge of chemistry, and which by a sort of electric attraction drew his mind all at once to a favourite study, that decided his prospects in life.

Though he pursued his academical studies with closeness and regularity, and evinced a taste and capacity for instruction, his friends did not see much profit likely to arise from scientific pursuits, and accordingly persuaded him to adopt some profession, which, though much against his inclination, he agreed to, and was accordingly placed as an apprentice with Mr. George Chalmers, writer to the signet, in 1743. The dry routine of a laborious profession in a less ardent mind might have checked, if not for ever destroyed, those seeds of genius which were as yet scarce called into life; but so strong was Mr. Hutton's propensity for scientific study, that, instead of copying papers, and making himself acquainted with legal proceedings, he was oftener found amusing himself with his fellow-apprentices in chemical experiments; so that Mr. Chalmers was forced to acknowledge that the business of a writer was one in which he had little chance to succeed. With a fatherly kindness he therefore advised young Hutton to embrace some other employment more suitable to his inclinations, and relieved him at once from the obligations he came under as his apprentice. How much is science indebted to that liberal-minded man! Having now to fix upon another profession, he selected that of medicine, as being the most nearly allied to chemistry, and began to study under Dr. George Young, and at the same time attended the lectures at the university from 1744 to 1747. The schools of medicine in Edinburgh at that time had not arrived at the high perfection for which they are now so justly celebrated, and it was thought indispensably necessary that a physician should finish his education on the Continent. Mr. Hutton accordingly proceeded to Paris, where he applied himself closely to anatomy and chemistry. After remaining for two years in France, he returned home by the way of the Low Countries, and took the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Leyden in 1749.

On arriving in London, about the end of that year, he began seriously to reflect upon his prospects in life, and soon saw, that however much he wished to establish himself in his native city as a physician, there were many obstacles which seemed insurmountable. He was a young man whose merit was unknown, and whose connections, though respectable, had no power to assist him, the business being then in the hands of a few eminent practitioners who had been long known and established. All this seems to have made a deep impression on his mind, and he expressed himself with much anxiety on the subject in corresponding with his friends in Edinburgh. Amongst these there was one, a young man nearly of his own age, whose habits and pursuits were congenial to his own, and with whom he had tried many novel experiments in chæiistry; amongst the best was one on the nature and properties of sal-ammoniac. This friend, whose name was James Davie, had, in Mr. Hutton's absence, pushed his inquiries on the subject to a considerable extent; the result of which afforded him a well-grounded hope of being able to establish a profitable manufactory of that salt from coal-soot. Mr. Davie communicated the project to his friend in London, who, with a mind as yet undecided on any fixed pursuit, returned to Edinburgh in 1750, and abandoning entirely his views on the practice of medicine, resolved to apply

¹ She collected her poems and songs, and published them in a small volume in the year 1788.

himself to agriculture. What his motives were for taking this step it is difficult to ascertain. His father had left him a small property in Berwickshire, and being of an independent and unambitious mind, he most probably looked upon the business of a farmer as entitled to a preference above any other. But not being disposed to do anything in a superficial way, he determined to gain a knowledge of rural economy in the best school of the day. For this purpose he went into Norfolk and took up his residence in the house of a farmer, from whom he expected to receive sufficient instruction. He appears to have enjoyed his situation very much—the natural simplicity of his disposition according well with the plain blunt characters around him.

It has been remarked of Dr. Hutton, that to men of an ordinary grade of mind he appeared to be an ordinary man possessing little more spirit perhaps than is usually to be met with. This circumstance made his residence in Norfolk quite agreeable, as even there he could for a time forget his great acquirements, and mingle with the simple characters around him in so cordial a manner, as to make them see nothing in the stranger to set them at a distance from him, or induce them to treat him with reserve. In years after, when surrounded by his literary friends, the philosopher loved to describe the happy hours he spent while under the humble roof of honest John Dybold, from whom he had learned so many good practical lessons in husbandry. From his residence in Norfolk he made many journeys on foot through other parts of England to obtain information in agriculture, and it was in the course of these rambles that, to amuse himself on the road, he first began to study mineralogy and geology. In a letter to Sir John Hall of Douglas, a gentleman possessed of much taste for science, he says, while on his perambulations, "that he was become very fond of studying the surface of the earth, and was looking with anxious curiosity into every pit, or ditch, or bed of a river, that fell in his way, and that if he did not always avoid the fate of *Thales*, his misfortune was certainly not owing to the same cause." This letter was written from Yarmouth in 1753. With the view of still further increasing his knowledge of agriculture, he set out for Flanders, where good husbandry was well understood long before it was introduced into Britain, and travelling through Holland, Brabant, Flanders, and Picardy, he returned about the middle of summer, 1754. Notwithstanding all he had seen to admire in the garden-culture that prevailed in Holland, and the husbandry in Flanders, he says, in a letter to his friend Sir John Hall, from London, "Had I a doubt of it before I set out, I should have returned fully convinced that they are good husbandmen in Norfolk." Many observations made on that journey, particularly on mineralogy, are to be found in his *Theory of the Earth*. As he was now sufficiently initiated in a knowledge of agriculture, he wished to apply himself to the practice in his own country; and for that purpose returned to Scotland at the end of summer. He at first hesitated on the choice of a situation where he might best carry his improved plans of farming into effect, and at last fixed upon his own patrimony in Berwickshire. From Norfolk he brought with him a plough and ploughman, who set the first example of good tillage. It was a novel sight for the surrounding farmers to see the plough drawn by two horses, without an accompanying driver. The new system was, however, found to succeed in all its parts, and was quickly adopted, so that Dr. Hutton has the credit of introducing the new husbandry into a country where it has, since

his time, made more rapid improvements than in any other in Europe. He resided on his farm until the year 1768, occasionally making a tour into the Highlands, with his friend Sir George Clerk, upon geological inquiries, as he was now studying that branch of science with unceasing attention.

While residing on his farm for the last fourteen years, he was also engaged in the sal-ammoniac work, which had been actually established on the foundation of the experiments already made by his friend and himself, but the business remained in Mr. Davie's name only till 1765, when a copartnership was regularly entered into, and the manufactory carried on in the name of both.

As his farm, from excellent management, progressively improved, it became a more easy task, and to a mind like his, less interesting; so that, finding a good opportunity of letting it to advantage, he did so, and became a resident in Edinburgh in the year 1768, from which time he devoted his whole life to scientific pursuits. This change of residence was accompanied with many advantages he seldom enjoyed before;—having the entire command of his own time, he was enabled to mix in a society of friends whose minds were congenial with his own; among whom were Sir George Clerk, his brother Mr. Clerk of Eldin, Dr. Black, Mr. Russel (professor of natural philosophy), Professor Adam Ferguson, Dr. James Lind, and others. Surrounded by so many eminent characters, by all of whom he was beloved and respected, from the vast fund of information he possessed, he employed his time in maturing his views and searching into the secrets of nature with unwearied zeal. In one of these experiments he discovered that mineral alkali is contained in zeolite. On boiling the gelatinous substance obtained from combining that fossil with muriatic acid, he found that after evaporation the salt was formed. Dr. Playfair thinks this to be the first instance of an alkali being discovered in a stony body. The experiments of M. Klaproth and Dr. Kennedy have confirmed the conclusion, and led to others of the same kind. With a view of completing his *Theory of the Earth*, he made many journeys into different parts of England and Wales; and on visiting the salt-mines of Cheshire, he made the curious observations of the concentric circles marked on the roofs of these mines, to which he has referred in his *Theory*, as affording a proof that the salt-rock was not formed from mere aqueous deposition.

In 1777 Dr. Hutton's first publication was given to the world in the shape of a pamphlet on the *Nature, Quality, and Distinctions of Coal and Culm*. This was occasioned by a question which the Board of Customs and privy-council wished to have settled, in order to fix on the proportion of duty the one should bear with the other when carried coastwise. Dr. Hutton's pamphlet was considered so ingenious and satisfactory, that an exemption of the small coal of Scotland from paying duty on such short voyages was the consequence. He took a lively interest in promoting the arts of his native country, and devoted much of his time and attention to the project of an internal navigation between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. He read several papers in the Philosophical Society before its incorporation with the Royal Society (none of which were then published, with the exception of one in the second volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, on "Certain Natural Appearances of the Ground on the Hill of Arthur's Seat"). His zeal for the support of science in Edinburgh induced him to come forward and communicate to the Royal Society a sketch of a *Theory of the Earth*, the perfecting of which had occupied his

constant attention for a period of thirty years, during which time he had never ceased to study the natural history of the globe, with a view of ascertaining all the changes that have taken place on its surface, and discovering the causes by which they have been produced; and from his great skill as a mineralogist, and having examined the great leading facts of geology with his own eyes, and carefully studied every learned work on the natural history of the earth, it must be acknowledged that few men could enter better prepared on so arduous a task. As this *Theory* is so well known, and has been the subject of so much controversy, our limits will not permit us to enter upon it here; we therefore refer our readers to the book itself.

Dr. Kirwan of Dublin, and others, considered Dr. Hutton's *Theory* both eccentric and paradoxical, and charged him with presumption in speculating on subjects to which the mere human understanding is incompetent to reach, while some gave a preference to the system of Berkeley as more simple and philosophical; but notwithstanding all the attacks upon the new doctrines of Hutton, he had the proud satisfaction of being fortified in his opinions by many great and good men, who were bound to him by the closest ties of friendship. Dr. Black, Mr. Clerk of Eldin, and Professor Playfair, as occasion required, were willing and ready to vindicate his hypothesis. But setting aside all these considerations, there existed in the work itself many faults, which contributed not a little to prevent Dr. Hutton's system from making a due impression. In the opinion of his greatest defender, Professor Playfair, "it was proposed too briefly, and with too little detail of facts, for a system which involved so much that was new and opposite to the opinions generally received. The description which it contains of the phenomena of geology suppose in the reader too great a knowledge of the things described. The reasoning is sometimes embarrassed by the care taken to render it strictly logical, and the transitions from the author's peculiar notions of arrangement are often unexpected and abrupt. These defects run more or less through all Dr. Hutton's writings, and produce a degree of obscurity astonishing to all who knew him, and who heard him every day converse with no less clearness and precision than animation and force." In the same volume of the *Transactions* appeared a paper by him, "A Theory of Rain," which he afterwards published in his *Physical Dissertations*. Having long studied meteorology with great attention, this ingenious theory attracted almost immediate notice, and was valued for affording a distinct notion of the manner in which cold acts in causing a precipitation of humidity. It met, however, from M. De Luc with a vigorous and determined opposition; Dr. Hutton defended it with some warmth, and the controversy was carried on with much sharpness on both sides.

In his observations in meteorology he is said to be the first who thought of ascertaining the medium temperature of any climate by the temperature of its springs. With this view he made a great number of observations in different parts of Great Britain, and found, by a singular enough coincidence between two arbitrary measures quite independent of each other, that the temperature of springs along the east coast of this island varies a degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer for a degree of latitude. This rate of change, though it cannot be general over the whole globe, is probably not far from the truth for all the northern parts of the temperate zone. In explaining the diminution of temperature, as we ascend in the atmosphere, Dr. Hutton was much more fortunate

than any other of the philosophers who have considered the same subject. It is well known that the condensation of air converts part of the latent into sensible heat, and that the rarefaction of air converts part of the sensible into latent heat; this is evident from the experiment of the air-gun, and from many others. If, therefore, we suppose a given quantity of air to be suddenly transported from the surface to any height above, it will expand on account of the diminution of pressure, and a part of its heat becoming latent, it will be rendered colder than before. Thus also, when a quantity of heat ascends by any means whatever from one stratum of air to a superior stratum, a part of it becomes latent, so that an equilibrium of heat can never be established among the strata; but those which are less must always remain colder than those which are more compressed. This was Dr. Hutton's explanation, and it contains no hypothetical principle whatsoever. After those publications already mentioned had appeared, he resolved to undertake journeys into different parts of Scotland, in order to ascertain whether that conjunction of granite and schistus, which his theory supposed, actually took place. His views were first turned towards the Grampians, which the Duke of Athol learning, invited him to accompany him during the shooting season into Glen Tilt, a tract of country situated under these mountains. On arriving there he discovered in the bed of the river Tilt, which runs through that glen, many veins of red granite traversing the black micaceous schistus, and producing by a contrast of colour an effect that might be striking even to an unskilful observer. So vivid were the emotions he displayed at this spectacle, that his conductors never doubted his having discovered a vein of gold or silver. Dr. Hutton has described the appearances at that spot in the third volume of the *Edinburgh Transactions* (p. 79), and some excellent drawings of the glen were made by Mr. Clerk, whose pencil was not less valuable in the sciences than in the arts.

He pursued his observations with unabated ardour, and in the two next years, with his friend Mr. Clerk, made several excursions into Galloway, the island of Arran, and the neighbourhood of Jedburgh. In all of these he discovered the same conjunction, though not in so complete a manner as among the Grampians. In 1788 he made some other valuable observations of the same kind. The ridge of the Lammormoor Hills in the south of Scotland consists of the silurian or graywacke formation (then named *primary* by Hutton, but afterwards found to belong to the transition series), which extends from St. Abb's Head south-westward to Portpatrick and into the north of Ireland. The sea-coast at Eyemouth and St. Abb's Head exhibits striking sections of these rocks, which there appear contorted and dislocated in a remarkable manner. The junction of the graywacke with the secondary strata was an object of instructive interest to Hutton. In the same year he accompanied the Duke of Athol to the Isle of Man, with the view of making a survey of that island. He found the main body of the island to consist of what he termed primitive schistus (graywacke), much inclined, and more intersected with quartzose veins than the corresponding rocks in the south and south-east of Scotland. The direction of these strata corresponded with that of the graywacke rocks in Galloway, running nearly from east to west. This is all the general information he obtained from that excursion. It was reserved for later geological researches to determine the true nature and relations of the silurian or graywacke series, by means of the fossils which they have been found to contain. It

was not till after Hutton's day that geologists became palæontological.

Notwithstanding his assiduous attention to geology, Dr. Hutton found leisure to speculate on subjects of a different nature. A voluminous work from his pen made its appearance soon after the *Physical Dissertations:—An Investigation of the Principles of Knowledge, and the Progress of Reason, from Sense to Science and Philosophy*, in three volumes quarto. In this treatise he formed a general system of physics and metaphysics. His opinions on the former subjects were very singular. He deprives matter of those qualities which are usually deemed most essential—solidity, impenetrability, and the vis inertie. He conceived it to be merely an assemblage of powers acting variously upon each other, and that external things are no more like the perceptions they give, than wine is similar to intoxication, or opium to the delirium it produces. It would be vain in us to attempt to analyze this singular work, which cannot fail to recall to the mind the opinions of the ingenious Dr. Berkeley; the two systems agree in many material points, but they differ essentially in others.

In deference to the opinions of so great a man as Dr. Hutton, we shall inform our readers of the view taken of the moral tendency of his work by his friend Professor Playfair, who no doubt scrutinized very deeply its metaphysical speculations, as he in part, if not altogether, became a convert of the Huttonian system. "Indeed," says he, "Mr. Hutton has taken great pains to deduce from his system, in a singular manner, the leading doctrines of morality and natural religion, having dedicated the third volume of his book almost wholly to that object. It is worthy to remark, that while he is thus employed, his style assumes a better tone and a much greater degree of perspicuity than it usually possesses. Many instances might be pointed out where the warmth of its benevolent and moral feelings bursts through the clouds that so often veil from us the clearest ideas of his understanding. One in particular deserves notice, in which he treats of the importance of the female character to society in a state of high civilization. A felicity of expression and a flow of natural eloquence, inspired by so interesting a subject, make us regret that his pen did not more frequently do justice to his thoughts." Dr. Hutton was seized with a severe and dangerous illness in the summer of 1793, and, although before this time he had enjoyed a long continuance of good health, such was the painful nature of his complaint that he was reduced to great weakness, and confined to his room for many months, where, on his regaining some degree of strength, he amused himself in superintending the publication of the work just mentioned. During his recovery he was roused from his quiet into further exertion by a severe attack made on his *Theory of the Earth*, by Dr. Kirwan, in the *Memoirs of the Irish Academy*, rendered formidable by the celebrity of the author. Before this period Dr. Hutton had often been urged to publish the entire work on the *Theory of the Earth*, which he had constantly put off—so much so, that there seemed some danger of its not appearing in his lifetime. The very day, however, after Kirwan's paper was put in his hands, he began the revision of his manuscript, and resolved immediately to send it to press. The work was accordingly published in two volumes octavo, in 1795. He next turned his attention to a work on husbandry, on which he had written a great deal, the fruit both of his vast reading and practical experience. He proposed to reduce the whole into a systematic form, under the title of *Elements of Agri-*

culture. The time, however, was fast approaching which was to terminate the exertions of a mind of such singular activity and ardour in the pursuit of knowledge. In the course of the winter, 1796, he became gradually weaker, and extremely emaciated from the pain he suffered from a recurrence of his former complaint, though he still retained the full activity and acuteness of his mind. Saussure's *Voyages aux Alps*, which had just reached him that winter, was the last study of one eminent geologist, as they were the last work of another. On Saturday the 26th March, 1797, although in great pain, he employed himself in writing and noting down his remarks on some attempts which were then making towards a new mineralogical nomenclature. In the evening he was seized with shivering fits, and as these continued to increase, he sent for his friend Dr. Russel. Before he could arrive all assistance was in vain. Dr. Hutton had just strength left to stretch out his hand to the physician, and immediately expired.

Dr. Hutton was possessed of an uncommon activity and ardour of mind, upheld in science by whatever was new, beautiful, or sublime; and that those feelings operated with more intense power in early life may account for the want of stability he displayed, and the difficulty he felt in settling down to any one fixed pursuit. Geology and mineralogy were to him two of the most sublime branches of physical science. The novelty and grandeur offered by the study to the imagination, the simple and uniform order given to the whole natural history of the earth, and above all, the views opened of the wisdom that governs the universe, are things to which hardly any mind could be insensible, but to him they were matters, not of transient delight, but of solid and permanent happiness.

He studied with an indefatigable perseverance, and allowed no professional, and rarely any domestic, arrangement to interrupt his uniform course. He dined early, almost always at home, ate sparingly, and drank no wine. The evening he spent in the society of friends, who were always delighted and instructed by his animated conversation, which, whether serious or gay, was replete with ingenious and original observation. When he sought relaxation from the studies of the day, and joined the evening party, a bright glow of cheerfulness spread itself over every countenance; and the philosopher who had just descended from the sublimest speculations in metaphysics, or risen from the deepest research in geology, seated himself at the tea-table, as much disengaged from thought, and as cheerful and joyous, as the youngest of the company.

Professor Stewart, in his life of Mr. Smith, has alluded to a little society that then flourished in Edinburgh, called the Oyster Club. Of this, Dr. Black, Dr. Hutton, and Mr. Smith were the founders. When time and opportunity admitted, these distinguished men could unbend one to the other, and on such occasions Dr. Hutton delighted in blending the witty and ludicrous in his conversation. Round them soon formed a circle of choice spirits, who knew how to value their familiar and social converse; and it would be in vain to look for a company more sincerely united, where everything favourable to good society was more perfectly cultivated, and everything opposite more strictly excluded.

Dr. Hutton was never married, but lived with his sisters, three amiable women, who managed his domestic affairs. Though he cared little for money, he had accumulated considerable wealth, owing to his moderation and unassuming manner of life, as well as from the great ability with which his long-

tried friend, Mr. Davie, conducted their joint concern. Miss Isabella Hutton remained to lament her brother's loss, and by her his collection of fossils was given to Dr. Black, who presented them to the Royal

Society of Edinburgh, under the condition that they should be completely arranged, and kept for ever apart, for the purpose of illustrating the Huttonian theory of the earth.

I.

INGLIS, HENRY DAVID. This is one of a class of authors, unfortunately too numerous, who have failed in winning that literary reputation which their labours justly merited. How often it happens that, amidst a mass of neglected books ready to be sold by the pound as waste paper, some stray volume is picked up, which, on being opened, is found to contain an amount of learning, genius, and talent such as would entitle its writer to a respectable place in the authorship of the present day! But who was he? No one can tell; for either his name has been slightly recorded, or allowed to pass away without notice. Among these victims of the world's unjust neglect we fear that David Henry Inglis has already been enrolled.

He was born in Edinburgh in 1795. He was the only son of a barrister, who belonged to an ancient Scottish family: his maternal grandmother was daughter of Colonel Gardiner, who fell so nobly at Prestonpans. This lady was also the authoress of a heroic poem, which, even though written by a hero's daughter, has ceased to be remembered. Through this ancestress Henry David Inglis was allied to the Earl of Buchan and the Erskines. Being intended for the mercantile profession, he passed from the college to the counting-house; but after devoting himself for a short time to business, he found that his affections lay elsewhere; the distinctions of literature, rather than the profits of mercantile speculation, were the objects of his aspirations. He was also anxious to visit foreign countries, and contemplate the scenes of great past events and stirring living incidents, instead of being chained to the desk, and confined to the chapter of profit and loss. He therefore early became a traveller and a writer of travels. His first work of this nature was entitled *Tales of the Ardennes*, which he published under the assumed name of Derwent Conway; and this work was so favourably received by the public on its first appearance, that he was encouraged to continue in the same strain. His next production was *Solitary Walks through many Lands*—a work of still higher talent than the preceding, and possessing passages and descriptions of great beauty, originality, and power. This was followed by *Travels in Norway and Sweden*, and his *Tour through Switzerland, France, and the Pyrenees*, both of which works appeared in *Constable's Miscellany*. While these volumes were publishing, Inglis was employed as editor of a newspaper at Chesterfield; but the same impatience and yearning for travel that made him abandon the stool of the counting-house soon drove him from the editorial chair to resume his beloved life of wandering. He again started for the Continent, and visited the Tyrol and Spain; and on returning home he published two works containing an account of his travels and observations in these countries. Of these volumes, his *Spain* in 1830 was the most successful, and with justice, in consequence of the great amount of interesting information with which it was stored about that land of changes and disasters. After his return from Spain Mr. Inglis again became editor of a

newspaper, and, of all places in the world, the little island of Jersey was the locality in which he was fixed. A permanent stay in such a place was the last thing to be anticipated of such a man; and he had not therefore been long in Jersey when he girded up his loins for fresh rambles and adventure. But whither was he now to wing his course, after he had pretty well exhausted the wide field of Europe? Luckily, a country quite at hand, even Ireland, had not as yet been the subject of his explorations, and thither accordingly his flight was directed. And that his tour was a useful one was well attested by his *Ireland* in 1834. While the extensive information and impartial spirit of this work obtained for it a favourable reception from all parties, the correctness of his views on the condition of the country made it be frequently quoted in the House of Commons during the important parliamentary debates about Ireland in 1835. It is seldom that the soundness and accuracy of an Irish tourist are stamped with such a high attestation.

Hitherto, as we have shown, the literary labours of Inglis had been well appreciated by the public; but still this was not enough. As all the world is travelling everywhere, the individuality of each aspiring pilgrim, let him go where he will, is lost in a crowd; and let him write what marvels he may "of the Alps and Appennines, the Pyrenean and the river Po," and "of the cannibals that each other eat, the Anthropophagi," there are others who behold them as well as himself, and are taking notes of them, to put them in a book. And thus his narrative, however ably written or full of interest, lasts only for to-day; for to-morrow a fresh tourist issues from the press, while the latest intelligence will be always accounted the best. It was thus that Inglis seems to have felt when he found himself ousted successively from every country in which he had roamed so diligently, and about which he had written so well. Literary distinction was not to be won by travelling. Already he had written of what many have seen; but now let him tell what no man ever saw—let him create a world for himself, and fill it with the creatures and deeds of his own imagining. It was toward this department of fiction also that, amidst all his wanderings and authorship, his intellectual longings had been the most directed. His resolution was formed; his choice of a subject was fixed; and after the success of his work entitled *Spain* in 1830, he produced his novel of *The New Gil Blas*, in which he endeavoured to embody Spanish life as it exists in the present day. It was the best of all his writings, for it combined truthful delineation with the highest efforts of fancy and creative power; and while he brought to it all the resources of his genius, and all the affections of his heart, he seems to have regarded it as the great effort by which, like Sir Walter Scott, he would open for himself a new world of distinction and success after the old had been exhausted. But, alas for the unlucky title! Many thought that the first *Gil Blas* was enough, and would not read the second; many opened it, and then threw it aside,

mistaking it for a mere paltry imitation; while the few who dared to read on were troubled with thoughts of Le Sage at every turning of the leaf. And thus the unfortunate production was doomed at the very moment of its birth, and consigned to the fate of a Spartan ill-shapen infant, but without the formality of a Spartan inquest. It was a sore calamity to Inglis, who loved it with a mother's love, and his lamentation over it could only find comfort in a lingering of hope. "Alas!" he would exclaim, "I fear I have written my *Gil Blas* for posterity!" We suspect that posterity will have too many novels of their own to busy themselves withal instead of attending to those which their fathers neglected.

After his return from Ireland, Mr. Inglis began to prepare for publication his *Travels in the Footsteps of Don Quixote*—a work the nature of which is indicated by the title. Undeterred also by the failure of his chief attempt in fiction, he had already planned, and even commenced, other works of a similar character, when his overtaken physical endurance gave way under such constant intellectual pressure; and a disease of the brain ensued, of which he died in London, before he had completed his fortieth year. His decease occurred on the 20th of March, 1835.

INGLIS, or ENGLISH, SIR JAMES, an ingenious writer of the early part of the sixteenth century, is chiefly known as the supposed author of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, a very curious political and pamphlet work, published originally at St. Andrews in 1548 or 1549, and the earliest Scottish prose work in existence.

Of this learned person Mackenzie has given an account in his *Lives of Scottish Writers*; but it is so obviously made up of a series of mere conjectures stated as facts that we must reject it entirely. According to more respectable authority, Inglis was a dignified priest (which accounts for the *Sir* attached to his name), and appears from authentic documents to have been in 1515 secretary to Queen Margaret, widow of James IV. Care must be taken to distinguish him from his contemporary John Inglis, who served James IV. as a manager of plays and entertainments, and who is stated to have been present with Sir David Lindsay in the church of Linlithgow when that sovereign was warned by a supposed apparition against his expedition into England. Sir James Inglis was nevertheless a writer of plays, being the subject of the following allusion in Sir David Lindsay's *Testament of the Papingo*:—

"And in the court bin present in thir days,
That ballatis brevis lustely, and layis,
Quhilkis to our prince daily thay do present,
Quho can say more than Schir James English says,
In ballatis, farcis, and in pleasant plaies;
Redd in cunningyng, in practyck rycht prudent;
But Culross bath made his pen impotent."

It will be observed that Inglis is here indirectly spoken of as one of the poets who haunted the court of James V. Even in the preceding reign, however, he appears to have been on an intimate footing at court, as a man of learning. James IV., whose devotion to alchemy is well known, writes a letter (extant in the *Epistola Regum Scotorum*) to Mr. James Inglis, to the following effect: "We have thankfully received your letter, by which you inform us that you are in possession of the abstruse books of the *Sound Philosophy*; which, as certain most deserving persons have begged them of you, you with difficulty preserve for our use, having heard that we are addicted to the study of that art." Of the ballads and plays composed by Inglis not a vestige now re-

mains, unless a poem attributed to him in the Maitland MS., and as such printed by Hailes and Sibbald, entitled *A General Satire*, be held as a specimen of one of those kinds of composition, and be really a production of his pen.

In a charter of 19th February, 1527, Inglis is styled chancellor of the royal chapel of Stirling; and he appears to have been soon after raised to the dignity of abbot of Culross, a promotion which, if we may believe his friend Lindsay, spoiled him as a poet. It was eventually attended with still more fatal effects. Having provoked the wrath of a neighbouring baron, William Blackater of Tulliallan, the abbot of Culross was by that individual cruelly slain, March 1, 1530. The causes of this bloody deed do not appear; but the sensation created by it throughout the community was very great. Sir William Lothian, a priest of the same abbey, who was an accomplice of the principal assassin, was publicly degraded on a scaffold at Edinburgh, in presence of the king and queen, and next day he and the laird of Tulliallan were beheaded.

It would hardly be worth while to advert so minutely to a person who, whatever was his genius, is not certainly known as the author of any existing composition, if the name were not conspicuous in works of Scottish literary history, and must therefore continue to be inquired for in such compilations as the present. Inglis, if the same individual as this abbot of Culross, could have no pretensions to the honour put upon him by some writers, of having written the *Complaynt of Scotland*; for that curious specimen of our early literature was undeniably written in 1548, eighteen years after the death of the abbot. In the obscurity, however, which prevails regarding the subject of the present notice, we cannot deny that he *may* have been a different person, and *may* have survived even to the date assigned for his death by Mackenzie—1554; in which case he *could* have been the author of the *Complaynt*. That a Sir James Inglis existed after 1530, and had some connection with Culross, appears pretty certain from the passage in the *Testament of the Papingo*, which is understood to have been written in 1538. But, on the other hand, there is no authority for assigning the authorship of the *Complaynt* to any Sir James Inglis, except that of Dr. Mackenzie, which rests on no known foundation, and, from the general character of that biographical writer, is not entitled to much respect. Some further inquiries into this subject will be found under the head JAMES WEDDERBURN.

INNES, THOMAS, an historian and critical antiquary, known to the students of early Scottish history by the title of "Father Innes," was a priest of the Scottish college at Paris, during the earlier part of the eighteenth century. It is not creditable to the literature of our country during the period just mentioned that the meritorious labours of this highly acute investigator have been so little noticed, and that no one has thought it worth while to leave memorials sufficient to enable posterity to know anything of his life and character. His labours to discover the true sources of Scottish history proved an ungrateful task; they were unacceptable to the prejudices of the time, and have hardly been appreciated until the memory of the individual who undertook them had quietly sunk into oblivion. In these circumstances any scrap of information which we can procure on the subject is peculiarly valuable. We perceive from a few words in the preface to his *Critical Essay*, that he received the rudiments of education in Scotland; and that he must have left his native country early

in life for a permanent residence abroad, probably, it was only made from a good circumstance, being with the exiled monarch James II. His words are—“Though an honourable gentleman of my own country, and another learned English gentleman, were so kind as to revise the language, and to alter such exotic words or expressions as it was natural should drop from me, I doubt not but the English reader will still meet in this essay with too many marks of my *native language and foreign education*.” But the most interesting, and indeed the principal, notice which we have been able to obtain of this individual, is from the diary of the industrious Wodrow for the year 1724, where we find the laborious antiquary worming his way through libraries in search of materials. It may be remarked that the work on the *Antiquities of the Church of Scotland*, which is mentioned by Wodrow as the subject on which he was engaged, was intended as a second part to the *Critical Essay*, but has, unfortunately for our information on a very interesting subject, not been given to the world. The passage we refer to is as follows:—

“There is one Father Innes, a priest, brother to Father Innes of the Scottish college at Paris, who has been at Edinburgh all this winter, and mostly in the Advocates’ Library, in the hours when open, looking books and MSS. He is not engaged in politics as far as can be guessed; and is a monkish, bookish person, who meddles with nothing but literature. I saw him at Edinburgh. He is upon a design to write an account of the first settlement of Christianity in Scotland, as Mr. Ruddiman informs me, and pretends to show that Scotland was Christianized at first from Rome; and thinks to answer our ordinary arguments against this from the difference between the keeping of Easter from the custom of Rome; and pretends to prove that there were many variations as to the day of Easter even at Rome, and that the usages in Scotland, pretended to be from the Greek church, are very agreeable to the Romish customs, that he thinks were used by the popes about the time that (he) gives account of our differences as to Easter.

“This Father Innes in a conversation with my informant . . .¹ made an observation which I fear is too true. In conversation with the company, who were all Protestants, he said he did not know what to make of those who had departed from the Catholic church; that as far as he could observe generally, they were leaving the foundations of Christianity, and scarce deserved the name of Christians. He heard that there were departures and great looseness in Holland. That as he came through England he found most of the bishops there gone off from their articles, and gone into Dr. Clerk’s scheme. That the dissenters were many of them falling much in with the same method, and coming near them. That he was glad to find his countrymen in Scotland not tainted in the great doctrine of the Trinity, and sound.”²

From the period when we find him rumaging in the Advocates’ Library, we know nothing of Innes, until the publication of his essay in 1729, when he appears to have been in London, and makes an apology for verbal inaccuracies, on the ground that he writes “to keep pace with the press.” He seems previously to this event to have performed an extensive “bibliographical tour,” as the manuscripts he quotes are dispersed through various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Continent.

A running sketch of the state of the knowledge of

early Scottish history previously to the appearance of this work, may not be unacceptable to those who have not paid particular attention to that subject, as explanatory of the obstacles which the author had to overcome. It is well known that Scotland had a full share of the fabulous early history which it is a proud and pleasing task for savages to frame, and which generally protrudes itself into the knowledge possessed by civilized ages, from the unwillingness of mankind to diminish their own claims to consideration by lessening the glory of their ancestors. The form and consistence of that genealogy which traced the first of Scottish kings to a period some centuries before the Christian era, seems to have been concocted by the Highland senachies, who sang the descent of our monarchs at their coronation. Andrew Wyntoun and John Fordun soberly incorporated the long line thus framed into their chronicle of the Scottish nation from the commencement of the world. Major followed their example with some variations, and Geoffry of Monmouth and Geoffry Keating respectively incorporated the whole with English and Irish history, the latter, much about the same period when Innes wrote, busying himself with tracing the matter to a period anterior to the deluge. The rich and grotesque garb of fable which the whole assumed under Hector Boece is known to many, if not in the original crabbed Latin, at least in the simple translation of Bellenden. It is discreditable to the memory of Buchanan, that, instead of directing his acute mind to the discovery of truth, he adopted, in many respects, the genealogy just sanctioned, and prepared lives for the monarchs created by fiction, suited as practical comments on his own political views. The fables had now received the sanction of a classical authority—Scotland was called *κατ’ ἐξοχήν*, “the ancient kingdom;” and grave Englishmen wondered at the hoary antiquity of our line of monarchs. At length, when the antiquity of the race of England had been curtailed, some thought it unfit that that of Scotland should remain untouched—and several English antiquaries, such as Humphry Lhuyd, Bishop Usher, Bishop Lloyd, and Bishop Nicholson, bestowed some calm hints on its improbability, which were speedily drowned by the fierce replies of the Scottish antiquaries, headed by Sir George M’Kenzie.

Such was the state of historical knowledge in Scotland when Innes wrote; and a Scotsman dared to look the line of ancestry claimed by his monarch calmly in the face, and, after due consideration, to strike from it forty crowned heads. The essay is divided into four parts, in which the author successively treats,—of the progress of the Romans in Scotland—of the history of the Meats, the Strathclyde Britons or Welsh, who existed in the southern part of Scotland—of that of the Caledonians or Picts, who inhabited the whole of the northern portion previously to the arrival of the Scots from Ireland—and of the Scots, the ancestors of the present Highlanders. Examining the foundation on which Boece supports his forty supernumerary kings, he shows by very good negative evidence, that two chroniclers, on which that author lays the burden of much of his extraordinary matter, named Veremund and Campbell, never existed, and shows that the genealogists had, by an ingenious device, made Fergus I., king of the Scots, Fergus the *second*, and had placed another Fergus sufficiently far behind him in chronology to admit a complement of kings to be placed betwixt the two. Besides the detection of the fabulous part of our history, this work supplies us with an excellent critical dissertation on the various early inhabitants of the country; and the author has, with much pains and care, added an appendix of original docu-

¹ The name & in a secret hand.

² Wodrow’s *Diary*, Mss. Adv. Lib. v. 46.

ments, which have been highly useful to inquirers into Scottish history. The language in which the whole is clothed is simple, pleasing, and far more correct than that of most Scotsmen who wrote during the same period; while there is a calm dignity, and a philosophical correctness in the arguments, previously unknown to the subject, and which it had been well if those who have followed the same track had imitated. Pinkerton, who would allow no man to be prejudiced on the subject of Scotland with impunity except himself, never can mention the work of Innes without some token of respect. "This work," he says, "forms a grand epoch in our antiquities, and was the first that led the way to rational criticism on them: his industry, coolness, judgment, and general accuracy recommend him as the best antiquary that Scotland has yet produced."¹ While concurring, however, in any praise which we observe to have been elicited by this too much neglected work, we must remark that it is blemished by a portion of it being evidently prepared with the political view of supporting the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which Innes as a Jacobite probably respected, and as an adherent of the exiled house felt himself called on to support.² He is probably right in presuming that Buchanan knew well the falsehood of many of the facts he stated, but it was as unnecessary that he should answer the arguments which Buchanan, in the separate treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, may have been presumed to have derived from such facts, as it was for Buchanan to erect so great a mass of fable; while the dissertation he has given us on the fruitful subject of the conduct of Queen Mary, is somewhat of an excrescence in a dissertation on the early inhabitants of Scotland.

The political bias of this portion of the work is avowed in the preface, where the author observes that the statements of Buchanan, "far from doing any real honour to our country, or contributing, as all historical accounts ought to do, to the benefit of posterity, and to the mutual happiness of king and people, do rather bring a reproach upon the country, and furnish a handle to turbulent spirits to disturb the quiet and peace, and by consequence the happiness of the inhabitants;"³ yet even this subject is handled with so much calmness that it may rather be termed a defect than a fault.

Besides the great work which he wrote, Innes is supposed to have been the compiler of a book of considerable interest and importance. It is pretty well known that a manuscript of the life of King James II., written by himself, existed for some time in the Scots College of Paris, where it was carefully concealed from observation. This valuable work is believed, on too certain grounds, to have been reduced to ashes during the French Revolution; but an abstract of it, which was discovered in Italy, was published by Mr. Stanyers Clarke in 1806, and is supposed by well-informed persons to have been the work of Father Innes.⁴ We have been enabled to

trace this supposition to no better source than a presumption from the circumstances in which Innes was placed, and to the absence of any other name which can reasonably be assigned. There is indeed a document extant which might afford ground for a contrary supposition. In 1740 Carte, the historian, received an order from James Edgar, secretary to the Pretender, addressed to the Messrs. Innes, permitting him to inspect the life writ by Mr. Dicconson, in consequence of royal orders, all taken out of and supported by the late king's manuscripts; but it has been urged on the other hand, that there were at least two copies of the compilation, one of which may have been transcribed by Mr. Dicconson, while in that published there are one or two Scotticisms, which point at such a person as Innes. Little can be made of a comparison betwixt the style of this work and that of the essay, without an extremely minute examination, as Innes indulged in few peculiarities; but there is to be found in it a general resemblance, certainly more close than what could be caused by mere identity of period.

We are enabled to give but one other notice bearing on the life of this individual. In the portion of the life of James II. transcribed into the Chevalier Ramsay's *History of Turenne*, there is a certificate by the superiors of the Scots College at Paris, dated 24th December, 1734, signed by "Louis Inesse, late principal, Alexander Whiteford, principal, and Thomas Inesse, sub-principal." The Louis Innes who had acted as principal must be the brother to the historian mentioned by Wodrow.

IRVINE, CHRISTOPHER, an antiquary, philologist, and physician, lived in the seventeenth century, and was a younger son of the family of Irvine of Bonshaw in Lanarkshire. Like his relation who rendered himself infamous in the cause of royalty by seizing Donald Cargill, Christopher Irvine was a devoted adherent of the Stuarts and of Episcopacy. He was turned out of the college of Edinburgh in 1638 or 1639, in consequence of his resisting the national covenant; and by some connection, the nature of which is not known, with the Irish troubles which happened not long after, he lost a plentiful patrimony. Of these circumstances he himself informs us, in the address appended to one of his works, as well as of the facts, that "after his travels, the cruel saints were pleased to mortify him seventeen nights with bread and water;" and even after having recalled an act of banishment which they had formerly passed against him, subjected him to the fate of absolute starvation, with only the dubious alternative of "teaching grammar." Having adopted the latter course, we have ascertained from another source⁵ that he was schoolmaster first at Leith, and afterwards at Preston. In the course of his exertions in this capacity he was led to initiate his pupils in Scottish history; and it was out of the information collected for that purpose, along with some notes he received from Mr. Alexander Home and Mr. Thomas Crawford, formerly professors of humanity in Edinburgh university, that he compiled his *Nomenclature of Scottish History*, the work by which he is best known. Some time during the Commonwealth he appears to have resumed the profession to which he was bred, and practised first as a surgeon, and finally as a physician in Edinburgh, at the same time that he held a medical appointment in the army of General Monk, by which Scotland was then garrisoned.

We have not been able to discover any earlier

¹ Pinkerton's *Inquiry*, Introduction, 55-57.

² We cannot avoid coupling with this feature the circumstance of our having heard it whispered in the antiquarian world, that a correspondence between Innes and the court of St. Germain, lately discovered, shows this to have been the avowed purpose of the author. This we have heard, however, in so vague a manner, that we dare not draw any conclusions against the fair intentions of Innes, farther than as they may be gathered from his own writings.

³ Preface, 16.

⁴ In the *Edinburgh Review* we discover the following note:—"It is the opinion of the present preserver of the narrative, that it was compiled from original documents by Thomas Innes, one of the superiors of the college, and author of a work entitled *A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*.—*Art. on Fox's Life of James II.* Ed. Rev. xii. 280.

⁵ Sibbald's *Bibliotheca Scotica*, MS. Adv. Lib.

publication of Christopher Irvine than a small and very rare volume, entitled *Bellum Grammaticale*, which appeared at Edinburgh in 1650, but of the nature of which, not having seen it, we cannot speak. His second performance was a small volume, now also very rare, having the following elaborate title: "*Methodus Magnetica*: or the rare and wonderful art of curing by sympathy, laid open in aphorisms, proved in conclusions, and digested into an easy method drawn from both; wherein the connection of the causes and effects of these strange operations are more fully discovered than heretofore. All cleared and confirmed by pithy reasons, true experiments and pleasant relations, preserved and published as a masterpiece in this skill by C. de Iryngio, chirurgo-medicine in the army. Printed in the year 1656." The dedication, which is dated from Edinburgh, June 3, 1656, and is signed "C. Irvine," is addressed to General Monk as "chief captain of those forces among whom for diverse years I have served and prospered;" and speaking of the kindness of the commander toward his inferiors, he continues—"This is observed by all; this hath been my experience so oft as I had need of favour and protection." We may from these passages argue, that at the period when he composed this book, Irvine himself was a man of respectable standing as to years, and had not found it inconsistent with his loyalist principles to take office under Cromwell. The work itself is a true literary curiosity. The monstrous and fanciful doctrines which crowd the pages of Paracelsus and Cardan, and which had begun at that period to sink before the demand for logical proof and practical experience, which more accurate minds had made, are here revived and even exaggerated; while the imagination of the writer seems to have laboured in all quarters of nature, to discover grotesque absurdities. The book, it will be remarked, is a treatise on animal magnetism. We would give his receipt for the method of manufacturing "an animal magnet" did we dare, but propriety compels us to retain our comments for the less original portion of the work. The principles of the author *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, are laid down in "an hundred aphorisms," which are of such a nature as the following:—"Neither souls nor pure spirits, nor intelligencies can work upon bodies, but by means of the spirit; for two extremes cannot be joined together without a mean, therefore," it is justly and conclusively argued, "demons appear not but after sacrifices used." "He that can join a spirit impregnated with the virtue of one bodie with another, that is now disposed to change, may produce many miracles and monsters." "He that can by light draw light out of things, or multiply light with light, he knoweth how to adde the universal spirit of life to the particular spirit of life, and by this addition do wonders," &c. Nor is his method of supporting his aphorisms by proof less original and conclusive. The readers of *Hudibras* will recollect the story taken from Helemont, of the man who, having lost his nose, procured a new one to be cut from the limb of a porter, on whose death the unfortunate nose grew cold and fell off. The reasoning of Mr. Christopher Irvine on this matter is peculiarly metaphysical. "Is not," he says, "all our doctrine here confirmed clearer than the light? was not the insidious nose as animated at the first, so still informed with the soul of the porter? Neither had it any from the man whose nose now it was made, but only nourishment; the power of the assimilation which it hath from its proper form, it took it not from him but from the porter, of whom it was yet truly a part; and who dying, the nose became a dead

nose, and did immediately tend to corruption. But who doth not here see, most openly and evidently, a concatenation? otherwise, how could the nose of one that was at Bologna, enform the nose of one that was at Brussels, but by means of a concatenation?" The curiosity of the matter, presenting a specimen of the speculations in which several Scottish philosophers at that period indulged, may excuse these extracts.

The work to which Irvine's name is most frequently attached, is the *Historia Scotica Nomenclatura Latino-Vernacula*; an explanatory dictionary of the Latin proper names made use of in Scottish history, published at Edinburgh in 1682, and republished in 1819. The editor of the reprint observes that he "intended, along with the present edition, to have given the public a short sketch of the life of the author; but this intention he has been obliged to relinquish from want of materials. To numerous inquiries in many directions no satisfactory answer was procured, and the editor mentions with regret, that he knows nothing more of this eminent literary character and profound philologist than can be collected from his address to the reader." The dedication is to the Duke of York; and if we had not been furnished with vast specimens of the capacity of royal stomachs at that period for flattery, we might have suspected Mr. Christopher of a little quizzing, when he enlarges on the moderation, the generosity, the kindness to friends, the forgiveness to enemies, displayed by the prince, and especially on his having "so firmly on solid grounds established the Protestant religion." Among the other eulogiums is one which may be interpreted as somewhat apologetical on the part of the author, in as far as respects his own conduct. "The neglected sufferer for loyalty is now taken into care and favour, and they that have recovered better principles are not reproached nor passed by; their transgressions are forgot, and time allowed to take off their evil habit." The *Nomenclature* is a brief general biographical and topographical dictionary of Scotland. With a firm adherence to the fabulous early history the author shows vast general reading; but, like most authors of the age, he seems to have considered Scotland the centre of greatness, and all other transactions in the world as naturally merging into a connection with it. Thus in juxtaposition with Argyle, we find "Argivi, Argos, and Arii." And the Dee is discussed beside the Danube.

From the address attached to this volume we learn that its publication was occasioned by his recent dismissal from the king's service. "And now," he says, "being, as it seemeth by a cruel misrepresentation, turned out of my public employment and livelihood, which the Defender of the sincere will return, I have at the desire of the printer, in this interval, revised," &c. Taking the dedication in connection with this circumstance, there can be little doubt as to the particular object of that composition; and from another document it would appear that he was not unsuccessful in his design. An act of parliament, dated three years later than the publication of the *Nomenclature*, and ratifying an act of privy-council, which had reserved to Irvine the privilege of acting as a physician, independent of the College of Physicians of Edinburgh, just established, proceeds upon a statement by the learned man himself, that "he has been bred liberally in these arts and places that fit men for the practice of physick and chirurgery, and has received all the degrees of the schools that give ornament and authority in these professions, and has practised the same the space of thertie years in the eminentest places and among very considerable persons in this island, and has, by virtue of commis-

sions from his royal master, exerted the duties of surgeon of his guards of horse twenty-eight years together, and has had the charge of chief physician and surgeon of his army.¹ He then states that he wishes to practise his profession in peace in the city of Edinburgh, of which he is a burgess, and hopes the council "would be pleased not to suffer him, by any new gift or patent to be stated under the partial humors or affronts of (a) new incorporation or college of physicians, composed of men that are altogether his juniors (save Doctor Hay) in the studies of philosophy and practise of physic."

IRVING, DAVID, LL.D. This talented and painstaking writer, who has done so much in preserving our old Scottish literature, and the memory of its choicest ornaments, was born in the little town of Langholm, in the county of Dumfries, on the 5th of December, 1778. His father, Janetus Irving, descended from a line of farmers in Eskdale, was in comfortable circumstances as a tradesman, and resided in Langholm. David, the youngest of four sons who arrived at maturity, received like the rest as liberal an education as his native town could afford, and for this purpose he attended the grammar-school of Langholm, conducted by Mr. John Telfer. These early school-days of David Irving were not signalized by any extraordinary proficiency in scholarship; indeed, his career was so slow, or its ultimate object as yet so undecided, that he had reached the age of fourteen or fifteen before he turned his attention to the dead languages—a case somewhat rare in Scotland even among the rustic pupils of a country school. Still, no time appears to have been lost, for he inherited from his mother, who died in 1797, those intellectual abilities, that fondness for reading, and retentive memory for which he was remarkable, and a silent progress was going on in his mind of which society was afterwards to reap the benefits. Of a still more conspicuous character for the time being were the warlike achievements, the battles and combats, by which his boyhood was distinguished. So late as the beginning of the present century the more violent national characteristics of our country had not died out, and every school had its feud with some rival school or party, between which, hostile meetings, and battles with stones, sticks, or fists were of daily occurrence. Nor was the matter greatly amended when there was no opposing party to contend with: in this case, the pugnacious urchins, like the schoolboys of a larger growth in a senate or royal council, could find or invent a very pretty quarrel, and fight out the fight after the alleged cause had been forgot. Nay, rather than be idle, a class or school would divide itself into Greeks and Trojans, or English and Scots, and belabour each other in fun until the work had warmed into earnest. In this way the juvenile pugnacity of our grave sires and grandsires was vented, and the peace of the town and village broken as well as heads and windows; while the only justification that could be offered was—

"Nothing in hate, in honour all was done."

In such conflicts David Irving was not only an actor, but a conspicuous ringleader. This, however, was not enough for his ambition, and he ended his campaigning by forming a regiment of forty or fifty boys armed with sticks, whom he regularly drilled and governed by military law. Soon after, he showed his readiness for war in earnest, in consequence of the French revolution and its threats of an invasion

of Britain. On this occasion the patriotic drum was sounded loudly over Scotland, and in the church of Langholm the inhabitants were collected, and asked who would sign an engagement to arm in defence of their king and country? At the question Irving, although then scarcely sixteen years of age, was among the first, if not the very first, to ascend the church gallery and subscribe his name. It was not however in war, but in literature, that this loyal and martial spirit was to find its proper vent.

We have already alluded to the delay which occurred before he advanced to the study of Latin and Greek. This he now commenced at the age of fourteen or fifteen, probably with the ultimate intention of qualifying himself for the church. The school which he attended for this purpose was at New Langholm, and had for its teacher Mr. Andrew Little, who had lost his sight by lightning on the coast of Africa, when surgeon of a Liverpool vessel. For the lame or the deformed to become school-masters was at that time no novelty; but for a blind man to adopt an office which requires quick notice and sharp inspection, was an instance of extraordinary courage. Little, however, notwithstanding such a serious defect, appears to have been an excellent teacher of the learned languages, as was attested by the progress of his pupils, and especially of Irving, who here laid the foundation of that classical knowledge for which he was distinguished among his contemporaries. Having completed his school education David Irving entered the university of Edinburgh, in October, 1796, and during that and the two following sessions prosecuted the study of Latin and Greek, logic, ethics, and natural philosophy under the distinguished professors Finlayson, Dugald Stewart, and Playfair. To maintain himself at college, and perhaps also to forward his views towards the ministry at a time when no church could be obtained without a patron, he became tutor to a son of the receiver-general, at that time a student in the university of Edinburgh. But soon after his arrival in Edinburgh, he secured that kind of patronage which was to be more available for his future course than that of a holder of church presentations. He formed the acquaintanceship of Dr. Robert Anderson, the talented editor of the *Works of the British Poets*, who at that time resided in Edinburgh, honoured as the literary Aristarchus of our capital, and the kind patron of young men of genius, whom he assembled at his hospitable table and aided with his counsel and encouragement. Among these young aspirants of fame, whose first flights he inspired, and who afterwards took a high place in the world of letters, it is enough to mention Thomas Campbell, who at the instance of Dr. Anderson published the *Pleasures of Hope*, which otherwise might never have appeared.

Under the fostering care of such a friend and counsellor, the bias of Irving towards a life of literature was directed; and the bent of it was also indicated by his first publication, the "*Life of Robert Fergusson*, with a Critique on his Works," which he inscribed in 1799 to Dr. Anderson. Irving thus commenced his career of authorship in his twenty-first year, and in a department which was to occupy him until the close of his long life—that of a biographer of Scottish poets, and annotator of their poetry. After this he wrote the lives of William Falconer, author of the *Shipwreck*, and of Dr. William Russell, author of the *History of Modern Europe*, and published the three lives collectively in a separate volume at the close of 1800. In the next month (January 30, 1801) he graduated as Master of Arts, and during the same year he pub-

¹ *Acts of the Scottish Parliament*, viii. 530-531.

lished his *Elements of English Composition*. This work, the most useful and successful of all Dr. Irving's productions, he modestly called a compilation, but the skill with which he selected and arranged the materials, and the instructions it conveyed in the art of composition, gave it all the worth of originality. The esteem in which this volume was held, and the demand made for it as a text-book in English schools and academies, was indicated by the fact, that seven editions of it were published in less than as many years. An eighth edition, revised by his own hand, appeared in 1828.

When he had finished his curriculum of literature and science at the university, it might have been expected that Dr. Irving would have enrolled himself as a student in the divinity hall. But his original intention of devoting himself to the work of the ministry, if ever seriously entertained, had by this time died out, and the fact of his being an author and a successful one may have had a powerful influence in effecting the change. Accordingly in 1802, instead of commencing the study of theology, he entered the class of civil law, but not abating in the meantime his zeal in authorship, which he now seems to have adopted as his chief occupation. In 1804 his diligence in his favourite course of study appeared, by his publication of "*Lives of the Scottish Poets, with Preliminary Dissertations on the Literary History of Scotland, and the Early Scottish Drama*." Although it was favourably received by the judicious few who could appreciate the merits of the work and the importance of the subject, their number was as yet too small to influence the general opinion, and his *Lives of the Scottish Poets* failed to secure the popularity which it justly merited. Instead of being discouraged by this cold reception, it only animated him to fresh effort, and he now contemplated a *Life of George Buchanan*, the most difficult of all his literary attempts. This will appear not only from the scholarship which such a task required, but the contradictory characters which have been drawn of George Buchanan himself, and the confusion of the times in which he lived. But the stern old Scottish republican in theory, and equally stern preceptor of a king in practice; the cynical wit, the eloquent historian, distinguished poet, philosopher, and scholar, had now found an earnest but impartial biographer, and Irving commenced his labour by an exploration into the records of the literature of the sixteenth century contained in the libraries of the British Museum, Sion College, and Red Cross Street, as well as those of his own country. The result of this labour and research was the *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan*, which appeared in 1805; a work that was considered not only to vindicate the fair fame of our renowned countryman, but to establish the character of his biographer as an able writer and accomplished scholar. Irving was now a man of note, his acquaintanceship was sought by the most distinguished of our northern scholars, and in 1808 the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Marischal College, Aberdeen. In the same year there was a classical chair to be filled in the newly established college of Belfast, for which Dr. Irving became a candidate, and was furnished for the purpose with testimonials from three of our most learned professors, recommending him in the highest terms as possessing every quality for the office. But "on finding that this new institution was to be placed on a less liberal footing than had originally been expected," Dr. Irving withdrew his application. Mention has already been made of the intimacy he had formed while a student with Dr. Anderson; this had continued unimpaired, and

on June 1, 1810, was ripened into a marriage with Anne Margaret Anderson, the eldest daughter of that worthy litterateur whose advice and example had so influentially directed his career. But this happy union was a brief one, as Mrs. Irving died only two years subsequent to her marriage, after giving birth to a son. When he had recovered from the blow, her husband drew up a biography of the deceased, under the title of *A Memorial of Anne Margaret Anderson, the Wife of David Irving, LL.D.*, in the form of a letter to Principal Brown of Aberdeen, 16th August, 1812. This short memoir was printed in the following year, but only for private circulation, and was accompanied with verses which had been addressed to her while Miss Anderson by Dr. Leyden, Dr. A. Murray, J. S., and David Carey.

Although Dr. Irving, as has been already stated, became a student of law, it appears to have been rather for the purpose of enlarging his general knowledge than following it as a profession. He was not the less disposed to turn it to practical account, and as he received young gentlemen into his house as boarders while they were attending the university, he gave private instructions in civil law to such of them as proposed to pass their examinations for the purpose of becoming advocates. With the same view he printed a tract for private circulation in 1815, entitled *Observations on the Study of the Civil Law*, which was reprinted in 1820, and afterwards in 1823. He also intended to publish the *History of Roman Jurisprudence*, but finding no encouragement, the purpose was abandoned. Soon after he turned to what was perhaps a more congenial occupation: this was a new edition of his *Life of Buchanan*, which he so carefully revised and so greatly amplified as to make it almost a new work, and published it in 1817.

Although the study of law had as yet done so little for him, it was now to bring its reward. In March, 1818, the office of principal librarian to the Faculty of Advocates became vacant, and few offices in Scotland could be more tempting to a person of studious habits. The rich collection of books and manuscripts, especially such as are connected with the early history and literature of Scotland, which their library contains, and the respectable position, competence, and leisure enjoyed by the librarian, were enough to rouse the learned and talented of our country to become competitors for such an office. The library also had drifted into such a state of confusion, that it required a perfect master of books to bring its contents into order; and aware of this, the Faculty of Advocates had increased the inducements, so that there was no lack of distinguished men as candidates. Among the foremost of these was Dr. Irving, and although the election was delayed until June, 1820, he was chosen by a large majority. Still, however, there was considerable discontent and demur: it was alleged that, however learned, Dr. Irving could not bring himself to the practical details of his office; that although so well acquainted with books, he was deficient in the arts of classifying and handling them; and that without these personal qualifications, which are so independent of scholarship, he was not likely to prove a useful and practical librarian. In short, an experienced functionary was wanted for the arrangement of the Library of Advocates. Fortunately, however, it happened that Dr. Renecke had offered to aid the new librarian, by showing him the management of the Göttingen library, and had proposed that for this purpose Dr. Irving should pass the ensuing vacation at Göttingen. The latter assented, and on repairing to this distin-

guished seat of German scholarship, he not only learned the best methods of classifying a library, but became acquainted with several of the most distinguished professors of the university of Göttingen.

In 1837 they sent him their diploma of Doctor of Laws, in addition to that which had been conferred on him by Marischal College, Aberdeen. On the return of Dr. Irving from Germany, he entered a second time into marriage, his partner on this occasion being his second cousin Janet Laing, daughter of Mr. Charles Laing, Canobie, whom he married on the 28th of October, 1820.

Having now a comfortable home and an amiable helpmate, a situation that yielded an adequate provision for his lifetime, and duties that were both easy and congenial, Dr. Irving had attained that fair ideal in point of position which so many literary men sigh for and seek in vain. But there was no remission in his literary labours except such as arose from his professional duties, and both as author and editor, his contributions in his own favourite department were numerous and acceptable. For the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs he edited, among other works, a republication of Dempster's *Historia Ecclesiastica sive de Scriptoribus Scotis*, the similar work by David Buchanan, prefaces to the metrical romance of *Clarin-dus*, the tragedy of *Philotus*, and *Henryson's Fables*; also biographical notices to an edition of the poems of Alexander Montgomery, author of *The Cherrie and the Slae*. But it was to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that his contributions were the most abundant, extending from 1830 to 1842. They consisted of nearly all its biographical articles connected with Scotland, besides the articles on "Jurisprudence," "Canon Law," "Civil Law," and "Feudal Law;" and from the biographies thus supplied he prepared two volumes, which he published in 1839, entitled *Lives of Scottish Writers*. Two years earlier he published his *Introduction to the Study of Civil Law*. The last publication which he lived to complete and issue, was a new edition of *Selden's Table-talk*, with notes, which appeared in 1854.

Although Dr. Irving abandoned his original intention of devoting himself to the work of the ministry, his secession appears to have been owing to personal scruples rather than any doubt in the truths of Christianity. This was shown by the fact, that in his earlier years he belonged to the congregation of the Old Church, St. Giles, and that he afterwards passed first to the New Grayfriars, and afterwards to St. Stephen's parish during the incumbency of the Rev. Dr. Muir, under whom he officiated for several years as one of his elders. On the Disruption of 1843 he left the Established for the Free Church, and became an elder in Free St. John's Church, which has for its ministers Dr. Guthrie and Dr. Hanna. It was a happy circumstance, that although this rending asunder of the national ecclesiastical establishment produced an alienation of feeling among the members of the two rival churches, the alienation was only temporary, and after a short time the parties were again at one in the friendly intercourse of social life. Thus it was with Dr. Irving, whose society with his literary associates, and the esteem in which they held him, this violent religious transition scarcely interrupted. A disruption that was more immediately personal, and which separated him from his beloved office, occurred in 1848. The curators of the Advocates' Library having found it necessary to make such changes in the establishment as would require both active and laborious service, Dr. Irving, in conformity with arrangements into which he entered with them, resigned his office as keeper of

the library, after he had held it for twenty-nine years. It was a painful wrench from a locality in which he had grown old, and the duties of which he had discharged so ably and affectionately; and his life was thenceforth spent in his home, No. 6 Meadow Place, a beautiful rural retirement in the outskirts of Edinburgh, and within five minutes' walk of the place of his late daily occupation. But he did not subside into idleness by the change; on the contrary, both his physical and intellectual powers were as active as ever, and his wonted labours in the study were alternated with healthful walks in the surrounding Meadows. His memory also in dates, facts, and subjects, for the readiness and accuracy of which he had always been remarkable, was as vivid and exact as before, while he was always willing to impart its stores to every literary inquirer. But it was his own dwelling that was endeared to him with deeper intensity after his separation from the Advocates' Library; and the cause of this is touchingly described in his obituary in the *Witness* newspaper, written by his minister Dr. Hanna. "That attachment," writes the eloquent biographer of Dr. Chalmers, "which had here suffered such a violence, now transferred itself with all its force to his own private library, which he now nursed with double care. It grew beneath that care. He has left about 7000 volumes, all in the most perfect order, many of them rare and valuable—altogether one of the best private collections that our city contains. It was among these books he lived, and it was actually among them that he died. Every upper room in his house was clothed with book-shelves, his own among the rest. He lay upon his death-bed surrounded with them. Within a few hours of his decease his eye chanced to rest upon a new edition of Whiston's *Josephus* that he had lately added to his stores. He asked his daughter, who acted as his librarian, to hand him one of the volumes. He took it tenderly into his hands, turned it over and over again, regarding it with a placid and benignant look. He tried to open and to read it, but the feeble hands and eyes refused the office. It fell out of his hands upon the bed. His daughter took it up to replace it on the shelf. His quick eye followed her, and noticed that, in her haste, she had pushed it in too far. With something like impatience he directed her to draw it out and place it level with the rest. It was done as he directed, and he was pleased. It was his last earthly act."

Thus Dr. Irving passed away, and like the old northern heroes it might be said of him, that he died in harness, and strong in his ruling passion to the last. His death occurred on the 10th of May, 1860, in the eighty-second year of his age. By his second marriage he had two sons and two daughters. His eldest son, James, is a surgeon in the East India Company's service, and his second, David, who was an ensign in the 17th regiment of Native Infantry, died in Sind at the age of twenty-one. A work of Irving, which was not published until after his own death, was his *History of Scottish Poetry*, which he had been preparing for the press so early as 1828, but which he appears to have afterwards laid aside. It was thought, however, too valuable by his literary executors to remain in MS., and accordingly it was published in 1861, edited by John Aitken Carlyle, M.D., and with a memoir of the author prefixed by David Laing, LL.D., of the Signet's Library, from which the facts of this biographical notice are derived.

In personal appearance Dr. Irving was tall, stately, and strongly built, and these advantages of person were set off by a careful attention to dress, so that

he always appeared in a full costume of black, which he wore to the end of his days. This peculiarity, with his upright figure and dignified but somewhat formal step, were in complete accordance with the style of his writings, which was always vigorous, often eloquent, but pervaded throughout with a preciseness which occasionally was mistaken for pedantry and affectation. To strangers, his manner was cold and his language stern and abrupt; but those who knew him intimately were aware how completely he could unbend in conversation, especially when the favourite subjects of his study were the topic. But it is with his literary character that we have chiefly to do, and this is discriminately sketched by Dr. Laing in the following words: "As an author, Dr. Irving in all his works exhibits no common degree of learning and research, combined with great clearness and precision of language, along with critical sagacity and minute accuracy in his statements. His research did not lead him to any laborious examination of unpublished sources of information; his faculty lay rather in availing himself of all that had previously been discovered, for which he was so well qualified by his familiar acquaintance with the standard literature both of ancient and modern times. His critical knowledge of ancient authors and of literary history has seldom been equalled in this country. But these qualities, and the care bestowed in the choice of words and the construction of his sentences, have imparted a certain degree of formality to his style. As a learned, accurate, and successful labourer in the field of literary biography, it is not, however, too much to assert, that Dr. Irving's name will always be remembered in Scotland."

IRVING, REV. EDWARD, A.M. This remarkable pulpit orator, and founder of a sect, was born in Annan, Dumfriesshire, in the year 1792. His family was originally from France, but had long been settled in the west of Scotland. His father, Gavin Irving, followed the business of a tanner, in which he was so successful that he became a substantial burgess in Annan, and possessed considerable landed property in the neighbourhood of the town. The mother of Edward Irving was Mary Lowther, daughter of one of the heritors of Dornock. She had three sons, of whom Edward was the second, and five daughters; but the male part of her family died before her; the eldest in the East Indies, the youngest in London, and the second in Glasgow. Edward Irving's earliest teacher was an aged matron named Margaret Paine, an aunt of the too celebrated Thomas Paine, whom, it was said, she had also taught to read; and thus, at different extremes of her life, if the statement may be received, she was the instructress of two men entirely unlike in character, but both remarkable for their religious aberrations. From her charge Edward Irving passed to that of Mr. Adam Hope, an excellent teacher of English and the classics; but his progress as a school-boy gave little promise of the talents which he afterwards manifested. From Annan he went as a student to the university of Edinburgh, and there his proficiency in mathematics was so distinguished, that before he had reached the age of seventeen he was recommended by Professor Leslie as the fittest person to teach that department of science in an academy at Haddington. After having occupied this situation for a year, he was translated to a similar office in the larger establishment at Kirkcaldy, where he also kept boards and employed his leisure hours in private tuition. In this way he was occupied nearly seven years at Kirkcaldy, attending the divinity hall

of Edinburgh as what is termed an "irregular student;" that is to say, giving attendance a certain number of weeks annually for six years, instead of four complete winters; this accommodation being made in favour of those students for the church who occupy settled situations at a distance from the college. During all this period his application to study must have been intense, and his progress considerable, though silent and unobtrusive. Of this he afterwards gave full proof, by his acquaintance with several of the living languages, as well as the wide range which his reading had comprised. At an early period, also, the subject of religion had occupied much of his solicitude; and when only seventeen years old he was appointed one of the directors of a missionary society. This fact he afterwards stated more than once, when his violent invectives against the secularity of missions made his attachment to missionary enterprise itself be called in question.

After completing the appointed course of study, Mr. Irving was licensed as a preacher in his native town of Annan. But the prospect of a church was dim and distant, for he had secured no patron; indeed, even long before, he had regarded patronage as the great abomination of the Kirk of Scotland, while in those days popular suffrage went but a little way in the election of a minister. The inaction of an unpatronized probationer was however too much for one of his chivalrous love of enterprise, and he resolved to become a missionary, and follow the footsteps of Henry Martyn. Persia was to be the field of his labour; and he began to qualify himself by studying the languages of the East. It was perhaps as well that the experiment of what effect a career in the "land of the sun" would have produced upon such an inflammable brain and sturdy independent spirit was not to be tried. At all events, it is certain that his course would have been out of the ordinary track, whether for evil or for good. While thus employed, he was invited by Dr. Andrew Thomson to preach for him in St. George's Church, Edinburgh, with the information that he would have Dr. Chalmers, then in search of an assistant, for his auditor. Mr. Irving complied; but after weeks had elapsed, in which he heard nothing further of Dr. Chalmers, he threw himself at haphazard into a steam-vessel at Greenock, resolving to go wherever it carried him, previous to his departure for the East, on which he had now fully determined. He landed at Belfast, and rambled for two or three weeks over the north of Ireland, where he associated with the peasantry, slept in their cabins, and studied with intense interest the striking peculiarities of the Irish character. During this eccentric tour, a letter reached him at Coleraine that quickly brought his ramble to a close: it was a letter from Dr. Chalmers inviting him to Glasgow, for the purpose of becoming his assistant. To the great metropolis of northern commerce he accordingly hurried; and true to his anti-patronage principles, which were now brought to the test, he stipulated that he should be proved and accepted by the people as well as their minister, before he entered the assistantship. The trial was made and was successful. Dr. Chalmers himself had made the choice, and this was enough to satisfy the most scrupulous.

It would have been difficult to have selected a pair so unlike each other, and yet so congenial, as Dr. Chalmers and his assistant. The latter, now twenty-eight years old, had at last found a sphere in which he could display, not only his striking advantages of person, but his cherished peculiarities of disposition. There was therefore, even already, a measured stateliness in his bearing, and authoritative accent in his conversation, that were in full keeping with his tall

figure, rich deep-toned voice, and remarkable Saviour Rosa countenance; and although the onlooker felt as if there was something too artificial and melodramatic in all this, yet he was obliged to confess withal that it sat gracefully upon him, although it would have suited no other man. But what a contrast to Dr. Chalmers, the very personification of unstudied, unaffected simplicity! This contrast, so startling, but yet so amusing, was especially perceptible in a crowded company. The Doctor generally sat with all the timidity of a maiden, and was silent unless addressed, or even dragged into conversation; but as for his assistant—

* Stately, strong'd he coast the hall,
And sturdy step'd he west.

He was too impatient to be at rest, and too full of stirring thoughts to be silent; while the eloquence of his continuous stream of conversation, or rather discourse, made him always sure of a willing audience with Chalmers himself at their head. This very circumstance of contrast, however, is often the strongest ground of affection; and it was delightful to witness the cordiality with which the pair moved together through their common duties in St. John's parish. As a preacher, indeed, Mr. Irving enjoyed no great share of popularity; and for this two reasons may be assigned. In the pulpit of Dr. Chalmers the established standard of excellence was so high that no preacher but himself could reach it. Mr. Irving's peculiarities also, both of manner and style, which were afterwards such a rich treat to the people of London, were too highly seasoned for the simple tastes of the Glasgow citizens. It was chiefly among the students, who were able to appreciate the sterling worth of his sermons, that he was popular; and by many of these competent critics he was reckoned scarcely inferior to Chalmers himself. But it was in pastoral visitation that Mr. Irving was best appreciated, both by Dr. Chalmers and the community at large. And, indeed, for such a duty he was admirably fitted, for the dark places of St. John's parish were crowded with that sort of people who are seldom insensible to such personal advantages as he possessed; and while his kindness soothed the afflicted and encouraged the timid, his regal bearing or reproving frown could dismay the profligate and silence the profane. His warm-hearted open-handed benevolence kept pace with his zeal, so that among the poor of that populous but indigent district he was enthusiastically beloved. On one occasion, indeed, he manifested in a striking manner that utter disregard of money which he entertained to the close of his life. He had received, by the bequest of a departed relative, a legacy amounting to some hundreds of pounds. He threw the mammon into an open desk; and without keeping count of it, was wont, in his daily rounds, to furnish himself with a sheaf of these notes, which he doled among the poor of his people until the whole sum was spent, which very soon was the case.

After living three years in Glasgow as assistant to Dr. Chalmers—the happiest portion, we doubt not, of his life, and perhaps also the most useful—a change occurred, by which Mr. Irving was to burst into full notoriety. Already he had been offered a call to a church in Kingston, Jamaica, which he would have accepted had he not been dissuaded by his relatives. He also, it was said, had got the offer of a living in one of the collegiate charges of Scotland, but refused it on account of his conscientious feelings regarding patronage. Now, however, instead of obscure exile, he was to be called into the vast and stirring world of London, and become a minister there independent of the presentation of a patron. A Presbyterian

chapel in Cross Street, Hatton Garden, attached to the Caledonian Asylum, was at this time not only without a minister, but without a congregation; and a popular preacher was needed to fill both pulpit and pews. One of the directors of the asylum had heard of Mr. Irving, and judged him the fittest person for the emergency: he represented the case to his brethren in office, and in consequence Mr. Irving was invited to London to preach before them. This was the kind of election that suited him, and he preached four Sundays in Hatton Garden with such acceptance to the handful of auditors that he received a harmonious call to enter upon the charge. The only difficulty in his way was an old statute, by which the Scotch minister of Hatton Garden was obliged to preach in Gaelic as well as English; but this difficulty was soon got rid of through the influence of the Duke of York, the patron of the institution; and in August, 1822, Mr. Irving commenced his clerical duties as minister.

Few sights could have been more interesting than the growth of his popularity from such a small grain of mustard-seed. On the first day he seemed daunted as he stepped from the vestry to ascend the pulpit, at the array of empty seats before him, and the very scanty number of his congregation; he had never seen the like in Scotland, and for a moment he turned pale: this, then, was his sphere of action, upon which he had prepared to enter with such tremulous hopes and fears! Besides this, his church, by its locality alone, was most unlikely to force itself upon public notice, being situated in an unknown and untrodden street, upon the very edge of the Alsatia of Saffron Hill and Fleet Ditch; and, as if this was not enough, the building itself was at the extremity of an obscure court off the street, where no one, however curious, would have been likely to search for a place of worship. And yet his four Sabbaths of probation had not passed when there was a perceptible change. Strangers who happened to stroll into Cross Street in the course of their Sunday wanderings passed an open gate, and were arrested by the far-off tones of a deep, rich, solemn voice, that came like distant music to the ear; and on crossing the court with cautious steps, and peeping into the church, they saw a colossal man, of about six feet three, who, in this heart-subduing tone, and with commanding impressive gestures correspondent to the voice, was addressing them in a style of appeal such as they had never heard before. Could they retreat and walk idly away?—it was impossible; and therefore they sat down, and listened entranced, while the next Sabbath and the next was sure to find them returning, until they became a part of the flock. And it was not enough that they were themselves delighted; they must have others also either to share in their delight or justify their preference; so that every new comer brought his kinsfolks and acquaintances to hear this wondrous style of pulpit oratory. Thus the congregation grew with a rapidity that in a few weeks filled the building. But here the popular admiration did not pause. The strange advent in Hatton Garden attracted the notice of journalists; reporters from every metropolitan paper hurried to the spot; and in consequence of their published manifestoes, the fashion, the literature, and the sight-seeing spirit of London were roused to their inmost depths, and borne onward to the hitherto unknown region of Hatton Garden. On the Sabbath morning Cross Street was filled—nay, wedged—with crested and coroneted carriages; and a torrent of lords, senators, and merchant-princes, of duchesses and ladies of fashion, might be seen mingled pell-mell with shopkeepers and mechanics, all sweeping

across the open court, so that the church was filled in a twinkling; while disappointed hundreds pressed towards the porch, and clustered like bees round the open windows, to catch the swelling tones of the speaker, even if his words should be inaudible. It was a sudden growth—was it to pass away as suddenly? When mere curiosity is thus agog, the only question is, with how many trials will it rest satisfied.

We must now turn to the object of this dangerous experiment to Mr. Irving himself. Even at his earliest entrance into Glasgow he had shown that he was no ordinary man. But he had done more, for he had shown his determination not to be confounded with ordinary mortals. Even his conversation, therefore, as well as his style of preaching, was evidently with the aim to astonish; and he was not satisfied with a striking idea unless it was also arrayed in striking language. And this aim, so faulty in a common orator, but absolutely sinful in a preacher, instead of being repressed, was nourished into full growth in London, amidst the hot atmosphere of his new popularity; so that his pulpit style assumed a luxuriance and rankness such as no oratory of the day could parallel. It was the language of the sixteenth century engrafted upon the nineteenth; the usages, the objects, and the wants of the present day embodied in the phraseology of a long-departed style of life. The same aiming at singularity was perceptible in his attitudes, which disdained the simple rules of elocution; in his dress, which imitated the primness of the ancient Puritans; and even his dark shaggy locks, which he kept unpruned until they rivalled the lion's mane, and from which he was wont to shake warnings of most ominous significance. He had gone to London with the determination of being noticed, admired, and wondered at; and all this was but the fulfilment of his purpose. Gladly, however, we reverse the picture. In the first place, this *outré* manner, which would have sat so ludicrously upon any ordinary man, was in him so set off by his appearance, that, while the many delighted in it as something rich and new, the fastidious and the critical suspected that after all it was nothing more than the true natural expression of such a singular personage. In this way even the sesquipedalian words and rolling sentences of his oratory were in full keeping with the deep thunder of his voice and majestic swing of his arm; while the most startling of his assertions were enforced by the singular squint of one of his eyes, that rivetted the attention with a sort of mesmerism power. But better far than all this, there was a fertility and richness of mind in Mr. Irving that would have made him remarkable under any circumstances; so that, while he imitated the ancient masters of England in his quaint phraseology, and stern abrupt simplicity, he resembled them in the more valuable qualities of profound thought, vivid imagination, and fearless uncompromising honesty as a preacher of the Word. It was evident, in short, that while he wished to be an Elijah the Tishbite or John the Baptist, he was also animated by their righteous intrepidity, that would utter the most unpalatable truths, let them be received as they might. But was a crowded gay metropolis, instead of the wilderness, a fit place for such a John or Elijah? We shall soon see.

Hitherto Mr. Irving had not been known as an author; his only production from the press which he acknowledged being a farewell discourse to the congregation of St. John's at his departure to London. He was now, however, to give the public an opportunity of testing his powers, and ascertaining whether the popularity that crowned him had been justly be-

stowed. He had scarcely been a year in London when he published a collection of sermons in a closely printed octavo volume of 600 pages. These discourses, which had already been preached in Haddon Garden, he afterwards prepared for the press; and as no ordinary title-page was sufficient for him, the work was thus inscribed, *For the Oracles of God, Four Orations: for Judgement to Come, an Argument in Nine Parts.* They were not sermons, he wished them to be considered something better; and the quaint title with which they startled the first glance of the reader had cost him no little deliberation. And yet they were sermons after all. It must be acknowledged, however, that as such they were no ordinary productions; for with all their literary faults and oddities, they contained an amount of rich original thought and stirring eloquence such as few pulpit productions of the present day can exhibit. This was indeed apparent at the first opening of the volume, where the following magnificent exordium caught the eye and rivetted the attention. It would be difficult, however, to conceive its full power when it was first delivered in the pulpit, and when it pealed upon the ears of the congregation like the stately solemn sound of a church-organ uttering the notes of the *Tu Deum*:—

"There was a time when each revelation of the Word of God had an introduction into this earth which neither permitted men to doubt whence it came nor wherefore it was sent. If, at the giving of each several truth, a star was not lighted up in heaven, as at the birth of the Prince of truth, there was done upon the earth a wonder to make her children listen to the message of their Maker. The Almighty made bare his arm, and through mighty acts shown by his holy servants gave demonstration of his truth, and found for it a sure place among the other matters of human knowledge and belief.

"But now the miracles of God have ceased, and nature, secure and unmolested, is no longer called on for testimonies to her Creator's voice. No burning bush draws the footsteps to his presence chamber; no invisible voice holds the ear awake; no hand cometh forth from the obscure to write his purposes in letters of flame. The vision is shut up, and the testimony is sealed, and the word of the Lord is ended; and this solitary volume, with its chapters and verses, is the sum total of all for which the chariot of heaven made so many visits to the earth, and the Son of God himself tabernacled and dwelt among us."

The announcement of a work from the press by the Rev. Edward Irving acted upon the critics as a view-halloo does upon a band of huntsmen beating about for game, but at a loss as to its whereabouts. As yet they had got nothing but the tidings of the diurnals, and the scraps of the penny-a-liners, which they had regarded as the mere yelping of the curs of the pack; but now the start was made in earnest, and off went the hunters in full cry. Never, indeed, had a volume of sermons, even from Chalmers himself, excited such a stir, and every review was immediately at work, from the Jupiter Tonans of the quarterly, to the small shrill whistle of the weekly periodical. And never, perhaps, on any one occasion was criticism so perplexed and contradictory, so that Mr. Irving was represented as the truest of talented men and the most deceptive of quacks—a profound thinker and a shallow smatterer—a Demosthenes of the real sublime, and a Bombastes Furioso of mere sound and nonsense. It often happened, too, that the very same paragraphs which were quoted by one set of critics as masterpieces of eloquence, were adduced by another class to prove that his oratory was nothing

but sheer noise and emptiness. And whereabouts lay the truth? With both parties. Scarcely was there an excellence attributed to him which he had not manifested, or a defect of which he had not been guilty; and the work itself, after the personal interest excited by its author had passed away, was dispassionately tried, and in spite of its manifold excellencies consigned to oblivion. As it was, however, such was its immediate reception, that six months after its appearance a third edition was in demand, which he prepared accordingly, with the following defiance to his reviewers in the preface:—

“I do now return thanks to God that he hath saved these speculations (whatever they be) from the premature grave into which the aristocracy of criticism would have hastened them; and that two large editions are now before the world, which can judge for itself whether the work be for its edification or not. I have been abused in every possible way, beyond the lot of ordinary men, which, when I consider the quarters whence it hath come, I regard as an extraordinary honour. I know too well in whom I have believed to be shaken by the opposition of wits, critics, and gentlemen of taste, and I am too familiar with the endurance of Christians, from Christ downwards, to be tamed by paper warfare, or intimidated by the terrors of a goose-quill. Even as a man I could have shaken a thousand such unseen shapeless creatures away from me, and taken the privilege of an author of the old English school, to think what I pleased, and write what I thought; and most patiently could I have borne exile from the ranks of taste and literature, if only the honest men would have taken me in. But as a Christian, God knoweth, I pray for their unregenerate souls, and for this nation which harboureth such fountains of poison, and is content to drink at them. Their criticisms show that they are still in the gall of wickedness and the bonds of iniquity, and I recommend them once more to look unto themselves, and have mercy upon their own souls.”

But the head and front of Mr. Irving's literary offences, and the chief subject of merriment or condemnation with his judges, had been his antiquated style of English—his obvious imitation of the great masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Upon this point, therefore, he was most earnest to defend himself; and for this purpose he states that Hooker, Taylor, and Baxter in theology—Bacon, Newton, and Locke in philosophy—and Shakspeare, Spencer, and Milton in poetry, had been the chief objects of his study. “They were the fountains,” he adds, “of my English idiom; they taught me forms for expressing my feelings; they showed me the construction of sentences, and the majestic flow of continuous discourse. I perceived a sweetness in every thought, and a harmony in joining thought to thought; and through the whole there ran a strain of melodious feeling which ravished the soul, as vocal melody ravisheth the ear. Their books were to me like a concert of every sweet instrument of the soul, and heart, and strength, and mind. They seemed to think, and feel, and imagine, and reason all at once; and the result is to take the whole man captive in the chains of sweetest persuasion.” Having thus, as he opines, completely exonerated himself by such sacred examples, Mr. Irving again turns with tenfold ardour upon those thoughtless critics who, in pronouncing his condemnation, had condemned not only him, but the honoured company in which they found him. The following is but a portion of his terrible objurcation:—

“*They are not always in taste!*” But who is this taste, and where are his works, that we may try what

right he hath to lift his voice against such gifted men? This taste, which plays such a part in these times, is a bugbear, an ideal terror, whose dominion is defended by newspaper scribblers, reviewers, pamphleteers, and every nameless creature. His troops are like king David's: ‘Every one that is in distress, every one that is in debt, every one that is discontented.’ And what are his manifestoes?—paragraphs in the daily papers, articles in magazines, and critiques in reviews. And how long do they last?—a day, a week, a month, or some fraction of a year—aye and until the next words of the oracle are uttered. And what becomes of the oracles of the dreaded power?—they die faster than they are born; they die, and no man regardeth them.”

Such was but one specimen among many of the magnificent disdain with which Mr. Irving could trample down whatever withstood him in his career. Strong in the uprightness of his own purpose, and with his eye exclusively fixed upon the goal, he regarded everything that crossed his path as an unhalloed obstacle, and treated it accordingly. It need not be added, that his critics whom he chastised so roughly, were by no means disposed either to accord with his views, or submit in silence to the scorn with which he elbowed them aside; and, accordingly, they treasured up the injury for future count and reckoning. In the meantime two events important in the life of a clergyman had taken place with Mr. Irving. The first was his marriage. It will be recollected that, when a mere stripling, he had been settled at Kirkcaldy, where he not only taught in the academy, but gave lessons as a private tutor in the town. One of his pupils was Miss Isabella Martin, daughter of the Rev. John Martin, one of the ministers of Kirkcaldy; and between this young couple, so employed, a mutual attachment sprang up, which led to an engagement of marriage as soon as the unpatronized teacher should be provided with a living. Mr. Irving never lost sight, amidst the uncertainties that followed, and the blaze of beauty and fashion by which he was afterwards idolized in London, of the sacred compact of his youthful days; and accordingly, as soon as he was permanently settled in the metropolis, he hid down to Kirkcaldy, and returned with his long-expecting bride. Stories, of course, were rife at the time of more than one lady of rank and fortune who would willingly have taken her place, to be the partner of such a goodly man, and eloquent widely-famed divine. The other event was the building of a new church for the crowds that had settled under his ministry. The chapel in Hatton Garden, which, at his arrival, did not muster more than fifty hearers, had, at the end of three months, about fifteen hundred applicants for church-sittings, although the building could scarcely have accommodated half the number. And this, too, irrespective of the unnumbered crowds that thronged round the walls, unable to find standing-room, or even a footing upon the threshold. The necessity of a larger building was urgent, and preparations were promptly adopted, which were so successful that the Scotch National Church in Regent Square was commenced, which was finally completed in 1829—a stately building, capable of accommodating at least 2000 persons.

In the meantime, how fared the popularity of Edward Irving? A “nine-days' wonder” has generally a still shorter date in London, and he who can sustain it beyond that point must have something within him worth more than merely to be wondered at. Mr. Irving's, however, continued, with little visible abatement, for nearly two years; and although much of this was owing to the fact that only a limited

number could hear him at one time, while myriads waited for their turn, much was also owing to his solid sterling qualities, about which there could neither be controversy nor mistake. His peculiarities were innumerable, from the stilted style of his oratory down to the squint of his eye; while each was the subject of discussions innumerable, both in conversation and print. And yet, with all this, one fact was incontestable, which was, that he was the most eloquent and original preacher in London, and this even his maligners were compelled to confess. But, unfortunately, a fault was growing upon him for which no human eloquence can atone. He was now becoming prolix—prolix to a degree which no mortal patience, in modern life at least, can well endure. It was not unusual with him to give an opening prayer of an hour long, and follow it by a sermon that took at least two hours in the delivery. This, too, was not only in the earlier part of the day, but in the evening also. It was a trial which mere hunters in quest of pulpit popularity could not sustain, and therefore the crowd melted away, and left him in undisturbed possession of his own regular auditory. And even they, too, much as they admired and loved him, were growing restive at services by which their attention was worn out and their domestic arrangements subverted. But this Mr. Irving could not understand; with him it was enough that what he felt it his duty to preach, it was the duty of his people to hear. The tide had reached its height, and the ebb was commencing. Such was the state of matters when he was invited to preach the anniversary sermon of the London Missionary Society, in May, 1824. He complied, and on the 14th he preached in Tottenham Court Chapel, on Mat. x. 5-42. He was still, with every drawback, by far the most popular preacher in London; so that, notwithstanding a heavy continued rain, the spacious building was filled at an early hour. But on this occasion he outdid even his wonted prolixity. Twice he was obliged to rest in the delivery of his almost interminable sermon, during which the congregation sang a few verses of a hymn; and when it was published it occupied 130 large and closely printed pages, while the dedication and preface bulked the volume into thirty pages more.

But faults more serious than that of lengthiness pervaded this unfortunate discourse, and made Mr. Irving's best friends wish that it had been unpublished, and even unpreached. It was his practice, like other men of ardent minds, to see too exclusively, and condemn too unsparingly, whatever error he detected; and the exaggerated language which he used on such occasions was more fitted to irritate than persuade. Such was his fault in the present instance. He thought there was too much secularity and self-seeking in the management of missions, and was impatient to announce the fact and point out a better mode of action; but wound up exclusively in this one idea, his discourse looked too much like a violent condemnation of all modern missionary enterprise whatever. After having sorely handled the missionary directors, and the missionaries themselves, as if they had been mere hucksters of religious truth, and sordid speculators, who thought of nothing pertaining to the sanctuary but its shekels, he proceeded to propound the remedy. And this was tenfold more extravagant than his exposure of the offence. All money provision for missions was to be foregone, and all prudential considerations in their management given to the winds. Missionaries were to be considered as the veritable successors of the seventy, and, like them, therefore, were to be sent forth without money and without scrip. It was enough for

them that they were to be wafted to their destination, and thrown upon its shores, after which they were to go forward nothing doubting. The world had been thus converted already, and thus it would be converted again. He forgot that the seventy were sent on this occasion, not into heathen and savage countries, but to the towns and villages of their own Judea; while their commission was simply to announce their Master's coming, and prepare the people for his arrival. This, however, was not enough for Mr. Irving. His missionary must go forth in faith, without a farthing for his journey, or even a purse to hold it. It was only by thus making himself nothing that the sacred cause could become all in all; and in proportion to his trials and necessities would be the greatness and number of the miracles by which he would be assuredly relieved. Who does not see in all this the germ of that strange system of religious error of which Mr. Irving was afterwards the hierophant? Becoming every day more impatient of the world of reality, he was hungering and thirsting for miracles; and these any man whatever in such a mood is sure either to make or find. But another fact almost equally significant in this published sermon, or, as he called it, "oration," was its dedication to S. T. Coleridge, a man certainly of rich original mind and splendid endowments, and yet not the fittest guide for so enthusiastic a theologian as Mr. Irving. But the latter thought otherwise; and, discarding all his former preceptors, he now sat at the feet of this eloquent mystic, in the new character of a silent, humble listener.

The signals of a downward course had thus been given, and the thoughtful friends of Mr. Irving looked on with sad anxiety. His popularity also was wearing out, and he might be tempted into some strange measure to revive it. A change was evidently at hand, but what was to be its commencement? As yet he was unprepared for a departure from his old standards, or the promulgation of a new doctrine. But the field of prophecy lay temptingly in his way—that field which has been common to expositors for eighteen centuries, and in which every one has been held free to entertain his own opinion. Here, then, lay the allurements, and for this also he had for some time been unconsciously under a course of training. In 1824 he had met, in company, Mr. Hatley Frere—a gentleman whose mind was much employed in the exposition of the book of Daniel and the Apocalypse, and by whom he was asked to take a walk into the fields on the breaking up of the party. As they strolled along, Mr. Frere took the opportunity of expounding his views on the fulfilment of prophecy, and found in Irving a willing auditor. After a year they again met, when the subject was resumed, and Irving listened with the same docility which he was wont to bestow upon Coleridge. He had now found a new guide to direct as well as a new theme to interest him. Thus stood matters when he was invited to preach the anniversary sermon of the Continental Society in 1825. And will it be believed that, on this occasion, he plunged right downwards into a new interpretation of prophecy? A few conversations with Frere, who, as he thought, had furnished him with the right key, and his own miscellaneous readings upon the subject, were enough to qualify him as a guide upon a path where so many thousands had erred! The "oration," as may well be supposed, was perplexing in the extreme; and while some of his audience thought that he was advocating Catholic emancipation, others thought that he was battling against it. Some of the leading members of the committee had not even patience to

wait the issue of the question, but left the church before the sermon was finished. To set himself right with the public, as well as announce his new interpretation, Mr. Irving published the substance of this sermon, which swelled, as he wrote, into a work of voluminous bulk, under the title of *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God*. He was the first expositor who ventured to connect particular predictions with the events of the French Revolution. According to him, the Papacy commenced in A.D. 533, which, with the 1260 prophetic days or years of its continuance, brings Popery down to the year 1793, the year when the French Revolution commenced, at which date Mr. Irving considers the reign of Popery to have been superseded by that of Infidelity, and the judgments upon Babylon to have commenced. From that period to the date of his preaching, comprising a period of thirty years, six vials, as he imagined, had been poured out upon the seat of the Beast. The seventh and last vial, which was reserved for the destruction of infidelity, he calculated would occupy forty-five years more, thus bringing the consummation of judgment to the year 1868, when the millennial kingdom was to commence on earth, with Christ himself, and in person, as its sovereign.

Such is but a brief sketch of that system expository of the fulfilment of prophecy into which Irving now threw himself with headlong ardour, and of which he talked as if it were the sum and substance of revelation. His pulpit rang with it, and with it alone; his whole conversation was imbued with it; and while his fervent imagination revelled with almost superhuman excitement among pictures of Armageddon and the millennium, the Inferno and Paradiso of his preaching, his finger incessantly pointed to the year 1868 as the date emblazoned upon the heavens themselves, at which all old things were to pass away, and all things become new. And with what desire he longed to live to this year, that he might behold its glories with his own bodily eyes! Besides his work, also, of *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God*, his active pen was soon resumed upon the same subject. In the course of his studies on the completion of prophecy, he had met with a production that in some measure accorded with his own views. This was a large work written by a Spanish ecclesiastic, who shrouded his liberal and Protestant sentiments under the character and name of a Jewish convert, to escape a controversy with the Inquisition; and, deeming it well worth the notice of the British public, Mr. Irving immediately studied the Spanish language, translated the volume into English, and published it in 1827 under the title of *"The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty, by Juan Josafat Ben Ezra, a Converted Jew."* It was not long before his zeal and eloquence procured many converts to his opinions, who held their stated meetings at Albury, near Guildford, in Surrey, in the mansion of Mr. Drummond, the banker, a warm friend and coadjutor of Mr. Irving. The result of these meetings was given to the world by Mr. Drummond, in three volumes, entitled *Dialogues on Prophecy*. A quarterly periodical, also, called the *Morning Watch*, was soon commenced by the "Albury School of Prophets" and their supporters, in which their peculiar views about prophecy and the millennium were advocated and illustrated with great talent and plausibility.

Well would it have been for Mr. Irving if he had now stopped short. As yet his views, if eccentric, had been comparatively harmless; and even if his calculations had been erroneous, he had only failed in a subject where such men as Bacon, Napier, Sir

Isaac Newton, and Whiston had been in fault. But here he could not stop. He had commenced as an independent expounder of prophecy, and he must needs be the same in doctrine also. It was about the year 1827 that he was observed to preach strange sentiments respecting the human nature of our blessed Redeemer, as if the Holy One, while on earth, had been peccable like any son of Adam, although completely sinless in thought, word, and deed. It may be that his ideas of the second advent of Christ in 1868, and the nature of the millennial reign which was then to commence, had thus secularized and degraded his conceptions respecting the second person of the Godhead. His first public announcement of these most culpable opinions was before the London Society for the Distribution of "Gospel Tracts," in whose behalf he preached a collection-sermon. Many of his hearers were astonished, and not a few shuddered. He still continued to preach upon the same subject, at every step entering into additional error, until a heresy was fully organized, which he fearlessly published to the world in 1828, in a work of three volumes, closely printed in octavo, entitled *Sermons, Lectures, and Occasional Discourses*. These discourses, and his new creed, one might think, should have been immediately followed by trial and deposition. But heresy is a difficult subject even for the grasp of a church-court, as it does not always wear a sufficiently tangible and specific form. Besides, it was not always easy, from Mr. Irving's language, to ascertain the full amount and nature of his meaning. On every subject he spoke as if there was no degree of comparison but the superlative. He soon, however, received a silent but significant warning. Having gone down to Scotland in 1829, he was desirous of the honour of a seat in the General Assembly, and was nominated a ruling elder for that purpose by his native burgh of Annan. But the Assembly refused the appointment. His heretical sentiments were already too well known, and would of themselves have been sufficient for his rejection. But the refusal of the venerable court was founded upon a more merciful principle; as a non-resident in the kingdom of Scotland, and as an ordained minister beyond its bounds, he could not at that time take his seat as a ruling elder among them. During this tour Mr. Irving was not otherwise unoccupied; and in Dumfries and its neighbourhood he preached in the open air, and in a style that astonished his sober-minded countrymen. His sermons on these occasions comprised all his errors in doctrine, and all his singularities of exposition, from the downfall of Popery and the peccability of our Saviour's human nature, to the millennial reign and the restoration of all things, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral—from man, the lord of creation, to the crawling worm or the senseless stone.

But even farther yet Mr. Irving was to go. A strange religious frenzy had commenced at Row and Port-Glasgow, on the Firth of Clyde, engendered by extravagant notions about the assurance of faith and universal redemption, under which several weak minds became so heated, that they began to prophesy and attempt to work miracles. But the most remarkable part of the delusion consisted in wild pythonesque contortions into which the favoured of the sect were thrown, under which they harangued, raved, and chanted in strange unintelligible utterances that were asserted to be divine inspiration, speaking miraculously in languages which neither speaker nor hearer understood. It was a craziness as contemptible as that of the Buchanites in the preceding century, and, like the system of Elspeth Buchan, it was unsuited for a permanent hold upon

the Scottish intellect; so that, while its action was chiefly confined to hysterical old women and dreaming girls, it fell into universal contempt, and passed away as rapidly as it had risen. But just when this moon-governed tide was at the height, one of its female apostles went to London, and connected herself with Mr. Irving's congregation, many of whom were fully ripened for such extravagances. They were wont to assemble for prayer-meetings and religious exercises at the early hour of six in the morning, and there the infection spread with electric rapidity, while prophesying, denouncing, and speaking in unknown tongues took the place of prayer and exhortation. As in the cases of Row and Port-Glasgow, also, these visitations at first were chiefly confined to the female sex, and a few unlucky men, the victims of feminine susceptibility. But the London form of the disease soon took a higher flight than that of Scotland. Private rooms and session-houses were found insufficient for such important manifestations, and they were daringly transferred to the church, and incorporated with the solemn public services? And how could the spirit of Mr. Irving brook such arrogant interruptions? But, alas! the lion within him was tamed, cowed, and chained; and he who daringly sought to be more, was now less than man. He believed that the second pentecostal day had come, of which the first was but a type; that these were the divine supernatural manifestations by which the second coming and reign of Christ upon earth were to be heralded; and that himself the while was the honoured John the Baptist, by whom the coming had been heralded and the way prepared.

These were proceedings which the church could no longer tolerate, and the case was taken up by the London presbytery in the early part of 1830. As yet the charge brought against him was only that of heresy—one, as we have already mentioned, so difficult to substantiate, and therefore the discussion was prolonged for eighteen months without any final result. But during the interval the excesses at the Caledonian Church, Regent Square, had become so wild, and withal so notorious, that the question of his offence was no longer one of nice metaphysical subtlety. These were matters of fact, not of mere opinion, and soon received from the depositions of examined witnesses their full amount of proof. It is to be observed that, for some time, Mr. Irving had been in the practice of exalting the authority of the church as paramount and supreme, while by the church he meant the ministers and office-bearers exclusively, in their courts assembled for the purposes of ecclesiastical legislation. Their dictates were infallible, and therefore to be received without disputation or scruple. It was the system of his favourite Hooker pushed into the extremes of Puseyism, and even of downright Popery. According, therefore, to his own teaching, he should have accepted the presbytery's award with implicit submission. But it happened with him, in his own case, as it has done with many others, that this particular instance was an exception to the general rule. His light and knowledge, his vocation and labours, were superior to those of his brethren; they were working and blundering in darkness, upon subjects which they were not worthy to comprehend; and how, then, could they be qualified to judge in such a case as this? This, his conclusion, was apparent in his conduct during the course of trial. He lost patience during the cross-examination of the witnesses, and charged the presbytery with being a "court of Antichrist." His defence, which occupied four hours in the delivery, was more the language of denunciation and rebuke than confession or exculpation; it was

even a fierce defiance and full rejection of presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies to boot, when they came in contravention with himself and his kirk-session. The result of this trial was, that he was found guilty of the charges libelled against him, and sentenced to deposition from his local cure as minister of the Scotch National Church in Regent Square. Regarding, or pretending to regard, this sentence as a mere nullity, he attempted to hold his early morning meetings in that building as before; but when he presented himself with his followers for that purpose, he found the gates locked, and all access refused. True to his new character, he uttered an awful prophetic denunciation at this rejection, and turned away in quest of another place of meeting.

This was but the first step of Mr. Irving's ecclesiastical punishment; for, though deprived of his church, his standing as a minister of the Church of Scotland was still untouched. The question whether he should thus continue was, therefore, to be next tried before the bar of that presbytery by which he had been ordained—the presbytery of his native Annan. This ecclesiastical assize was held on the 13th of March, 1833, and Mr. Irving appeared at the summons. His conduct on this occasion was, if possible, still more wild, as well as more peremptory, than it had been before the presbytery of London. The most serious part of his offence was now to be taken into account; and therefore the charge against him was, of "printing, publishing, and disseminating heresies and heretical doctrines, particularly the doctrine of the fallen state and sinfulness of our Lord's human nature." His answer was rather an authoritative harangue to the by-standers, justifying his doctrine, and commanding them to receive it, than the reply of an office-bearer to his court of judicature; and at the conclusion he wound up his rebellion in the following words: "I stand here, not by constraint, but willingly. Do what you like. I ask not judgment of you; my judgment is with my God; and as to the General Assembly, the spirit of judgment is departed from it. Oh! ye know not how near ye are to the brink of destruction. Ye need not expedite your fall. All are dead around. The church is struggling with many enemies, but her worst is within herself—I mean that wicked Assembly!" After full trial he was found guilty, and the sentence of deposition was just about to be prefaced with prayer, when a loud voice was heard from a pew behind Mr. Irving, exclaiming, "Arise, depart!—arise, depart!—flee ye out, flee ye out of her! Ye cannot pray. How can ye pray? How can ye pray to Christ, whom ye deny? Ye cannot pray. Depart—depart—flee—flee!" The church, at this late hour, was almost enveloped in darkness; and the crowd of 2000 people within the walls started to their feet, as if the cry of "Fire!" had been suddenly sounded. But a minister, on lifting up the solitary candle to which they were reduced, and searching cautiously about, discovered that the words were uttered by Mr. Dow, late minister of Irongray, who had been deposed for holding sentiments similar to those of Mr. Irving. The latter, who seemed to consider the call as a command from Heaven, rose up to depart; and turning his colossal form toward the passage, which was almost blocked up, he thundered in a tone of impatience, "Stand forth! Stand forth! What! Will ye not obey the voice of the Holy Ghost? As many as will obey the voice of the Holy Ghost, let them depart." He strode onward to the door, and, pausing for a moment, he exclaimed—"Prayer indeed! Oh!" Such was his parting salutation to the church of which he had been so distinguished a minister. In a few minutes more the sentence of

the presbytery was pronounced, and his connection with the church dissolved.

The subsequent history of an individual so good and talented, but whose course withal was so erratic, may be briefly told. Immediately after his deposition, he commenced a tour of open-air preaching in Annan, Dumfries, and other places, and then returned to London. On his ejection from the Caledonian Church in Regent Square, he had settled, with a great portion of his congregation, who followed him, in a building in Newman Street, formerly the picture-gallery of Benjamin West, which was fitted up for a place of worship; and here, completely removed beyond the control of church-courts, Mr. Irving gave himself up to his prophets and prophetesses, whose exhibitions became wilder and revelations more abundant than ever. A new creed, a new church, and new office-bearers and rites were soon established; itinerant preachers were sent forth to proclaim the advent of a better world at hand, while miracles, effected upon the weak-minded and hypochondriacal, were announced as incontestable proofs of the divine authority of the new system. At length 50,000 worshippers, and numerous chapels erected throughout England, proclaimed that a distinct sect had been fully established, let its permanency be what it might. And now Mr. Irving had attained that *monstrari digito* which, with all his heroic and disinterested labours, he never appears to have lost sight of since his arrival in London. But as the honoured and worshipped mystagogue, with a church of his own creation, was he happy, or even at peace with himself? His immeasurably long sermons, his frequent preachings and writings, his incredible toils both of mind and body, were possibly aggravated and embittered by the apostasy of some of the most gifted of his flock, and the moral inconsistencies of others; while the difficulties of managing a cause, and ruling a people subject to so many inspirations, and exhorted in so many unknown tongues, would have baffled Sir Harry Vane, or even Cromwell himself. His raven locks were already frosted, and his iron frame attenuated, by premature old age; and in the autumn of 1834 he was compelled to return to his native country for the recovery of his health; but it was too late. His disease was consumption, against which he struggled to the last, with the hope of returning to his flock; but on arriving at Glasgow, his power of journeying was ended by the rapid increase of his malady; and he was received under the hospitable roof of Mr. Taylor, a stranger, where, in much pain and suffering, he lay down to die. In his last hours he was visited by his aged mother, and his sister, Mrs. Dickson, to the first of whom he said, "Mother, I hope you are happy." Much of the time during which he was sensible was employed by him in fervent prayer. A short time before he expired, the Rev. Mr. Martin, his father-in-law, who stood at his bed-side, overheard him faintly uttering what appeared a portion of the twenty-third psalm in the original; and on repeating to him the first verse in Hebrew, Mr. Irving immediately followed with the two succeeding verses in the same tongue. Soon after he expired. This event occurred on the 6th of December, 1834, when he was only forty-two years old. His death occasioned a deep and universal sensation in Glasgow, where his ministry as a preacher had commenced, and where he was still beloved by many. He left a widow and three young children, one of them an infant only six months old at his decease.

IVORY, JAMES, LL.D.—This excellent mathematician was born at Dundee in 1765. After he

had attended the public schools of his native town, until the usual course of an English education was finished, his father, who was a watchmaker in Dundee, being anxious that his son should be a minister, sent him to the university of St. Andrews, to prosecute those studies which the church has appointed. He entered the college at the age of fourteen, and continued there six years; but of the various departments of study comprised within this course, mathematics attracted his chief attention; and in this he made such proficiency as to attract the notice of his fellow-students, as well as of the Rev. John West, one of the professors, who encouraged and aided him in his scientific pursuits. After these college terms had been finished, Ivory spent two years at St. Andrews in the study of theology, and a third in Edinburgh, where he had Sir John Leslie for his class-fellow. But on completing his theological course, and leaving the university, in 1786, instead of becoming a licentiate of the church, as his father had proposed, he became assistant teacher in a newly established academy in Dundee, where he continued three years, and afterwards engaged with some other persons in a factory for spinning flax, which was erected at Douglstown, Forfarshire. How this last occupation, of which he was chief superintendent, coincided either with his previous studies as a theologian, or his predilections as a mathematician, does not distinctly appear; but the result was a failure; for, after fifteen years of trial, the company was dissolved in 1804, and the factory closed. During all this period Ivory had probably employed his leisure in the study both of English and foreign works upon his favourite science—pursuits not of a favourable nature certainly for the mechanical operations of flax-spinning. He had done enough, however, at all events, to show that his leanings were not towards the office of the ministry.

The next change that Mr. Ivory underwent was of a more congenial character, for it was to a professorship of mathematics in the Royal Military College, instituted a few years previous at Marlow, in Buckinghamshire. Here he laboured with great assiduity in his new charge, and afterwards at Sandhurst, Berkshire, when the college was removed to that quarter. The manner in which he discharged the duties of his important professorship not only met with the high approval of the governor of the institution, but also the cordial esteem of the students, whom he was never weary of instructing in a science so essential to the military profession. He endeavoured, in his lessons, to simplify those demonstrations that had hitherto been of too complex a character; and for the more effectual accomplishment of this purpose he also published, but without his name, an edition of Euclid's *Elements*, in which the difficult problems were brought more within the reach of ordinary understandings. So earnestly and indefatigably, indeed, were these duties discharged, that in 1819 his health unfitted him for further public exertion, and he resigned his chair in Sandhurst College before the time had elapsed that entitled him to a retiring pension. But the value of his services was so justly estimated, that the full pension was allowed him, with which he retired into private life, in or near London, where he prosecuted his favourite studies till the period of his death, which occurred on the 21st September, 1842, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

Such were the few events of a public nature that characterized the life of Professor Ivory; but his actions are chiefly to be found in his scientific writings, which were highly estimated by the mathe-

mathematicians of his day. Of these we give the following brief enumeration:—

In 1790, 1799, and 1802 he sent three communications to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The first of these was entitled *A New Series for the Rectification of the Ellipse*; the second, *A New Method of Resolving Cubic Equations*; and the third, *A New and Universal Solution of Kepler's Problem*.

To these succeeded, between the years 1809 and 1839, fifteen papers, transmitted to the Royal Society of London, and published in their *Transactions*. The first of these, *On the Attractions of Homogeneous Ellipsoids*, possesses remarkable merit, in which he solved, in a new and simple manner, the attractions of these ellipsoids upon points situated on their exterior. Three of these were on the *Attractions of Spheroids*, in which he substituted a process of analysis so much superior to that of the celebrated Laplace, that the latter frankly acknowledged the superiority. Another communication, published in the *Transactions* for 1814, is entitled *A New Method of Deducing a First Approximation to the Orbit of a Comet from Three Geocentric Observations*. Two of the articles contain his investigations on the subject of astronomical refractions; and four on the equilibrium of fluid bodies. These titles will suffice to show the subjects that chiefly

occupied his attention. Only one of these papers was purely mathematical, and was entitled *On the Theory of Elliptic Transcendents*.

The honours that were conferred upon a silent recluse student, such as Mr. Ivory was, showed how greatly his scientific acquirements and his writings were valued. In 1814 the Copley medal was awarded to him for his mathematical communications to the Royal Society; in 1826 he received one of the royal medals for his paper on *Astronomical Refractions*, published in 1823; and in 1839 another royal medal was bestowed on him for his *Theory of Astronomical Refractions*, which was published in the previous year. In 1815 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of London; he was also an honorary fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of the Royal Irish Academy, and of the Cambridge Philosophical Society; a corresponding member of the Institute of France, of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin, and of the Royal Society of Göttingen. In consequence of a recommendation of Lord Brougham to William IV., Mr. Ivory, in the year 1831, was honoured with the Hanoverian Guelphic order of knighthood, and a pension of £300 per annum; and in 1839 he received the diploma of Doctor in Laws from the university of St. Andrews.

J.

JACK, or **JACHÆUS**, GILBERT, an eminent metaphysician and medical writer, and professor of philosophy at Leyden, was born at Aberdeen, as has been asserted (although there seems but slight ground for fixing the date so precisely), in the year 1578. Early in life, and apparently before he had commenced a regular series of literary study, he lost his father, and was committed by his mother to the private tuition of a person named Thomas Cargill. He afterwards studied under Robert Howie: and as that individual was made principal of Marischal College on its erection into a university, in 1593, it is probable that Jack obtained a portion of his university education at Aberdeen, although he is mentioned by Freher as having studied philosophy at St. Andrews, where he was under the tuition of Robert Hay, an eminent theologist.¹ By the advice of his tutor, who probably detected in his mind the dawning of high talent, Jack continued his studies in the universities on the Continent. He remained for some time at the colleges of Herborn and Helmstadt, when, incited by the high fame of the university of Leyden, he removed thither and sought employment as a private teacher in expectation of eventually obtaining a professorship. His ambition was at length gratified by his appointment, in 1604, to what had been in general terms called the philosophical chair of that celebrated institution. Scotland, which seems to have acquired a permanent celebrity from the numerous persevering and ambitious men it had dispersed through the world, was at no time so fruitful in its supply of eminent men as during the lifetime of the subject of our memoir. Adolphus Vorstius, a person known to fame chiefly

from his tributes to the memory of some eminent friends, and colleague of Jack in the university of Leyden, in a funeral oration to his memory, from which the materials for a memoir of Jack are chiefly derived, mentions that at the period we allude to there was scarcely a college in Europe of any celebrity, which did not number a Scotsman among its professors: and whether from the meagre tuition in our own universities, or other causes, most of the Scotsmen celebrated for learning at that period—and they were not a few—began their career of fame abroad. In the works or correspondence of the continental scholars of the seventeenth century, we frequently meet with names of Scotsmen now forgotten in their native country, and that of Jack frequently occurs, accompanied with many indications of respect. He is said to have been the first who taught *metaphysics* at Leyden, a statement from which we may at least presume that he opened new branches of inquiry, and was celebrated for the originality of the system he inculcated. During his professorship at Leyden he studied medicine, and took his degree in that science in 1611.

In 1612 appeared his first work, *Institutiones Physicæ, Juventutis Lugdunensis Studiis potissimum dicatæ*, republished with notes in 1616. This treatise is dedicated to Matthew Overbegius (Overbeke), and is in the usual manner prefaced by laudatory addresses, which are from the pens of men of celebrity—Daniel Heinsius, Greek professor of Leyden (who appropriately uses his professional language), Gaspard Barlæus, the professor of logic at Leyden, and Theodore Schrevelius (probably father to the lexicographer Cornelius). This work, notwithstanding its title, will be readily understood to be generally metaphysical, and the portion tending to that species of discussion is that from which a modern student will derive most satisfaction. It consists of nine books. The first is introductory, containing

¹ *Freheri Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum*, ii. 1353. *Græcis utriusque lingue fundamentis, ad academiam Andream adlocutus, philosophiæ operam navavit, præceptore nam Roberto Hæzio Theologo exsilio.*

definitions, &c., the second is "De Natura," the third "De Motu," the fourth "De Tempore," the fifth "De Cælo," the sixth "De Corpore Misto," the seventh "De Meteoris," the eighth "De Anima," and the ninth "De Anima Rationali." Apart from the doctrines now called vulgar errors, for an adherence to which the limited bounds of our own knowledge must teach us to excuse our forefathers, this work may be perused with interest and even profit. To have departed from the text of Aristotle might have been considered equal in heresy to a denial of any of the evident laws of nature; but if Jack was, like others, a mere commentator on the great law-giver of philosophers, he frequently clothes original views in correct, clear, and logical language; his discussions on time and motion might not be ungrateful to a student of Hutcheson or Reid; and though almost unknown to his country, and forgotten in his native city, he is no contemptible member of the class of common-sense philosophers of whom Scotland has boasted. In 1624 Jack published another work, entitled *Institutiones Medice*, republished in 1631. About this period his celebrity had reached the British Isles; and, like his illustrious friend and comrade Vossius, the author of the *History of Pelagianism*, he was invited to fill the chair of civil history at Oxford, a proffer he declined. This eminent man died on the 17th day of April, 1628, leaving behind him a widow and ten children. He seems to have been on terms of intimate and friendly familiarity with the greatest men of the age. He is said to have been a hard student, to have possessed vast powers of memory, and to have been more attentive to the elegancies of life, and to his personal appearance, than scholars then generally were.

JACK, or JACHEUS, THOMAS, a classical scholar of eminence, and author of the *Onomasticon Poeticum*. The period of the birth of this author is unknown: Dr. M'Crie has with his usual industry made investigations into his history, but, excepting the circumstances to be discovered from the dedication to his work, none but a few barren facts have been found, which must have ill repaid the labours of the search. He was master of the grammar-school at Glasgow; but at what period he entered that seminary is unknown. He relinquished the situation in 1574, and became minister of the neighbouring parish of Eastwood, from which, in the manner of the time, he dates his book "ex sylva vulgo dicta orientali;" his work is entitled "*Onomasticon Poeticum, sive propriorum quibus in suis monumentis usi sunt veteres Poetæ, brevis Descriptio Poetica*;" it is neatly printed in quarto, by Waldegrave, 1592, and is now very rare. It may be described as a versified topographical dictionary of the localities of classical poetry, expressing, in a brief sentence seldom exceeding a couple of lines, some characteristic, which may remind the student of the subject of his readings. He mentions that he has found the system advantageous by experiment; and most of our readers will be reminded of the repeated attempts to teach the rules of grammar, and other matters necessary to be committed to memory, in a similar manner. The subject did not admit of much elegance, and the chief merit of the author will be acknowledged in the perseverance which has amassed so many references to subjects of classical research. A quotation of the first few lines may not be unacceptable:—

"Caucaseus vates Abaris ventura profatur,
Argivum bis sextus Albas rex, martis in armis
Acer, Hypermnestra Lynceoque parentibus ortus;
Hinc et Abantiadum series dat jura Pelagis.
Ex nube Ixion Centaurum gignit Abantem.

*Æneas comitem quo nomine clarus habebat
Aegypti ad fines. Abatos læcet Insula dyces;
Quam arcum armavit iuno natura tenaci,
Armiferæ Thracis quondam urbs Abdera celebris."*

This passage contains the accounts of Abaris, Abantiadae, Abas, Abatos, and Abdera.

In the dedication, which is addressed to James, eldest son of Claud Hamilton, commendator of Paisley, a pupil of the author, Jack complacently mentions that he had been induced to publish by the recommendation of Andrew Melville and Buchanan, and that the latter eminent person had revised the work, and submitted to a counter-revision of works of his own. Prefixed to the *Onomasticon* are encomiastic verses by Robert Pollock, Hercules Pollock, Patrick Sharpe, Andrew Melville, and Sir Thomas Craig. Dr. M'Crie has discovered that Thomas Jack, as minister of Rutherglen, was one of those who in 1582 opposed the election of Robert Montgomery as Archbishop of Glasgow. He appears to have been a member of the General Assembly in 1590; he is mentioned in 1593 as a minister within the bounds of the presbytery of Paisley, and must have died in 1596, as appears from the Testament Testamentar of "Euphame Wylie, relict of umquhill Mr. Thomas Jak, minr. at Eastwod."

JAMES I., King of Scots, and illustrious both in political and literary history, was born at Dunfermline in the year 1394. He was the third son of Robert III., King of Scots (whose father, Robert II., was the first sovereign of the Stuart family), by his consort Annabella or Annaple Drummond, daughter of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall, ancestor of the noble family of Perth. It appears that John Stuart, for such was the real name of Robert III., had married Annaple Drummond at a period antecedent to the year 1358; as in 1357 he and his wife received a charter of the earldom of Athol from David II. The unusual period of thirty-seven years at least must thus have elapsed between the marriage of the parents and the birth of their distinguished son. Their eldest child, David, born in 1373, and created Duke of Rothesay, was starved to death by his uncle the Duke of Albany in 1402; a second son, John, died in infancy. The inheritance of the crown was thus opened upon Prince James at the age of eight years, but under circumstances which rendered the prospect less agreeable than dangerous. The imbecility of Robert III. had permitted the reins of government to be assumed by his brother the Duke of Albany, who meditated a transference of the sovereignty to his own family, and scrupled at no measures which might promise to aid him in his object. There was the greatest reason to apprehend that Prince James, as well as his elder brother the Duke of Rothesay, would be removed by some foul means through the machinations of Albany; after which the existence of the king's female children would present but a trifling obstacle to his assuming the rights of heir presumptive.

The education of Prince James was early confided to Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, the learned and excellent prelate who, in founding the university in his metropolitan city, became the originator of that valuable class of institutions in Scotland. Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, were among the barons who superintended the instruction of the prince in martial and athletic exercises. For the express purpose of saving him from the fangs of his uncle, it was resolved by the king in 1405 to send him to the court of Charles VI. of France, where he might at once be safer in

person, and receive a superior education to what could be obtained in his own country. With this view the young prince was privately conducted to East Lothian, and embarked on board a vessel at the isle of the Bass, along with the Earl of Orkney and a small party of friends. It would appear that he thus escaped his uncle by a very narrow chance, as Sir David Fleming, in returning from the place of confinement, was set upon at Long Hermanston by the retainers of that wicked personage, and cruelly slain.

James pursued his voyage towards France, till, cruising along the coast of Norfolk, his vessel was seized by a squadron of armed merchantmen commanded by John Jolyff, and belonging to the port of Clay. Though this event took place in the time of a truce between the two countries (April 12, 1405), Henry IV. of England reconciled his conscience to the detention of the prince, for which, indeed, it is highly probable he had made some arrangements previously with the Duke of Albany, his faithful ally, and the imitator of his conduct. When the Earl of Orkney presented a remonstrance against such an unjustifiable act, asserting that the education of the prince was the sole object of his voyage to France, he turned it off with a jest, to the effect that he was as well acquainted with the French language, and could teach it as well as the King of France,¹ so that the prince would lose nothing by remaining where he was. He soon showed, however, the value which he attached to the possession of the prince's person by shutting him up in the castle of Pevensey in Sussex. The aged King of Scotland sank under this new calamity; and, dying April 4, 1406, left the nominal sovereignty to his captive son, but the real power of the state to his flagitious brother, the Duke of Albany, who assumed the title of governor.

Having no design against the mind of his captive, Henry furnished him in a liberal manner with the means of continuing his education. Sir John Pelham, the constable of Pevensey Castle, and one of the most distinguished knights of the age, was appointed his governor; and masters were provided for instructing him in various accomplishments and branches of knowledge. To quote the words of Mr. Tytler,² "In all athletic and manly exercises, in the use of his weapons, in his skill in horsemanship, his speed in running, his strength and dexterity as a wrestler, his firm and fair aim as a joister and tourneyer, the young king is allowed by all contemporary writers to have arrived at a pitch of excellence which left most of his own age far behind him; and as he advanced to maturity, his figure, although not so tall as to be majestic or imposing, was, from its make, peculiarly adapted for excellence in such accomplishments. His chest was broad and full, his arms somewhat long and muscular, his flanks thin and spare, and his limbs beautifully formed; so as to combine elegance and lightness with strength. In throwing the hammer, and propelling, or, to use the Scottish phrase, 'putting' the stone, and in skill in archery, we have the testimony of an ancient chronicle, that none in his own dominions could surpass him. . . . To skill in warlike exercises, every youthful candidate for honour and for knighthood was expected to unite a variety of more pacific and elegant accomplishments, which were intended to render him a delightful companion in the hall, as the others were calculated to make him a formidable enemy in the field.

The science of music, both instrumental and vocal; the composition and recitation of ballads, roundelays, and other minor pieces of poetry; an acquaintance with the romances and the writings of the popular poets of the times—were all essential branches in the system of education which was then adopted in the castle of any feudal chief; and from Pelham, who had himself been brought up as the squire of the Duke of Lancaster, we may be confident that the Scottish king received every advantage which could be conferred by skilful instructors, and by the most ample opportunities of cultivation and improvement. Such lessons and exhibitions, however, might have been thrown away upon many, but James had been born with those natural capacities which fitted him to excel in them. He possessed a fine and correct musical ear; a voice which was rich, flexible, and sufficiently powerful for chamber music; and an enthusiastic delight in the art, which, unless controlled by strong good sense, and a feeling of the higher destinies to which he was called, might have led to a dangerous devotion to it. . . . Cut off for a long and tedious period from his crown and his people, James could afford to spend many hours each day in the cultivation of accomplishments to which, under other circumstances, it would have been criminal to have given up so much of his time. And this will easily account for that high musical excellence to which he undoubtedly attained, and will explain the great variety of instruments upon which he performed. . . . He was acquainted with the Latin language, as far at least as was permitted by the rude and barbarous condition in which it existed previous to the revival of letters. In theology, oratory, and grammar—in the civil and canon laws, he was instructed by the best masters; and an acquaintance with Norman-French was necessarily acquired at a court where it was still currently spoken and highly cultivated. Devoted, however, as he was to these pursuits, James appears to have given his mind with a still stronger bias to the study of English poetry, choosing Chaucer and Gower for his masters in the art, and entering with the utmost ardour into the great object of the first of these illustrious men—the improvement of the English language, the production of easy and natural rhymes, and the refinement of poetical numbers from the rude compositions which had preceded him."

Thus passed years of restraint, unmarked by any other incident than removal from one place of captivity to another, till the death of Henry IV., in 1414. On the very day after this event the "gallant" Henry V. ordered his royal prisoner to be removed to close confinement in the Tower. In general, however, the restraint imposed upon the young king was not inconsistent with his enjoyment of the pleasures of life, among which one of the most agreeable must have been the intercourse which he was allowed to hold with his Scottish friends. It is the opinion of Mr. Tytler, that the policy of the English kings in this matter was much regulated by the terror in which they held a mysterious person residing at the Scottish court, under the designation of King Richard, and who was the object of perpetual conspiracies among the enemies of the house of Lancaster. It is at least highly probable that Albany maintained that personage as a kind of bugbear, to induce the English monarch to keep a close guard over his nephew.

The Duke of Albany died in 1419, and was succeeded as governor by his eldest son Murdoch, who was as weak as his father had been energetic and ambitious. About the same time a large party of Scottish knights and their retainers proceeded, under

¹ It will be remembered that French was the common language of the court of England, and of all legal and public business, till the age following that of Henry IV.

² *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, ii. 263.

the command of the Earl of Buchan, second son of Albany, to assist the French king in repelling the efforts which Henry V. of England was making to gain the sovereignty of France. In the hope perhaps of gaining his deliverance, James was persuaded by King Henry to accompany him to France, and to join with him in taking the opposite side to that which was assumed by this party of his subjects. But of this part of his life no clear account is preserved; only the consideration which he attained with the English king is amply proved by his acting (1422) as chief mourner at his funeral. This, however, was an event which he had little reason to regret, as it opened a prospect of his obtaining his liberty, a circumstance which would scarcely have taken place during the life of Henry; or, at least, while that prince lived, James could not look forward to any definite period for the termination of his captivity.

The Duke of Bedford, who was appointed protector of England on the death of Henry, adopting a wiser policy with regard to Scotland than that monarch had pursued, offered to deliver up the Scottish king on payment of a ransom of £40,000, to be paid within six years by half-yearly payments, and that hostages should be given for the faithful liquidation of the debt. The English, disavowing the term ransom as derogatory, in this instance, to the national character and dignity, alleged that the pecuniary consideration was demanded as payment of the king's maintenance while in England; but as Henry V. allowed only £700 a year for this purpose, and the term of James' captivity was about nineteen years, giving thus an amount of something more than £13,000 altogether, it is pretty evident that they did not intend to be losers by the transaction—though, as the money was never paid, they certainly were not gainers. After a good deal of delay, and much discussion on both sides, the arrangement for the liberation of the king was finally adjusted by the Scottish commissioners who proceeded to London for that purpose, on the 9th of March, 1423; and amongst other securities for the stipulated sum, tendered that of the burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Previously to his leaving England, James married Joanna, daughter of the Duchess of Clarence, niece of Richard II. To this lady the Scottish monarch had been long attached. Her beauty had inspired his muse, and was the frequent theme of his song. Amongst the poems attributed to the royal poet, there is one entitled *A Sang on Absence*, beginning "Sen that the eyne that workis my weillfair," in which he bewails, in strains breathing the warmest and most ardent attachment, the absence of his mistress; and in the still more elaborate production of the *King's Quair*, he thus speaks of her:—

"Of hir array, the form gif I will write
Toward her goldin haire and rich atyre,
In fret wise couchit with perlis white;
And grete balas lemyng as the fire,
With many ane emeraunt and saphire;
And on hir hide a chaplet fressh of hewe
Of plumys partit rede, and white, and blue."

In this beautiful poem the enamoured king describes himself as having first fallen in love with his future queen as she was walking in the gardens under the tower at Windsor, in which he was confined.

It is probable that he lost no time in making his fair enslaver aware of the conquest she had made, and it is also likely that her walks under the tower were not rendered less frequent by the discovery. The splendour of Joanna's dress, as described in this poem, is very remarkable. She seems to have been covered with jewels, and to have been altogether

arrayed in the utmost magnificence; not improbably in the consciousness of the eyes that were upon her. The result, at all events, shows that the captive prince must have found means sooner or later of communicating with the fair idol of his affections.

The marriage ceremony was performed at the church of St. Mary's Overy in Southwark; the king receiving with his bride as her marriage portion a discharge for £10,000 of his ransom money!

James was in the thirtieth year of his age when he was restored to his liberty and his kingdom. Proceeding first to Edinburgh, where he celebrated the festival of Easter, he afterwards went on to Scone, accompanied by his queen, where they were both solemnly crowned; Murdoch, Duke of Albany, as Earl of Fife, performing the ceremony of installing the sovereign on the throne.

Immediately after the coronation James convoked a parliament in Perth, and by the proceedings of that assembly gave intimation to the kingdom of the commencement of a vigorous reign. Amongst many other wise and judicious ordinations, this national council enacted, that the king's peace should be firmly held, and no private wars allowed, and that no man should travel with a greater number of retainers than he could maintain; that a sufficient administration of law be appointed throughout the realm; and that no extortion from churchmen or farmers in particular be admitted. James had early been impressed with the necessity of arresting with a vigorous and unsparing hand the progress of that system of fraud and rapine to which the country had been a prey during the regencies that preceded his accession to the throne; a policy which, perhaps, though both necessary and just, there is some reason to believe he carried too far, or at least prosecuted with a mind not tempered by judicious and humane considerations. When first informed, on his arrival in the kingdom, of the lawlessness which prevailed in it, he is said to have exclaimed, "By the help of God, though I should myself lead the life of a dog, I shall make the key keep the castle, and the bush secure the cow." Than such a resolution as this nothing could have been wiser or more praiseworthy, and he certainly did all he could, and probably more than he ought, to accomplish the desirable end which the sentiment proposed; but he seems to have been somewhat indiscriminating in his vengeance. This indiscrimination may be only apparent, and may derive its character from the imperfectness of the history of that period; but as we judge of the good by what is upon record, we are bound to judge of the bad by the same rule; and it would be rather a singular mischance if error and misrepresentation were always and exclusively on the side of the latter. It is at any rate certain, that a remarkable humanity, or any remarkable inclination to the side of mercy, were by no means amongst the number of James' good qualities, numerous though these assuredly were. With the best intentions towards the improvement of his kingdom, and the bettering of the condition of his subjects, James had yet the misfortune to excite, at the commencement of his reign, a very general feeling of dissatisfaction with his government.

This, amongst the aristocracy, proceeded from the severity with which he threatened to visit their offences; and amongst the common people, from his having imposed a tax to pay the ransom money stipulated for his release from captivity. This tax was proposed to be levied at the rate of twelve pennies in the pound on all sorts of produce, on farms and annual rents, cattle and grain, and to continue for two years. The tax was with great diffi-

culty collected the first year, but in the second the popular impatience and dissatisfaction became so general and so marked, that the king thought it advisable to abandon it; and the consequence was, as already remarked, that the debt was never discharged. The reluctance of the nation to pay the price of their prince's freedom may appear ungenerous, and as implying an indifference towards him personally; but this is not a necessary, nor is it the only, conclusion which may be inferred from the circumstance. It is probable that they may have considered the demand of England unreasonable and unjust, and it certainly was both, seeing that James was no prisoner of war, but had been made captive at a time when the two kingdoms were at peace with each other. To make him prisoner, therefore, and make him pay for it too, seems indeed to have been rather a hard case, and such it was probably esteemed by his subjects. The policy which James proposed to adopt was not limited to the suppression of existing evils, or to the prevention of their recurrence in time to come, but extended to the punishing of offences long since committed, and of which, in many instances, though we are told the results, we are left uninformed of the crime. At the outset of his reign he had ordered the arrest of Walter, eldest son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, the late regent, together with that of Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock; and soon afterwards, taking advantage of the circumstance of a meeting of parliament at Perth, which he had convoked probably for the purpose of bringing them within his reach, he ordered the arrest of Murdoch himself, his second son Alexander Stewart, the Earls of Douglas, Angus, and March, and twenty other gentlemen of note.

The vengeance, however, which gave rise to this proceeding, was followed out only in the case of Albany; at least his punishment only is recorded in the accounts given by our historians of this transaction, while all the others are allowed to drop out of sight without any further notice of them in connection with that event. Indeed the whole of this period of Scottish history is exceedingly obscure; much of it is confused, inconsistent, and inexplicable, and is therefore indebted almost wholly to conjecture for any interest it possesses, and perhaps no portion of it is more obscure than that which includes the occurrence which has just been alluded to. The king's vengeance is said to have been exclusively aimed at Albany. Then, wherefore the arrest of the others? Because, it is said, they were the friends of the late regent, and might have defeated the ends of justice had they been left at liberty, or at least might have been troublesome in the event of his condemnation. But how is this to be reconciled with the fact, that several of those arrested with Albany were of the jury that found him guilty on his trial, which took place a few weeks afterwards? All that we certainly know of this matter is, that Murdoch was committed a close prisoner to Carlaweroc Castle, while his duchess, Isabella, shared a similar fate in Tantallon, and that the king immediately after seized upon and took possession of his castles of Falkland in Fife and Downe in Menteith; that soon afterwards, Albany, with his two sons, Walter and Alexander, together with the aged Earl of Lennox, were brought to trial, condemned to death, and beheaded. The principal offence, so far as is known—for on this point also there is much obscurity—charged against those unfortunate persons was their having dilapidated the royal revenues while the king was captive in England. The fate of the two sons of the regent, who were remarkably stout and handsome young

men, excited a good deal of commiseration. The moment their sentence was pronounced, they were led out to execution. Their father and Lennox were beheaded on the following day. The scene of this tragedy was a rising ground immediately adjoining Stirling Castle.

It is not improbable that circumstances unknown to us may have warranted this instance of sanguinary severity on the part of the king; but it is unfortunate for his memory that these circumstances, if they did exist, should be unknown; for as it now stands, he cannot be acquitted of cruelty in this case, as well as some others, otherwise than by alleging that he was incapable of inflicting an unmerited punishment—a defence more generous than satisfactory. The parliaments, however, which James convoked, continued remarkable for the wisdom of their decrees, for the number of salutary laws which they enacted, and for the anxiety generally which they discovered for the prosperity of the kingdom. Amongst the most curious of their laws is one which forbids any man who has accused another from being of the jury on his trial! It is not easy to conceive what were the notions of jurisprudence which permitted the existence of the practice which this statute is meant to put an end to. The allowing the accuser to be one of the jury on the trial of the person he has accused, seems an absurdity and impropriety too palpable and gross to be apologized for, even by the rudeness and barbarity of the times. Another curious statute of this period enacts, that no traveller shall lodge with his friends, but at the common inn. The object of this was to encourage these institutions, only about this time first established in Scotland. They seem, however, very soon to have become popular, as it was shortly afterwards enjoined by act of parliament, that no one should remain in taverns after nine o'clock at night. This of course was meant only to apply to those who resided near the spot, and not to travellers at a distance from their homes.

The subjugation of the Highlands and Isles next occupied the attention of the stern and active monarch. These districts were in the most lawless state, and neither acknowledged the authority of the parliament nor the king. With the view of introducing a better order of things into these savage provinces, and of bringing to condign punishment some of the most turbulent chieftains, James assembled a parliament at Inverness, and specially summoned the heads of the clans to attend it. The summons was obeyed, and about fifty chieftains of various degrees of note and power arrived at Inverness at the appointed time, and were all made prisoners; amongst the rest Alexander, Lord of the Isles. Several of them were instantly beheaded after a summary trial, the others were distributed throughout the different prisons of the kingdom, or kept in ward at the castles of the nobility. The greater part of them were afterwards put to death, and the remainder finally restored to liberty. With a degree of cruelty which the case does not seem to warrant, the Countess of Ross, the mother of the Lord of the Isles, was made a prisoner along with her son, and was long detained in captivity in the island of Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth. Alexander, after a year's confinement, was allowed to return to his own country, on condition that he would in future refrain from all acts of violence; his mother in the meantime being held a hostage for his good conduct. Equally regardless, however, of his promises and the predicament of his parent, he, soon after regaining his liberty, with a large body of followers attacked and burned the town of Inverness. James, to revenge this outrage, instantly collected an army and marched against the perpetrator,

whom he overtook in the neighbourhood of Lochaber. A battle ensued, in which the Lord of the Isles, who is said to have had an army of 10,000 men under him, was totally defeated. Humbled by this misfortune, Alexander soon after made an attempt to procure a reconciliation with the king, but failing in this, he finally resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of the sovereign. With this view he came privately to Edinburgh, and attired only in his shirt and drawers, he placed himself before the high altar of Holyrood Church, and on his knees, in presence of the queen and a number of nobles, presented his naked sword to the king. For this act of humiliation and humble submission his life was spared; but he was ordered into close confinement in the castle of Tantallon.

Some curious and interesting considerations naturally present themselves when contemplating the transactions just spoken of. Amongst these a feeling of wonder is excited to find the summons of the king to the fierce lawless chieftains of the Highlands so readily obeyed. To see them walk so tamely into the trap which was laid for them, when they must have known, from the previous character of the king, that if they once placed themselves within his reach, they might be assured of punishment! Supposing, again, that they were deceived as to his intentions, and had no idea that he meant them any personal violence, but were inveigled within his power by faithless assurances; it then becomes matter of astonishment, that in the very midst of their clans, in the heart of their own country, and in the immediate neighbourhood of their inaccessible retreats, the king should have been able, without meeting with any resistance, to take into custody and carry away as prisoners no fewer than fifty powerful chieftains, and even to put some of them to death upon the spot. This wonder is not lessened by finding that the Lord of the Isles himself could bring into the field 10,000 men, while the greater part of the others could muster from 500 to 5000 each; and it might be thought that, however great was their enmity to each other, they would have made common cause in such a case as this, and have all united in rescuing their chiefs from the hands of him who must have appeared their common enemy. But no such effort was made, and the whole Highlands, as it were, looked quietly on and permitted their chief men to be carried away into captivity. In the midst of these somewhat inexplicable considerations, however, there is one very evident and remarkable circumstance; this is the great power of the king, which could thus enable him to enforce so sweeping an act of justice in so remote and barbarous a part of his kingdom; and perhaps a more striking instance of the existence of that extraordinary power, and of terror inspired by the royal name, is not to be found in the pages of Scottish history.

The parliament of James, directed evidently by the spirit of the monarch, continued from time to time to enact the most salutary laws. In 1427 it was decreed that a fine of ten pounds should be imposed upon burgesses who, being summoned, should refuse to attend parliament, without showing satisfactory cause for their absence; and in the same year several acts were passed for the punishment of murder and felony. The first of these acts, however, was repealed in the following year, by introducing a new feature into the legislature of the kingdom. The attendance of small barons or freeholders in parliament was dispensed with, on condition that each shire sent two commissioners, whose expenses were to be paid by the freeholders. Another singular decree was also passed this year, enjoining the suc-

cessors and heirs of prelates and barons to take an oath of fidelity to the queen. This was an unusual proceeding, but not an unwise one, as it was evidently a provision for the event of the king's death, should it happen during the minority of his heir and successor. It did so happen; and though history is silent on the subject, there is reason to believe that the queen enjoyed the advantage which the act intended to secure to her.

In the year 1428 James wisely strengthened the Scottish alliance with France, by betrothing his eldest daughter, Margaret, but yet in her infancy, to the dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., also at this time a mere child. This contract, however, was not carried into effect until the year 1436, when the dauphin had attained his thirteenth year, and his bride her twelfth. The marriage eventually proved an exceedingly unhappy one. The husband of the Scottish princess was a man of the worst dispositions, and unfortunately there were others about him no less remarkable for their bad qualities. One of these, Jamet De Villy, impressed him, by tales which were afterwards proven to be false, with a suspicion of the dauphiness's fidelity. Though innocent, the unhappy princess was so deeply affected by the infamous accusations which were brought against her, that she took to bed and soon after died of a broken heart, exclaiming before she expired, "Ah! Jamet, Jamet, you have gained your purpose;" such mild but affecting expressions being all that her hard fate and the malice of her enemies could elicit from the dying princess. Jamet was afterwards proven, in a legal investigation which took place into the cause of the death of Margaret, to be a "scoundrel" and "common liar." The death of this princess took place nine years after the marriage, and seven after the death of her father; who, had he been alive, would not, it is probable, have permitted the treatment of his daughter to have passed without some token of his resentment.

The short remaining portion of James' life, either from the defectiveness of the records of that period, or because they really did not occur, presents us with few events of any great importance. Amongst those worthy of any notice are, a commercial league of one hundred years entered into between Scotland and Flanders; the passing of a sumptuary law, forbidding any one but lords and knights, their eldest sons and heirs, from wearing silks and furs; a decree declaring all Scotsmen traitors who travel into England without the king's leave. Another enjoined all barons and lords having lands on the western or northern seas, particularly those opposite to the islands, to furnish a certain number of galleys, according to their tenures; an injunction which was but little attended to. In 1431 James renewed the treaty of peace with England, then just expiring, for five years. In this year also, a desperate encounter took place at Inverlochy between Donald Balloch and the Earls of Mar and Caithness, in which the former was victorious. The Earl of Caithness, with sixteen squires of his family, fell in this sanguinary engagement. Another conflict, still more deadly, took place about the same time in Strathnavern, between Angus Duff, chief of the Mackays of that district, and Angus Moray. There were 1200 men on either side, and it is said that at the termination of the fight there were scarcely nine left alive.

James, in the meantime, proceeded with his system of hostility to the nobles, availing himself of every opportunity which presented itself of humbling them and of lessening their power. He threw into prison his own nephews, the Earl of Douglas and Sir John Kennedy, and procured the forfeiture of the estates

of the Earl of March. The reasons for the first act of severity are now unknown. That for the second was, that the Earl of March's father had been engaged in rebellion against the kingdom during the regency of Albany. The policy of James in arraying himself against his nobles, and maintaining an attitude of hostility towards them during his reign, seems of very questionable propriety, to say nothing of the apparent character of unmerited severity which it assumes in many instances. He no doubt found on his arrival in the kingdom many crimes to punish amongst that class, and much feudal tyranny to suppress; but it is not very evident that his success would have been less, or the object which he aimed at less surely accomplished, had he done this with a more lenient hand. By making the nobles his friends in place of his enemies, he would assuredly have established and maintained the peace of the kingdom still more effectually than he did. They were men, rude as they were, who would have yielded a submission to a personal affection for their prince, which they would, and did, refuse to his authority as a ruler. James erred in aiming at governing by fear, when he should have governed by love. A splendid proof of his error in this particular is presented in the conduct of his great grandson James IV., who pursued a directly opposite course with regard to his nobles, and with results infinitely more favourable to the best interests of the kingdom. Only one event now of any moment occurs until the premature death of James; this is the siege of Roxburgh. To revenge an attempt which had been made by the English to intercept his daughter on her way to France, he raised an army of, it has been computed, 200,000 men, and marching into England, besieged the castle of Roxburgh; but after spending fifteen days before that stronghold, and expending nearly all the missive arms in the kingdom, he was compelled to abandon the siege, and to return with his army without having effected anything at all commensurate with the extent of his preparations, or the prodigious force which accompanied him. The melancholy catastrophe in which his existence terminated was now fast approaching—the result of his own harsh conduct and unforgiving disposition.

The nobles, wearied out with his oppressions, seem latterly to have been restrained only by a want of unanimity amongst themselves from revenging the injuries they had sustained at his hands, or by a want of individual resolution to strike the fatal blow. At length one appeared who possessed the courage necessary for the performance of this desperate deed. This person was Sir Robert Graham, uncle to the Earl of Strathern. He also had been imprisoned by James, and was therefore his enemy on personal as well as general grounds.

At this crisis of the dissatisfaction of the nobles Graham offered, in a meeting of the latter, to state their grievances to the king, and to demand the redress of these grievances, provided those who then heard him would second him in so doing. The lords accepted his offer, and pledged themselves to support him. Accordingly, in the very next parliament, Graham rose up, and having advanced to where the king was seated, laid his hand upon his shoulder and said, "I arrest you in the name of all the three estates of your realm here assembled in parliament, for as your people have sworn to obey you, so are you constrained by an equal oath to govern by law, and not to wrong your subjects, but in justice to maintain and defend them." Then turning round to the assembled lords, "Is it not thus as I say?" he exclaimed—but the appeal remained unanswered. Either awed by the royal presence, or thinking that

Graham had gone too far, the lords meekly declined to afford him the support which they had promised him. That Graham had done a rash thing, and had said more than his colleagues meant he should have said, is scarcely an apology for their deserting him as they did in the hour of trial. They ought at least to have afforded him some countenance, and to have acknowledged so much of his reproof as they were willing should have been administered; and there is little doubt that a very large portion of its spirit was theirs also, although they seem to have lacked the courage to avow it. Graham was instantly ordered into confinement, and was soon after deprived of all his possessions and estates, and banished the kingdom. Brooding over his misfortunes, and breathing vengeance against him who was the cause of them, the daring exile retired to the remotest parts of the Highlands, and there arranged and perfected his plans of revenge. He first wrote letters to the king renouncing his allegiance and defying his wrath, upbraiding him with being the ruin of himself, his wife, and his children, and concluded with declaring that he would put him to death with his own hand if opportunity should offer. The answer to these threats and defiance was a proclamation which the king immediately issued, promising 3000 demies of gold, of the value of half an English noble each, to any one who should bring in Graham dead or alive.

The king's proclamation, however, was attended with no effect. The object of it not only remained in safety in his retreat, but proceeded to mature the schemes of vengeance which he meditated against his sovereign. He opened a correspondence with several of the nobility, in which he unfolded the treason which he designed, and offered to assassinate the king with his own hand.

The general dislike which was entertained for James, and which was by no means confined to the aristocracy, for his exactions had rendered his government obnoxious also to the common people, soon procured for Graham a powerful co-operation; and the result was, that a regular and deep-laid conspiracy, and which included even some of the king's most familiar domestics, was speedily formed. In the meantime the king, unconscious of the fate which was about to overtake him, had removed with his court to Perth to celebrate the festival of Christmas. While on his way thither, according to popular tradition, he was accosted by a soothsayer, who forewarned him of the disaster which was to happen him. "My lord king," she said, for it was a prophetess who spoke, "if ye pass this water" (the Forth), "ye shall never return again alive." The king is said to have been much struck by the oracular intimation, and not the less so that he had read in some prophecy a short while before, that in that year a king of Scotland should be slain. The monarch, however, did not himself deign on this occasion to interrogate the soothsayer as to what she meant, but deputed the task to one of the knights, whom he desired to turn aside and hold some conversation with her. This gentleman soon after rejoined the king, and representing the prophetess as a foolish inebriated woman, recommended to his majesty to pay no attention to what she had said. Accordingly no further notice seems to have been taken of the circumstance. The royal party crossed the water and arrived in safety at Perth; the king, with his family and domestics, taking up his residence at the Dominicans' or Blackfriars' monastery. The conspirators, in the meantime, fully informed of his motions, had so far completed their arrangements as to have fixed the night on which he should be assassinated. This was, according to some authori-

ties, the night of the second Wednesday of Lent, or the 27th day of February; by others, the first Wednesday of Lent, or between the 20th or 21st of that month, in the year 1437; and the latter is deemed the more accurate date. James spent the earlier part of the evening in playing chess with one of his knights, whom, for his remarkable devotion to the fair sex, he humorously nicknamed the King of Love. The king was in high spirits during the progress of the game, and indulged in a number of jokes at the expense of his brother king; but the dark hints which he had had of his fate seemed, as it were, in spite of himself, to have made an impression upon him, and were always present to him even in his merriest moods, and it was evidently under this feeling that he said—more in earnest than in joke, though he endeavoured to give it the latter character—to his antagonist in the game, “Sir King of Love, it is not long since I read a prophecy which foretold that in this year a king should be slain in this land, and ye know well, sir, that there are no kings in this realm but you and I. I therefore advise you to look carefully to your own safety, for I give you warning that I shall see that mine is sufficiently provided for.” Shortly after this a number of lords and knights thronged into the king’s chamber, and the mirth, pastime, and joke went on with increased vigour. In the midst of the revelry, however, the king received another warning of his approaching fate. “My lord,” said one of his favourite squires, tempted probably by the light tone of the conversation which was going forward, “I have dreamed that Sir Robert Graham should have slain you.” The Earl of Orkney, who was present, rebuked the squire for the impropriety of his speech, but the king, differently affected, said that he himself had dreamed a terrible dream on the very night of which his attendant spoke.

In the meantime the night wore on, and all still remained quiet in and around the monastery; but at this very moment Graham, with 300 fierce Highlanders, was lurking in the neighbourhood, waiting the midnight hour to break in upon the ill-fated monarch. The mirth and pastime in the king’s chamber continued until supper was served, probably about nine o’clock at night. As the hour of this repast approached, however, all retired excepting the Earl of Athol and Robert Stuart, the king’s nephew, and one of his greatest favourites—considerations which could not bind him to the unfortunate monarch, for he too was one of the conspirators, and did more than any one of them to facilitate the murderous intentions of his colleagues, by destroying the fastenings of the king’s chamber-door. After supper the amusements of the previous part of the evening were resumed, and chess, music, singing, and the reading of romances, wiled away the next two or three hours. On this fatal evening another circumstance occurred which might have aroused the suspicions of the king, if he had not been most unaccountably insensible to the frequent hints and indirect intimations which he had received of some imminent peril hanging over him. The same woman who had accosted him before crossing the firth again appeared, and knocking at his chamber door at a late hour of the night, sought to be admitted to the presence of the king. “Tell him,” she said to the usher who came forth from the apartment when she knocked, “that I am the same woman who not long ago desired to speak with him when he was about to cross the sea, and that I have something to say to him.” The usher immediately conveyed the message to the king, but he being wholly engrossed by the game in which he was at the instant engaged, merely ordered her to return on the morrow. “Well,” replied the dis-

appointed soothsayer, as she at the first interview affected to be, “ye shall all of you repent that I was not permitted just now to speak to the king.” The usher laughing at what he conceived to be the expressions of a fool, ordered the woman to be gone, and she obeyed. The night was now wearing late, and the king, having put an end to the evening’s amusements, called for the parting cup. This drunk, the party broke up, and James retired to his bed-chamber, where he found the queen and her ladies amusing themselves with cheerful conversation. The king, now in his night-gown and slippers, placed himself before the fire, and joined in the badinage which was going forward. At this moment the king was suddenly startled by a great noise at the outside of his chamber-door, or rather in the passage which led to it. The sounds were those of a crowd of armed men pressing hurriedly forward. There was a loud clattering and jingling of arms and armour, accompanied by the gleaming of torches. The king seems to have instantly apprehended danger, a feeling which either he had communicated to the ladies in the apartment, or they had of themselves conceived, for they immediately rushed to the door with the view of securing it, but they found all the fastenings destroyed, and a bar which should have been there removed.

This being intimated to the king, he called out to the ladies to hold fast the door as well as they could, until he could find something wherewith to defend himself; and he flew to the window of the apartment and endeavoured to wrench away one of the iron stanchions for this purpose, but the bar resisted all his efforts. In this moment of horror and despair, the unhappy monarch next seized the tongs, which lay by the fireside, and by their means, and with some desperate efforts of personal strength, he tore up a portion of the floor, and instantly descending through the aperture into a mean receptacle which was underneath the chamber, drew the boards down after him to their original position. In the meantime the ladies had contrived to keep out the conspirators, and in this effort, it is said, Catharine Douglas had one of her arms broken, by having thrust it into the wall in place of the bar which had been removed. The assassins, however, at length forced their way into the apartment; and here a piteous scene now ensued. The queen stood in the middle of the floor, bereft of speech and motion by her terror, while her ladies filled the apartment with the most lamentable cries and shrieks.

One of the ruffians on entering inflicted a severe wound on the queen, and would have killed her outright but for the interference of one of the sons of Sir Robert Graham, who, perceiving the dastard about to repeat the blow, exclaimed, “What would ye do to the queen? for shame of yourself, she is but a woman; let us go and seek the king.” The conspirators, who were all armed with swords, daggers, axes, and other weapons, now proceeded to search for the king. They examined all the beds, presses, and other probable places of concealment, overturned forms and chairs, but to no purpose; the king could not be found, nor could they conceive how he had escaped them. The conspirators, balked in their pursuit, dispersed themselves throughout the different apartments to extend their search. This creating a silence in the apartment immediately above the king, the unfortunate monarch conceived the conspirators had entirely withdrawn, and in his impatience to get out of his disagreeable situation, called out to the ladies to bring him sheets for that purpose. In the attempt which immediately followed to raise him up by these means, Elizabeth Douglas, another of the

queen's waiting-maids, fell into the hole in which the king was concealed. At this moment Thomas Chambers, one of the assassins, and who was also one of the king's domestics, entered the apartment, and perceiving the opening in the floor he immediately proceeded towards it, and looking down into the cellar, with the assistance of his torch discovered the king. On describing the object of his search Chambers exultingly called out to his companions, "Sirs, the bride is found for whom we sought, and for whom we have caroled here all night." The joyful tidings instantly brought a crowd of the conspirators to the spot, and amongst the rest Sir John Hall, who, with a large knife in his hand, hastily descended to the king's hiding-place. The latter, however, who was a man of great personal strength, instantly seized the assassin and threw him down at his feet; and his brother, who followed, shared the same treatment—the king holding them both by their throats, and with such a powerful grasp, that they bore marks of the violence for a month afterwards. The unfortunate monarch now endeavoured to wrest their knives from the assassins, and in the attempt had his hands severely cut and mangled.

Sir Robert Graham, who had hitherto been merely looking on, now seeing that the Halls could not accomplish the murder of the king, also descended, and with a drawn sword in his hand. Unable to cope with them all, and exhausted with the fearful struggle which he had maintained with the two assassins, weaponless and disabled in his hands, the king implored Graham for mercy. "Cruel tyrant," replied the regicide, "thou hast never mercy on thy kindred nor on others who fell within thy power, and therefore thou shalt have no mercy from me." "Then I beseech thee, for the salvation of my soul, that thou wilt permit me to have a confessor," said the miserable prince. "Thou shalt have no confessor but this sword," replied Graham, thrusting his victim through the body with his weapon. The king fell, but the stroke was not instantly fatal. He continued in the most piteous tones to supplicate mercy from his murderer, offering him half his kingdom if he would but spare his life. The heart-rending appeals of the hapless monarch shook even Graham's resolution, and he was about to desist from doing him further injury, when, his intentions being perceived by the conspirators from above, they called out to him that if he did not complete the deed, he should himself suffer death at their hands. Urged on by this threat, the three assassins again attacked the king, and finally despatched him, having inflicted sixteen deadly wounds on his chest, besides others on different parts of his body. As if every circumstance which could facilitate his death had conspired to secure that event, it happened that the king, some days before he was murdered, had directed that an aperture in the place where he had concealed himself, and by which he might have escaped, should be built up, as the balls with which he played at tennis in the courtyard were apt to be lost in it. After completing the murder of the king, the assassins sought for the queen, whom, dreading her vengeance, they proposed to put also to death; but she had escaped. A rumour of the tragical scene that was enacting at the monastery having spread through the town, great numbers of the citizens, and of the king's servants, with arms and torches hastened to the spot, but too late, to the assistance of the murdered monarch. The conspirators, however, all escaped for the time, excepting one, who was killed by Sir David Dunbar, who had himself three fingers cut off in the contest. This brave knight had alone attacked the fleeing conspirators, but was overpowered and left disabled.

In less than a month, such was the activity of the queen's vengeance, all the principal actors in this appalling tragedy were in custody, and were afterwards put to the most horrible deaths. Stuart and Chambers, who were the first taken, were drawn, hanged, and quartered, having been previously lacerated all over with sharp instruments. Graham was carried through the streets of Edinburgh in a cart, in a state of perfect nudity, with his right hand nailed to an upright post, and surrounded with men, who, with sharp hooks and knives and red-hot irons, kept constantly tearing at and scorching his miserable body, until he was completely covered with wounds. Having undergone this, he was again thrown into prison, and on the following day brought out to execution. The wretched man had, when released from his tortures, wrapped himself in a coarse woollen Scottish plaid, which adhering to his wounds, caused him much pain in the removal. When this operation was performed, and it was done with no gentle hand, the miserable sufferer fainted and fell to the ground with the agony. On recovering, which he did not do for nearly a quarter of an hour, he said to those around him, that the rude manner in which the mantle had been removed had given him greater pain than any he had yet suffered. To increase the horrors of his situation, his son was disembowelled alive before his face.

James I. perished in the forty-fourth year of his age, after an actual reign of thirteen years. His progeny were, a son (his successor), and five daughters. These were, Margaret, married to the dauphin; Isabella, to Francis, Duke of Bretagne; Eleanor, to Sigismund, Archduke of Austria; Mary, to the Count de Boucquan; and Jean, to the Earl of Angus, afterwards Earl of Morton.

JAMES IV., King of Scots, was the eldest son of James III., by Margaret, daughter of Christiern, King of Denmark; and was born in the month of March, 1472. Of the manner of his education no record has been preserved; but it was probably good, as his father, whatever might be his faults, appears to have been a monarch of considerable taste and refinement. In the year 1488 a large party of nobles rebelled against James III. on account of various arbitrary proceedings with which they were displeased; and the king, on going to the north to raise an army for their suppression, left his son, the subject of the present memoir, in the keeping of Shaw of Sauchie, governor of Stirling Castle. While the king was absent, the confederate nobles prevailed on Shaw to surrender his charge; and the prince was then set up as their nominal, but, it would appear, involuntary leader. The parties met, July 11, at Sauchie, near Stirling; and the king fell a victim to the resentment of his subjects. The subject of the present memoir then mounted the throne, in the sixteenth year of his age.

Neither the precise objects of this rebellion, nor the real nature of the prince's concern in its progress and event, are distinctly known. It is certain, however, that James IV. always considered himself as liable to the vengeance of Heaven for his share, voluntary or involuntary, in his father's death; and accordingly wore a penitential chain round his body, to which he added new weight every year; and even contemplated a still more conspicuous expiation of his supposed offence, by undertaking a new crusade. Whatever might be the guilt of the prince, the nation had certainly no cause to regret the death of James III., except the manner in which it was accomplished; while they had everything to hope from the generous young monarch who was his successor.

James possessed in an eminent degree every quality necessary to render a sovereign beloved by his subjects; and perhaps no prince ever enjoyed so large a portion of personal regard, of intense affection, as did James IV. of Scotland. His manner was gentle and affable to all who came in contact with him, whatever might be their rank or degree. He was just and impartial in his decrees, yet never inflicted punishment without strong and visible reluctance. He listened willingly and readily to admonition, and never discovered either impatience or resentment while his errors were placed before him. He took everything in good part, and endeavoured to amend the errors in his conduct pointed out by his advisers. He was generous even to a fault; magnificent and princely in all his habits, pursuits, and amusements. His mind was acute, and dignified and noble. He excelled in all warlike exercises and manly accomplishments; in music, horsemanship, and the use of sword and spear. Nor was his personal appearance at variance with this elevated character. His form, which was of the middle size, was exceedingly handsome, yet stout and muscular, and his countenance had an expression of mildness and dignity that instantly predisposed all who looked upon it to a strong attachment to its possessor.

His bravery, like his generosity, was also in the extreme: it was romantic. Altogether he was unquestionably the most chivalrous prince of his day in Europe. A contemporary poet bears testimony to this part of his character:—

"And ye Christian princes, whosoever ye be,
If ye be destitute of a noble capytayne,
Take James of Scotland for his audacie
And proved manhood, if ye will laude atchieve;
Let him have the forward, have ye no disdayne,
Nor indignation; for never king was borne
That of ought of warr can shewe the unicornie."

"For if that he take once his speare in hand,
Against these Turkes strongly with it to ride,
None shall be able his stroke for to withstand
Nor before his face so hardy to abide;
Yet this his manhood increaseth not his pride,
But ever sheweth he mekenes and humilie,
In word or dede, to hye and lowe degree."

A neglected education left him almost totally ignorant of letters, but not without a high relish for their beauties. He delighted in poetry, and possessed a mind attuned to all its finer sympathies.

The design of the rebel lords in taking arms against their sovereign, James III., being merely to free themselves from his weak and tyrannical government, without prejudice to his heirs, his son James IV. was immediately after the death of his father proclaimed king, and was formally invested with that dignity at Scone. However violent and unlawful were the proceedings which thus prematurely elevated James to the throne, the nation soon felt a benefit from the change which could scarcely have been looked for from an administration originating in rebellion and regicide. The several parliaments which met after the accession of the young king passed a number of wise and salutary laws, encouraging trade, putting down turbulence and faction, and enjoining the strict execution of justice throughout the kingdom.

The prince and his nobles placed the most implicit confidence in each other, and the people in both. This good understanding with the former the king encouraged and promoted, by inviting them to frequent tournaments and other amusements and warlike exercises, in accordance with his own chivalrous spirit, and adapted to their rude tastes and habits. These tournaments were exceedingly splendid, and were invested with all the romance of the brightest days of chivalry. Ladies, lords, and knights, in the

most gorgeous attire, crowded round the lists, or from draped balconies witnessed the combats that took place within them. James himself always presided on these occasions, and often exhibited his own prowess in the lists; and there were few who could successfully compete with him with spear, sword, or battle-axe. Stranger knights from distant countries, attracted by the chivalric fame of the Scottish court, frequently attended and took part in these tournaments, but, it is said, did not in many instances prove themselves better men at their weapons than the Scottish knights. One of the rules of these encounters was, that the victor should be put in possession of his opponent's weapon; but when this was a spear, a purse of gold, a gift from the king, was attached to the point of it. These trophies were delivered to the conqueror by the monarch himself. The people were delighted with these magnificent and warlike exhibitions, and with their generous and chivalrous author. Nor were the actors themselves, the nobles, less gratified with them, or less affected by the high and princely spirit whence they emanated. They brought them into frequent and familiar contact with their sovereign, and nothing more was necessary in the case of James to attach them warmly and devotedly to his person. His kind and affable manner accomplished the rest.

By such means he was not only without a single enemy amongst the aristocracy, but all of them would have shed the last drop of their blood in his defence, and a day came when nearly all of them did so. In short, the wisest policy could not have done more in uniting the affections of prince and peers, than was accomplished by those warlike pastimes, aided as they were by the amiable manners of the monarch.

Not satisfied with discharging his duty to his subjects from his high place on the throne, James frequently descended, and disguising his person—a practice to which his successor was also much addicted—roamed through the country unarmed and unattended, inquiring into his own reputation amongst the common people, and endeavouring to learn what faults himself or his government were charged with. On these occasions he lodged in the meanest hovels, and encouraged the inmates to speak their minds freely regarding their king; and there is little doubt, that, as his conduct certainly merited it, so he must have been frequently gratified by their replies. The young monarch, however, was charged with stepping aside occasionally in his rambles from this laudable though somewhat romantic pursuit, and paying visits to any of his fair acquaintances whose residence happened to be in his way; and it is alleged that he contrived they should very often be so situated.

Unfortunately for his courtiers, James conceived that he possessed, and not improbably actually did possess, considerable skill in surgery and medicine; but there is reason to believe that the royal surgeon's interference in cases of ailment was oftener dreaded than desired, although Lindsay says that "their was none of that profession (the medical) if they had any dangerous cure in hand, but would have craved his adwyse." Compliments, however, to a king's excellence in any art or science are always suspicious, and this of Lindsay's is not associated with any circumstances which should give it a claim to exemption from such a feeling.

One of the greatest faults of the young monarch was a rashness and impetuosity of temper. This frequently led him into ill-timed and ill-judged hostilities with the neighbouring kingdom, and, conjoined with a better quality, his generosity, induced

him to second the pretensions of the impostor Perkin Warbeck to the crown of England. That adventurer arrived at James' court in 1496, attended by a numerous train of followers—all attired in magnificent habits, and sought the assistance of the Scottish king to enable him to recover what he represented as his birthright. Prepossessed by the elegant manner and noble bearing of the impostor, and readily believing the story of his misfortunes, which was supported by plausible evidence, the generous monarch at once received him to his arms, and not only entertained him for some time at his court, but, much against the will of his nobles, mustered an army, and, with Warbeck in his company, marched at the head of it into England, to reinstate his protégé in what he believed to be his right at the point of the sword—a project much more indicative of a warm and generous heart than of a prudent head. The enterprise, as might have been expected, was unsuccessful. James had counted on a rising in England in behalf of the pretender; but, being disappointed in this, he was compelled to abandon the attempt and to return to Holyrood. The King of England did not retaliate on James this invasion of his kingdom; but he demanded from him the person of the impostor. With this request, however, the Scottish king was much too magnanimous to comply; and he not only refused to accede to it, but furnished Warbeck with vessels and necessaries to carry him to Ireland, whither he now proceeded. James is fully relieved from the charge of credulity which might appear to lie against him for so readily confiding in Warbeck's representations by the extreme plausibility which was attached to them, and by the strongly corroborative circumstances by which they were attended. He is also as entirely relieved from the imputation of conniving in the imposture—an accusation which has been insinuated against him—by the circumstance of his having given a near relation of his own, Catharine Gordon, a daughter of Lord Huntly's, in marriage to the impostor, which it cannot for a moment be believed he would have done had he known the real character of Warbeck.

The species of roving life which the young monarch led was now about to be circumscribed, if not wholly terminated, by his entering into the married state. This he avoided as long as he possibly could, and contrived to escape from it till he had attained the thirtieth year of his age. Henry of England, however, who had always been more desirous of James' friendship than his hostility, and had long entertained views of securing the former by a matrimonial connection with his family, at length succeeded in procuring James' consent to marry his daughter Margaret, an event which took place in 1503.

Whatever reluctance the monarch might have had to resign his liberty, he was not wanting in gallantry to his fair partner when she came to claim it. He first waited upon her at Newbattle, where he entertained her with his own performance on the clari-chords and lute, listened to specimens of her own skill in the same art on bended knee, and altogether conducted himself like a true and faithful knight. He also exhibited a care and elegance in his dress on this occasion sufficiently indicative of his desire to please. He was arrayed in a black velvet jacket, bordered with crimson velvet, and furred with white; and when he afterwards conducted his bride from Dalkeith to Edinburgh, which he did, strange to tell, seated on horseback behind him, he appeared in a jacket of cloth of gold, bordered with purple velvet furred with black, a doublet of violet satin, scarlet hose, the collar of his shirt studded with precious

stones and pearls, with long gilt spurs projecting from the heels of his boots.

By the terms of the marriage contract the young queen, who was only in her fourteenth year when she was wedded to James, was to be conducted to Scotland at the expense of her father, and to be delivered to her husband or to persons appointed by him at Lamberton Kirk. The latter was to receive with her a dowry of thirty thousand pieces of gold; ten thousand to be paid at Edinburgh eight days after the marriage, other ten thousand at Coldingham a year afterwards, and the last ten thousand at the expiry of the year following. The marriage was celebrated with the utmost splendour and pomp. Feastings, tourneyings, and exhibitions of shows and plays, succeeded each other in one continued and uninterrupted round for many days, James himself appearing in the lists at the tournaments in the character of the "Savage Knight." But there is no part of the details of the various entertainments got up on this occasion that intimates so forcibly the barbarity of the times, as the information that real encounters between a party of Highlanders and Borderers, in which the combatants killed and mangled each other with their weapons, were exhibited for the amusement of the spectators.

A more grateful and more lasting memorial of the happy event of James' marriage than any of these is to be found in Dunbar's beautiful allegorical poem, the *Thistle and the Rose*, composed on that occasion, and thus aptly and emblematically entitled from the union being one between a Scottish king and English princess. In this poem Dunbar, who then resided at the court, hints at the monarch's character of being a somewhat too general admirer of the fair sex, by recommending him to reserve all his affections for his queen.

"Nor hauld no other flower in sic deny
As the fresche rose, of collor reid and white;
For gif thou dois, hurt is thine honesty,
Considering that no flower is so perfyte."

It is said to have been at the rude but magnificent court of this monarch that the character of a Scottish courtier first appeared; this class so numerous at all the other courts of Europe having been hitherto unknown in Scotland. These raw courtiers, however, made rapid progress in all the acquirements necessary to their profession, and began to cultivate all their winning ways, and to pay all that attention to their exterior appearance, on which so much of the hopes of the courtier rests. A finely and largely-ruffled shirt, the especial boast and delight of the ancient Scottish courtier, a flat little bonnet, russet hose, perfumed gloves, embroidered slippers that glittered in the sun or with candle-light, a handkerchief also perfumed and adorned with a golden tassel at each corner, and garters knotted into a huge rose at the knee—were among the most remarkable parts of the dress of the hangers-on at the court of James IV. In one important particular, however, these gentlemen seemed to have wonderfully resembled the courtier of the present day. *Na Kindness at Court without Siller* is the title of a poem by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, who had every opportunity of knowing personally what was the character of that of his native sovereign.

One of the stipulations of the marriage treaty between the king and the daughter of Henry VII. having secured an inviolable peace between the two monarchs and their subjects, the nation enjoyed for several years after that event the most profound tranquillity. This leisure James employed in improving the civil polity of his kingdom; in making efforts to introduce civilization, and an obedience to

the laws into the Highlands and Isles, by establishing courts of justice at Inverness, Dingwall, and various other places throughout these remote districts; in enlarging and improving his navy, and, in short, in doing everything that a wise prince could do to promote the prosperity of his kingdom. In all these judicious proceedings James was cordially supported by his parliament, a department of the legislature in which he was perhaps more fortunate than any of his predecessors had ever been, and certainly more than were any of his immediate successors. The acts of the parliament of James IV. are distinguished by the most consummate wisdom, and by a constant aiming at the improvement and prosperity of the kingdom, whether by suppressing violence, establishing rules for the dispensation of justice, or in encouraging commerce; and they are no less remarkable for a spirit of cordiality towards the sovereign, amounting to a direct and personal affection, which breathes throughout the whole. How much of this good feeling, and of this happy co-operation in good works, depended upon the king, and how much upon the parliaments themselves, it would not be easy to determine; but it is certain that much of the merit which attaches to it must be awarded to the sovereign.

This peaceful and prosperous state of the kingdom, however, after enduring for upwards of nine years, at length drew to a close, and finally terminated in one of the most disastrous events recorded in the pages of her history. Henry VII. died, and was succeeded by Henry VIII. Besides the change which this occurrence effected in the relationship between the sovereigns of England and Scotland, the feelings and policy of the new monarch towards the latter kingdom were totally dissimilar to those of his predecessor. He seems, indeed, to have brought with him to the throne a feeling of hostility towards Scotland; and this feeling, the sensitive, warm-tempered, and impetuous monarch against whom it was entertained was not long in discovering. The consequence was, that, after some slight mutual offences, which, under any other circumstances, might have been easily atoned for, war was proclaimed between the two kingdoms, and both made the most formidable preparations for deciding their differences on the field of battle. James summoned the whole array of his kingdom, including all the Western Isles and the most remote parts of the Highlands, to assemble on the Borough Muir within twenty days, each, as was usual on such occasions, to come provided with forty days' provisions. Though the impending war was deprecated by James' council, and was by all considered imprudent, yet such was his popularity, such the general affection for the high-spirited and generous monarch, that no less than 100,000 men appeared in arms at the place of muster; disapproving, indeed, of the object for which they were brought together, but determined to shed the last drop of their blood in their sovereign's quarrel—because it was his, and because he had determined on bringing it to the issue of the sword. Deeply imbued with the superstition of the period, James spent much of his time immediately before setting out with his army in the performance of religious rites and observances. On one of these occasions, and within a few days of his marching on his expedition, a circumstance occurred which the credulity of the times has represented as supernatural, but in which it is not difficult to detect a design to work on the superstitious fears of the king to deter him from proceeding on his intended enterprise. While at his devotions in the church of Linlithgow, a figure, clothed in a blue gown secured by a linen girdle, and

wearing sandals, suddenly appeared in the church, and calling loudly for the king, passed through the crowd of nobles by whom he was surrounded, and finally approached the desk at which his majesty was seated at his devotions. Without making any sign of reverence or respect for the royal presence, the mysterious visitor now stood full before the king, and delivered a commission as if from the other world. He told him that his expedition would terminate disastrously, advised him not to proceed with it, and cautioned him against the indulgence of illicit amours. The king was about to reply, but the spectre had disappeared, and no one could tell how. The figure is represented as having been that of an elderly grave-looking man, with a bald uncovered head, and straggling gray locks resting on his shoulders. There is little doubt that it was a stratagem of the queen's, and that the lords who surrounded the king's person were in the plot. Some other attempts of a similar kind were made to alarm the monarch, and to deter him from his purpose, but in vain. Neither superstition nor the ties of natural affection could dissuade him from taking the field. Resisting all persuasion, and even the tears and entreaties of his queen, who, amongst the other arguments which her grief for the probable fate of her husband suggested, urged that of the helpless state of their infant son; the gallant but infatuated monarch took his place at the head of his army, put the vast array in marching order, and proceeded on that expedition from which he was never to return. The Scottish army having passed the Tweed began hostilities by taking some petty forts and castles, and amongst the latter that of Ford; here the monarch found a Mrs. Heron, a lady of remarkable beauty, and whose husband was at that time a prisoner in Scotland. Captivated by this lady's attractions—while his natural son, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who accompanied him, acknowledged those of her daughter—James spent in her society that time which he should have employed in active service with his army. The consequence of this inconceivable folly was, that his soldiers, left unemployed, and disheartened by a tedious delay, gradually withdrew from his camp and returned to their homes, until his army was at length reduced to little more than 30,000 men. A sense of honour, however, still detained in his ranks all the noblemen and gentlemen who had first joined them, and thus a disproportionate number of the aristocracy remained to fall in the fatal field which was soon afterwards fought. In the meantime the Earl of Surrey, lieutenant-general of the northern counties of England, advanced towards the position occupied by James' forces, with an army of 31,000 men.

On the 7th of September, 1513, the latter encamped at Woolerhaugh, within five miles of Flodden Hill, the ground on which the Scottish army was encamped. On the day following they advanced to Banmore Wood, distant about two miles from the Scottish position, and on the 9th presented themselves in battle array at the foot of Flodden Hill. The Scottish nobles endeavoured to prevail upon the king not to expose his person in the impending encounter, but he rejected the proposal with disdain, saying, that to outlive so many of his brave countrymen would be more terrible to him than death itself. Finding they could not dissuade him from his purpose of sharing in the dangers of the approaching fight, they had recourse to an expedient to lessen the chances of a fatal result. Selecting several persons who bore a resemblance to him in figure and stature, they clothed them in a dress exactly similar to that worn by the monarch, and dispersed them through-

out the ranks of the army. The English army, when it presented itself to the Scots, was drawn up in three large divisions; Surrey commanding that in the centre, Sir Edward Stanley and Sir Edmund Howard those on the right and left, while a large body of cavalry, commanded by Dacre, was posted in the rear. The array of the Scots was made to correspond to this disposition, the king himself leading on in person the division opposed to that commanded by Surrey, while the Earls of Lennox, Argyle, Crawford, Montrose, Huntly, and Home jointly commanded those on his right and left. A body of cavalry, corresponding to that of Dacre's, under Bothwell, was posted immediately behind the king's division. Having completed their dispositions, the Scots, with their long spears levelled for the coming strife, descended from the hill, and were soon closed with the enemy. The divisions commanded by Huntly and Home, on the side of the Scots, and by Howard on the side of the English, first met, but in a few minutes more all the opposing divisions came in contact with each other, and the battle became general.

The gallant but imprudent monarch himself, surrounded by a band of his no less gallant nobles, was seen fighting desperately in the front of his men, and in the very midst of a host of English billmen. After various turns of fortune, the day finally terminated in favour of the English, though not so decisively as to assure them of their success, for it was not till the following day that Surrey, by finding the field abandoned by the Scots, ascertained that he had gained the battle. In this sanguinary conflict, which lasted for three hours, having commenced at four o'clock in the afternoon and continued till seven, there perished twelve earls, thirteen lords, five eldest sons of peers, about fifty gentlemen of rank and family, several dignitaries of the church, and about 10,000 common men. Amongst the churchmen who fell were the king's natural son, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Hepburn, Bishop of the Isles, and the Abbots of Kilwinning and Inchaffray. James himself fell amidst a heap of his slaughtered nobles, mortally wounded in the head by an English bill, and pierced in the body with an arrow. It was long believed by the common people that the unfortunate monarch had escaped from the field, and that he had gone on a pilgrimage to Palestine, where tradition represented him to have ended his days in prayer and penitence for his sins, and especially for that of his having borne arms against his father. This belief was strengthened by a rumour that he had been seen between Kelso and Dunse after the battle was fought. That he actually fell at Flodden, however, has been long since put beyond all doubt, and the fate of his body is singular. It appears to have been carried to London, and to have been embalmed there, but by whom or by whose orders is unknown. In the reign of Elizabeth, some sixty or seventy years afterwards, the shell in which the body was deposited, and still containing it, was found in a garret amongst a quantity of lumber by a slater while repairing the roof of a house. The body was still perfectly entire, and emitted a pleasant fragrance from the strong aromas which had been employed in its preservation. Looking on it as a great curiosity, though unaware whose remains it was, the slater chopped off the head, carried it home with him, and kept it for several years. Such was the fate of the mortal part of the noble-minded, the high-souled monarch, James IV. of Scotland. He was in the forty-first year of his age, and the twenty-sixth of his reign, when he fell on Flodden field.

At this distance of time everything relating to that

celebrated but calamitous contest—the most calamitous recorded in the pages of Scottish history—possesses a deep and peculiar interest; but of all the memorials which have reached us of that fatal event, there is not one perhaps so striking and impressive as the proclamation of the authorities of Edinburgh. The provost and magistrates were in the ranks of the king's army, and had left the management of the town's affairs in the hands of deputies. On the day after the battle was fought, a rumour had reached the city that the Scottish army had met with a disaster, and the following proclamation—the one alluded to—was in consequence issued. The hopes, fears, and doubts which it expresses, now that all such feelings regarding the event to which it refers have long since passed away, cannot be contemplated without a feeling of deep and melancholy interest. "The 10th day of September the year above written (1513), we do zow to witt. Forasmeikle as thair is ane grait rumour now laillie rysin within this toun, touching our soverane lord and his army, of the quhilk we understand thair is cum in na veritie as yet. Quhairfore we charge straitly, and commandis in our said soverane lord the kingis name, and the presidentis for the provost and baillies within this burgh, that all manner of personis, nychtbours within the samyn, have riddye thair sensabill geir and wapenis for weir, and compeir thairwith to the said presidents at jowing of the common bell, for the keeping and defense of the toun aganis thame that wald invaid the samin. And als chaigris that all wemen, and especiallie vagaboundis, that thai pass to thair labouris and be nocht sene upoun the gait clamorand and cryand, under the pane of banishing of thair personis, but favouris, and that the uther women of gude repute pass to the kirk and pray quahane tyme requiris for our soverane lord, and his army and nychtbours being thairat, and hald thame at thair previe labouris of the gait within thair housis as efferis."

James left behind him only one legitimate child, James V. His natural issue were, Alexander, born eight months after his father's death, and who died in the second year of his age; Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews; Catharine, wedded to the Earl of Morton; James, Earl of Murray; Margaret, wedded to the heir of Huntly; and Jean, married to Malcolm Lord Fleming.

JAMES V. of Scotland, son of James IV., and of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., King of England, was born at Linlithgow in the month of April, 1512. This prince, on the death of his father, was not more than a year and a half old. The nation had, therefore, to look forward to a long minority, and to dread all the evils which in these turbulent times were certain to attend a protracted regency.

Scarcely any event could have been more disastrous to Scotland than the premature death of James IV. The loss of the battle of Flodden, the immense number of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen who fell in that fatal field, were calamities of no ordinary magnitude; but the death of James himself was more fatal to the peace and prosperity of the kingdom than all. By the latter event Scotland was thrown open to foreign influence and intrigue, and left to the ferocious feuds of its own turbulent and warlike chieftains, who did not fail to avail themselves of the opportunity which the death of the monarch afforded them of bringing their various private quarrels to the decision of the sword. It might have been expected that the overwhelming disaster of Flodden field, which brought grief and mourning into almost

every house of note in the land by the loss of some member of its family, would have extinguished, for a time at least, all personal animosities between them, and that a common sympathy would have prevented the few that were left from drawing their swords upon each other; but it had no such effect. Sanguinary contests and atrocious murders daily occurred throughout the whole country. They invaded each other's territories with fire and sword, burned with indiscriminating vengeance the cottage as well as the castle; despoiled the lands of corn and cattle; and retired only when driven back by a superior force, or when there was nothing more left to destroy or carry away.

Such was the condition of Scotland during nearly the whole period of the minority of James; and by merely substituting one noble name for another, and shifting from time to time the scene of their endless squabbles and skirmishes, adding an interminable and scarcely intelligible story of intrigues, duplicity, and deception, we have the history of the kingdom for the fifteen years immediately succeeding the battle of Flodden field. During this period we occasionally find the queen and her second husband, the Earl of Angus, and sometimes the Duke of Albany, cousin of the late king, in possession of the nominal regency. At length the young monarch comes upon the stage; and it is not until that event occurs that the interest of the story is resumed. It then becomes a connected and intelligible tale, and is at once relieved of the cumbrous and fatiguing narration of occurrences, digressive, episodic, and parenthetical, with which it was previously disfigured and obscured.

In the meantime the young monarch, unconscious of the storm that was raging without, was pursuing his studies in the castle of Edinburgh, where he had been placed for safety, under the tuition of Gavin Dunbar. The apartments appropriated to the youthful sovereign in this ancient fortress seem to have been in but a very indifferent condition; his master, Dunbar, though afterwards refunded, having been obliged to repair at his own cost, in the first instance, the chamber in which the king received his lessons, one particular room having been set apart for that purpose. Indeed, during the whole of Albany's regency, the wants of the young monarch seem to have been very little attended to: even his personal comfort was so much neglected, that it was with great difficulty he could procure a new doublet or a new pair of hose; and he at one time must have gone without even them but for the kindness of his natural sister, the Countess of Morton, who, from time to time, supplied him with articles of wearing apparel. The treasurer, too, frequently refused to pay the tailor for the making of his clothes, when the material instead of the dress happened to be sent him. Though placed in the castle for security, this consideration does not seem to have precluded the indulgence of going abroad occasionally. A mule was kept for him, on which he rode out during the intervals of his study, and when the town and surrounding country were reckoned sufficiently quiet and peaceful to admit of his doing so with safety. The appearance, character, and temper of the young monarch during his nonage are spoken of in warm terms by his contemporaries. In personal appearance he is said to have borne a strong resemblance to his uncle Henry VIII. of England; who, tyrant though he was, had certainly a very noble and kingly presence. James' countenance was oval, of a mild and sweet expression; his eyes blue, and beaming at once with gentleness and intelligence without effeminacy; a head of yellow hair completes the pic-

ture. He was of an exceedingly affectionate disposition, and of a generous though somewhat hasty temper. "There is not in the world," says the queen his mother, in a letter to Surrey, "a wiser child, or a better-hearted, or a more able." This is the language of a parent indeed; but, when corroborated as it is by other evidence, there is no occasion to suspect it of partiality. James was about this time in the eleventh or twelfth year of his age. With his other good qualities he discovered a shrewdness and sagacity superior to his years. Surrey, speaking of him to Wolsey, says, "He speaks *sure*, for so young a thing." The young monarch was much addicted to all manly sports and exercises, and in all excelled. He rode gracefully, was passionately fond of the chase, and took much delight in hawks, hounds, and all the other appurtenances belonging to that amusement. He also sang and danced well, and even in his boyish years felt much of that "stern joy" which noble minds feel in possessing and handling implements of war. He was delighted with arms and armour; and could draw a sword a yard long before the hilt, when buckled to his side, as well as a full-grown man. His own weapon was of this length when he was only twelve years of age. James was altogether at this period of his life a noble and princely boy. His amusements were all of a manly character. His mind was generous and elevated, his mien and carriage gallant and dignified. In short, imagination cannot conceive a more striking image of a youthful monarch in a rude and warlike age, than is presented to us in the person and character of James V. of Scotland. There is some reason, however, to believe, that the royal coat was a little wild, and that he was fully as fond of tilting with the spear, or making the forest of Ettrick ring with his bugle-notes, as of studying his humanities, for his Latinity was found to be sadly defective.

He seems to have kept Stirling Castle, the place where he last resided before assuming the reins of government, in something like an uproar, while he lived in it, with his sports and amusements. He was generally joined in these by his domestics; and as they were pretty numerous, we may readily conceive what a noise and turmoil they would create, led on in their wild and obstreperous frolics by their bold and lively young leader. Pelting each other with eggs is known to have been a favourite pastime, and it is one certainly which must have given rise to many of the most ludicrous scenes. Although the estates of the kingdom had fixed the eighteenth year of his age as that which should terminate the minority of James, and put him in full and uncontrolled possession of the sovereignty of the kingdom, he was called upon to take his seat on the throne at a much earlier period of life. The lords themselves, whose feuds and quarrels had filled the country with slaughter and rapine, saw no other way of terminating the frightful scene but by calling on the king, young as he was, to assume the royal dignity. The ambition of his mother, who hoped to possess herself of the real power and authority, also contributed to facilitate the event; and, accordingly, the boy king, for he was only twelve years of age, was brought, escorted by a numerous train of nobles, from Stirling Castle to Holyrood House. On first learning the resolution to which the lords had come of investing him with the royal character, he expressed much delight, and seemed filled with the most joyful anticipations. "He *was weill content*," says Lindsay, "to leve correction at the scooles, and pas to his lordis at libertie."

Amongst the first things which the young monarch did on arriving at Holyrood, was to change all the

officers of the royal household, from the treasurer down to the carvers. Three noblemen, the Earl of Lennox, the Lords Hamilton and Angus, and Archbishop Beaton, were appointed as his guardians and advisers. For a year after his arrival in Edinburgh and assumption of the royal dignity, the king and his guardians lived happily, and Lindsay says merrily together; but at the end of that period, a "benefice vaiket," a temptation came in the way, and destroyed the harmony of the association; each claimed it from the king, and each thought he had a better right to it than his fellow. Angus said that he was always scarce of hay and horse corn when he came to Edinburgh, and that therefore it should be given to him. The vacant benefice was attached to Holyrood House. Whether it was the force of this appeal, or the superior influence of Angus over the royal mind, that decided the point, is left unexplained; but that nobleman carried off the prize, to the great disappointment and displeasure of the other three, who shortly after retired in disgust from the court. Lennox, who had got nothing at all, returned, in despair of gaining anything by the royal favour, to his own country; and Hamilton, though he had procured the abbacy of Paisley for his son, thinking that he had not got enough, followed his example. Beaton, who lived then in a house of his own in the Friar's Wynd, refrained afterwards from going near the court, but when expressly sent for.

Although James was now placed upon the throne, and surrounded with all the insignia of royalty, he neither of himself assumed nor was permitted to assume the functions of the royal state. He was much too young to be capable of holding the reins of government, and there were those around him who were not desirous that he should. Nor does it appear that the young monarch cared much about the matter, so long as he was permitted to enjoy himself; and there is no reason to believe that the defection of his grave guardians sank very deep into his mind. As the king advanced in years, however, this indifference to the power and authority of his elevated station gradually gave way to the natural ambition of enjoying them; and he at length determined to rid himself of the thralldom under which he was kept by the Earl of Angus, who had for several years exercised the royal authority in his name. The house of Douglas, however, was too powerful, and their influence too extensive, to admit of his effecting his emancipation by any open effort; he therefore determined to have recourse to secret measures in the first instance.

The young king was now in the seventeenth year of his age, and when he carried his design into execution was residing at Falkland, a favourite hunting-place of the kings of Scotland. Here he was attended as usual by the Earl of Angus and several of his kindred, all of whom were united in the design of keeping the king, as it were, to themselves. A Douglas was captain of his guard; a Douglas was treasurer; and a Douglas was guardian and adviser. Great numbers of that name, besides, filled subordinate situations in the royal household, and the king's guard, consisting of a hundred gentlemen, were all in the interest of the Earl of Angus and his family. Thus encompassed, the young monarch had no other resource than to endeavour to elude their vigilance. He was under no personal restraint, nor was he debarred from any enjoyment or amusement with which he chose to occupy himself. On the contrary, they all led an exceedingly merry and joyous life together; were almost daily out hunting and hawking and feasting with the neighbouring noblemen and gentlemen, and amongst the rest with the Archbishop of

St. Andrews, who entertained the king and his attendants with great "mirrines" for several days together; but it was necessary that a Douglas should always be present on these occasions. Hunting, hawking, or feasting, still a Douglas must be there. An opportunity such as the young monarch had long and anxiously looked for of escaping from this annoying surveillance at length presented itself, and he availed himself of it. The Earl of Angus left Falkland for a few days, to transact some private business of his own in the Lothians, leaving the king in charge of his uncle Archibald Douglas, and his brother George. These two, however, availing themselves probably of the earl's absence, also left the palace on different errands; the former, it is hinted, to visit a mistress in Dundee, and the latter to arrange some business with the Archbishop of St. Andrews. There was still, however, a fourth left, whom it was necessary the king should dispose of before he could effect his escape; this was James Douglas of Parkhead, the captain of the guard, to whom the absentees in the last resort had confided the safe-keeping of the young monarch. In order to get rid of him, the king gave out that he intended to go a hunting early on the following morning, and having sent for James Douglas to his bedroom, he called for liquor, and drinking to his guest, remarked that he should see good hunting on the morrow. Douglas, little dreaming of the equivocal, saw the king safely to bed, and retired to his own, by the advice of his master, much earlier than usual, that he might be up betimes in the morning, the king having ordered dejeuner to be served at four o'clock. It is not improbable that his majesty, moreover, had made him take an extra cup before they parted. As soon as all was quiet in the palace, the king got up, disguised himself by putting on the dress of one of his own grooms, and descended to the stables, where "Jockie Hart," a yeoman of the stable, with another trusty servant, also in the secret, were ready prepared with saddled horses for the intended flight.

They all three instantly mounted, and escaping all notice from the wardens, took the road for Stirling at full gallop. On reaching the castle, which he did by break of day, the king ordered the gates to be shut, and that no one should be permitted to enter without his special order. This done, he retired to bed, much fatigued with his long and rapid ride. His escape from Falkland was not discovered until the following morning. George Douglas had returned to the palace at eleven o'clock at night, about an hour after the king's departure, but having learned from the porters that his majesty was asleep in his own apartment, he, without further inquiry, retired to bed; and it was not until he was roused at an early hour of the morning, by Patrick Carmichael, bailie of Abernethy, who had recognized the king in his flight, and who came with all manner of despatch to inform him of it, that he knew anything at all about the matter. He would not at first believe it, but rushed in great alarm to the king's chamber, which he found locked, and it was only when he had burst up the door, and found the apartment unoccupied, that he felt assured of the dreadful truth. The king must have already acquired some little reputation for that gallantry amongst the ladies which afterwards so much distinguished him, for on this occasion he was at first suspected to have gone off on a nocturnal visit to a lady at Bambrigh, some miles distant from Falkland.

Immediately after his arrival in Stirling, the king summoned a great number of his lords to join him there, to assist him with their advice and counsel. The summons was readily obeyed, both from personal

attachment to the king, and a jealousy and dislike of his late guardian the Earl of Angus. In a few days James was surrounded with nearly a score of the noblest names in the land, all ready to perish in his defence, and to assert and maintain his rights at the point of the sword.

He seems to have resented highly the restraint in which he had been kept by Angus and his kindred, for it was now he said, addressing the assembled lords, "I avow that Scotland shall not hold us both till I be revenged on him and his." The Earl of Angus and all his immediate friends were now put to the horn, and the former deprived of all his public offices. It is therefore at this period that the actual reign of James commences, and not before. He was now freed from the influence of the Douglasses, surrounded by his nobles, who paid him a ready and willing homage, and was in every respect an independent and absolute sovereign, capable and at liberty to judge and to act for himself.

James' appearance and character were as interesting as his situation at this period of his life. He was now, as stated before, in the seventeenth year of his age, of a robust constitution, which enabled him to encounter any bodily fatigue. His speech and demeanour were mild and conciliating. His stature was of middling height, but handsomely formed, and "the fient a pride, nae pride had he." He spoke at all times affably to the meanest of his subjects, and would partake of the humblest repast of the humblest peasant in his dominions, with a glee and satisfaction which evinced the most amiable kindness of disposition. These qualities rendered him exceedingly beloved by the common people, of whom he was always besides so steady and effective a friend, as procured for him the enviable title of King of the Poor.

Amongst the first cares of James after his becoming possessed of the actual sovereignty of the kingdom, was to subdue the border thieves and marauders, who were carrying matters with a high hand, and had so extended their business during the lawless period of his minority, and so systematized their proceedings, that Armstrong of Kilnockie—the celebrated Johnnie Armstrong of the well-known old ballad—one of the most noted leaders of these predatory bands, never travelled abroad, even on peaceful purposes, without a train of six and twenty gentlemen well mounted, well armed, and always handsomely dressed in the gayest and most chivalrous garb of the times. As James, however, knew that he would have little chance of laying hold of these desperadoes if he sought them with openly hostile intentions, their predatory habits and intimate knowledge of the localities of the country rendering it easy for them to evade any such attempt, he had recourse to stratagem. He gave out that he intended to have a great hunting match on the borders, and really did combine both sport and business in the expedition which followed. As was usual with the Scottish kings on hunting occasions, he summoned all the noblemen and gentlemen in the country, who could find it convenient, to attend him with their dogs on a certain day at Edinburgh, and, what was not so customary, to bring each a month's victuals along with him. Such a provision was always required when an army of common men were called together, but not in the case of convocations of men above that rank. The expedition in this case, however, was to be both warlike and sportive; and the former might prevent the latter from affording them a sufficiency of game for their subsistence. The summons of the king for the border hunting was so willingly obeyed, that a host amounting to 12,000 assembled in Edin-

burgh against the appointed time; and amongst these, some chieftains from very distant parts of the country, such as Huntly, Argyle, and Athol, all of whom brought their large fierce Highland deer-dogs along with them to assist in the chase. It was in the month of June, 1529, that this prodigious host of sportsmen, headed by the king in person, set out towards the borders. The greater part of them were well armed, and were thus prepared for anything that might occur. On all such occasions pavilions, tents, bedding, &c., for the accommodation of the sportsmen, were despatched some days previous to the ground selected for the first day's amusement, and were afterwards moved from place to place as the scene of action was shifted. The king's pavilion was very splendid, and might readily be distinguished from all others by its superior richness and elegance. His dogs, too, were elevated above all the dogs of meaner men, as well by their extrinsic ornaments as by their intrinsic merits. Their collars were gilt, or were of purple velvet adorned with golden studs, while the royal hawks were provided with collars and bells of the same metal. The cavalcade having reached Meggotland, on the southern border of Peeblesshire, a favourite hunting-place of James', and which was always reserved exclusively for the king's hunting—the sport began, and in a few days no less than 360 deer were slain. Soon after this, Armstrong of Kilnockie, little dreaming of the fate that awaited him, made his appearance among the sportsmen, at a place called Caerlanrig, it is said by invitation, but whether it was so or not he seems to have calculated on at least a civil if not a cordial reception from the king, being in total ignorance of the real object of the king's visit to the borders. Armstrong was not altogether unreasonable in such an expectation, for his robberies had always been confined to England, and he was rather looked upon as a protector than otherwise by his own countrymen, none of whose property he was ever known to have meddled with. He always "quartered upon the enemy," and thought that by doing so he did good service to the state; but not being consulted in the various treaties of peace which occasionally took place between the sovereigns of the two kingdoms, he did not always feel himself called upon to recognize them, and accordingly continued to levy his black-mail from the borders all the way, it is said, unto Newcastle. Though the king had made peace with England, Johnnie Armstrong had not; and he therefore continued to carry on the war in defiance of all those treaties and truces to which he was not a party. On this occasion the daring borderer, expecting a gracious reception from the king, and desirous of appearing before his sovereign in a manner becoming what he conceived to be his own rank, presented himself and his retainers, all magnificently apparelled, before his majesty. The king, who did not know him personally, at first mistook him for some powerful nobleman, and returned his salute; but on learning his name, he instantly ordered him and all his followers to be taken into custody and hanged upon the spot. "What wants that knave that a king should have," exclaimed James, indignantly struck with the splendour of Armstrong's and his followers' equipments, and, at the same time, turning round from them on his heel as he spoke. The freebooter at first pleaded hard for his life, and endeavoured to bribe the king to spare him. He offered his own services and that of forty men at any time, when the king should require it, free of all expense to his majesty. He further offered to bring to him any subject of England—duke, earl, lord, or baron, against any given day, either dead or alive, whom his majesty

might desire either to destroy or to have as a captive. Finding that all he could say and all he could offer had no effect in moving the king from his determination, the bold borderer, seeing the die was cast and his fate sealed, instantly resumed the natural intrepidity of his character,—"I am but a fool," he said, raising himself proudly up, "to look for grace in a graceless face. But had I known, sir, that you would have taken my life this day, I should have lived upon the borders in despite of both King Henry and you; and I know that the King of England would down-weigh my best horse with gold to be assured that I was to die this day." No further colloquy took place; Armstrong and all his followers were led off to instant execution. A popular tradition of the borders, where his death was much regretted, says, that the tree on which Armstrong was executed, though it continued to vegetate, never again put forth leaves. After subjecting several other notorious offenders to a similar fate, the king returned to Edinburgh on the 24th of July. In the following summer he set out upon a similar expedition to the north, with that which he had conducted to the south, and for similar purposes—at once to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, and to bring to justice the numerous and daring thieves and robbers with which the country was infested.

This practice of converting the amusement of hunting into a means of dispensing justice throughout the kingdom, was one to which James had often recourse, for on these occasions he took care always to be attended with an armed force, sufficiently strong to enforce the laws against the most powerful infringer; and he did not spare them when within his reach. For thieves and robbers he had no compassion; common doom awaited them all, whatever might be their rank or pretensions. In this particular he was stern and inflexible to the last degree; and the times required it. There was no part of his policy more beneficial to the kingdom than the resolute, incessant, and relentless war which he waged against all marauders and plunderers.

On the expedition which he now undertook to the north, he was accompanied by the queen mother and the papal ambassador then at the Scottish court. The Earl of Athol, to whose country the royal party proposed first proceeding, having received intelligence of the visit which he might expect, made the most splendid preparation for their reception. On the arrival of the illustrious visitors, they found a magnificent palace, constructed of boughs of trees, and fitted with glass windows, standing in the midst of a smooth level park or meadow. At each of the four corners of this curious structure there was a regularly formed tower or block-house; and the whole was joisted and floored to the height of three stories. A large gate between two towers, with a formidable portcullis, all of green wood, defended the entrance; while the whole was surrounded with a ditch sixteen feet deep and thirty feet wide, filled with water, and stocked with various kinds of fish, and crossed in front of the palace by a commodious drawbridge. The walls of all the apartments were hung with the most splendid tapestry, and the floors so thickly strewn with flowers, that no man would have known, says Lindsay, but he had been in "ane greine gardeine." The feasting which followed was in keeping with this elaborate and costly preparation. Every delicacy which the season and the country could supply was furnished in prodigious quantities to the royal retinue. The choicest wines, fruits, and confections were also placed before them with unsparing liberality; and the vessels, linen, beds, &c., with which this fairy mansion was supplied for the occasion, were all of the finest and

most costly description. The royal party remained here for three days, at an expense to their noble host of as many thousand pounds. Of all the party there was not one so surprised, and so much gratified with this unexpected display of magnificence and abundance of good living, as his reverence, the pope's ambassador. The holy man was absolutely overwhelmed with astonishment and delight to find so many good things in the heart of a wild, uncivilized, and barbarous country. But his astonishment was greatly increased when, on the eve of their departure, he saw a party of Highlanders busily employed in setting fire to that structure, within which he had fared so well and been so comfortably lodged, and which had cost so much time, labour, and expense in its erection. "I marvel, sir," he said, addressing the king, "that ye should suffer yon fair palace to be burned, that your grace has been so well entertained in." "It is the custom of our Highlandmen," replied James, smiling, "that be they never so well lodged at night they will burn the house in the morning." The king and his retinue now proceeded to Dunkeld, where they remained all night. From thence they went next day to Perth, afterwards to Dundee and St. Andrews, in all of which places they were sumptuously entertained—and finally returned to Edinburgh.

James, who had now passed his twentieth year, was in the very midst of that singular career of frolic and adventure in which he delighted to indulge, and which forms so conspicuous a feature in his character. Attended only by a single friend or two, and his person disguised by the garb of a gentleman of ordinary rank, and sometimes, if traditional tales tell truth, by that of a person of a much lower grade, he rode through the country in search of adventures, or on visits to distant mistresses; often on these occasions passing whole days and nights on horseback, and putting up contentedly with the coarsest and scantiest fare which chance might throw in the way. Sleeping in barns on "clean pease strae," and partaking of the "gude wife's" sheep-head, her oaten cakes, and ale, or whatever else she might have to offer, was no uncommon occurrence in the life of James. Such visits, however, were not always prompted by the most innocent motives. A fair maiden would at any time induce the monarch to ride a score of miles out of his way, and to pass half the night exposed to all its inclemency for an hour's interview.

James was no niggard in his gallantries: where money was required, he gave it freely and liberally; where it was not, his munificence took the shape of presents—such as rings, chains, &c., of gold and other descriptions of jewellery. In one month he gave away in this way to the value of upwards of £400. The roving monarch, however, made even his vagrancies subservient to his great object of extirpating thieves and robbers. During his wanderings he frequently fell in with numerous bands of them, or sought them out; and on such occasions never hesitated to attack them, however formidable they might be, and however few his own followers.

As the roving propensities of the king thus frequently put his life in jeopardy, and as his dying without lawful issue would have left the country in all probability a prey to civil war, the nation became extremely anxious for his marriage, an event which, after many delays, arising from political objections to the various connections from time to time proposed, at length took place. The Scottish ambassadors in France concluded, by James' authority, a marriage-treaty with Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendome. On the final settlement of this treaty the young monarch proceeded to Vendome, to claim in person his affianced bride; but here his usual gal-

lantry failed him, for on seeing the lady he rejected her, and annulled the treaty.

Whether it was the result of chance, or that James had determined not to return home without a wife, this occurrence did not doom him, for any length of time, to a single life. From Vendome he proceeded to Paris, was graciously received by Francis I., and finally, after a month or two's residence at that monarch's court, married his daughter Magdalene. The ceremony, which took place in the church of Notre Dame, was celebrated with great pomp and splendour. The whole city rang with rejoicings, and the court with sounds of revelry and merriment. The marriage was succeeded by four months of continued feasting, sporting, and merry-making. At the end of that period James and his young bride, who was of an exceedingly sweet and amiable disposition, returned to Scotland; the former loaded with costly presents from his father-in-law, and the latter with a dowry of 100,000 crowns, besides an annual pension of 30,000 livres during her life.

The royal pair arrived at Leith on Whitsun-eve, at ten o'clock at night. On first touching Scottish ground, the pious and kind-hearted young queen dropped on her knees, kissed the land of her adoption, and after thanking God for the safe arrival of her husband and herself, prayed for happiness to the country and the people. The rejoicings which the royal pair had left in France were now resumed in Scotland. Magdalene was everywhere received by the people with the strongest proofs of welcome and regard, and this as much from her own gentle and affable demeanour as from her being the consort of their sovereign. Never queen made such rapid progress in the affections of a nation, and few ever acquired during any period so large a proportion of personal attachment as did this amiable lady. The object, however, of all this love, was not destined long to enjoy it. She was in a bad state of health at the time of her marriage, and all the happiness which that event brought along with it could not retard the progress of the disease which was consuming her. She daily became worse after her arrival in Scotland, and finally expired within forty days of her landing. James was for a long time inconsolable for her loss, and for a season buried himself in retirement, to indulge in the sorrow which he could not restrain.

Policy required, however, that the place of the departed queen should, as soon as propriety would admit, be supplied by another; and James fixed upon Mary of Guise, daughter of the duke of that name, and widow of the Duke of Longueville, to be the successor of Magdalene. An embassy having been despatched to France to settle preliminaries, and to bring the queen-consort to Scotland, she arrived in the latter kingdom in June, 1538. Mary landed at Balcomie in Fife, where she was received by the king, surrounded by a great number of his nobles. From thence the royal party proceeded to Dundee, St. Andrews, then to Stirling; from that to Linlithgow; and lastly to Edinburgh. In all of these places the royal pair were received with every demonstration of popular joy, and were sumptuously entertained by the magistrates and other authorities of the different towns. James, by a long and steady perseverance in the administration of justice without regard to the wealth or rank of the culprits, and by the wholesome restraint under which he held the turbulent nobles, had now secured a degree of peace and prosperity to the country which it had not enjoyed for many years before. His power was acknowledged and felt in the most remote parts of the Lowlands of Scotland, and even a great part of the Highlands. But the Western Isles and the most northern extremity of the

kingdom, places then difficult of access and comparatively but little known, were still made the scenes of the most lawless and atrocious deeds by the fierce and restless chieftains and their clans, by whom they were inhabited. James, however, resolved to carry and establish his authority even there. He resolved to "beard the lion in his den;" to bring these desperadoes to justice in the midst of their barbarous hordes; and this bold design he determined to execute in person. He ordered twelve ships, well provided with artillery, to be ready against the 14th of May. The personal preparations of the king, and those made for his accommodation in the ship in which he was himself to embark on this expedition, were extensive and multifarious. His cabin was hung with green cloth, and his bed with black damask. Large quantities of silver plate and culinary utensils, with stores for cooking, were put on board; and also a vast number of tents and pavilions, for the accommodation of his suite when they should land in the isles. The monarch himself was equipped in a suit of red velvet, ornamented with gold embroidery, and the ship in which he sailed was adorned with splendid flags and numerous streamers of red and yellow serge.

The expedition, which had been delayed for fourteen days beyond the time appointed by the advanced state of the queen's pregnancy, finally set sail for its various destinations in the beginning of June.

The royal squadron, on reaching the western shores, proceeded deliberately from island to island, and from point to point of the mainland, the king landing on each, and summoning the various chieftains to his presence. Some of these he executed on the spot, others he carried away with him as hostages for the future peaceful conduct of their kinsmen and followers; and thus, after making the terror of his name and the sternness of his justice felt in every glen in the Highlands, he bent his way again homewards. James himself landed at Dumbarton, but the greater part of his ships, including those on board of which were the captured chieftains, were sent round to Leith.

Having now reduced the whole country to such a state of tranquillity, and so effectually accomplished the security of private property everywhere, that it is boasted that at this period of his reign flocks of sheep were as safe in Ettrick Forest as in the province of Fife, he betook himself to the improvement of his kingdom by peaceful pursuits. He imported superior breeds of horses to improve the native race of that animal. He promoted the fisheries, and invited artisans and mechanics of all descriptions to settle in the country, encouraging them by the offer of liberal wages, and in many cases by bestowing small annual pensions. With every promise of a long and happy reign, and in the midst of exertions which entitled him to expect the latter, the cup was suddenly dashed from his lips. Misfortune on misfortune crowded on the ill-starred monarch, and hurried him to a premature grave. Two princes who were born to him by Mary of Guise, died in their infancy within a few days of each other, a calamity which sank deep in the heart of their royal parent. His uncle, the King of England, with whom he had hitherto been on a friendly footing, for reasons now not very well known, invaded his dominions with an army of 20,000 men, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk. James gave orders to assemble an army of 30,000 men on the Borough Muir, and with this force he marched to oppose them. The hostile armies met at Solway Moss, but with little disposition on the part of the leaders of the Scottish army to maintain the credit

of their sovereign by their arms. James had never been friendly to the aristocracy, and they now retaliated upon him by a lukewarmness in his cause in the hour of need. The unfortunate monarch himself increased this spirit of defection at such a critical juncture by appointing Oliver Sinclair, a mean favourite, and a man of no ability, to the command of his army. The intelligence of this appointment excited the utmost indignation in the Scottish army. All declared that they would rather submit to be taken prisoners by the English than be commanded by such a general; and they were thrown into such a state of commotion by this infatuated proceeding of their sovereign, that the English general perceived the disorder, and taking advantage of it, attacked the Scottish army with a few hundred light horse. The former making no resistance were instantly put to flight. James was at Caerlaverock, about twelve miles distant, when this disaster took place. When informed of the disgraceful flight of his army, he sank into a state of dejection and melancholy from which nothing could rouse him. His proud spirit could not brook the disgrace which had befallen his arms, and the conduct of his nobles excited a degree of irritation which soon threw him into a violent fever. In this state of despondency he retired to Falkland. Here he took to bed and refused all sustenance. While in this condition intelligence was brought him that the queen, then at Linlithgow, was delivered of a girl. "It came with a lass and it will go with a lass," said the dying monarch, reckoning it another misfortune that it was not a male heir that had been given to him.

A little before his death, which was now fast approaching, he was heard muttering the words "Solway Moss," the scene of that disaster which was now hurrying him to the grave. On the day of his death, which happened previous to the 13th of December, 1542, but within two or three days of it, although the precise day is not known, he turned round to the lords who surrounded his bed, and with a faint but benignant smile, held out his hand to them to kiss, and in a few minutes thereafter expired. James died in the thirty-first year of his age, leaving the unfortunate Mary, then an infant, to succeed to his dignities and to more than his misfortunes. Besides Mary, his only surviving legitimate child, James left six natural children. These were—James, abbot of Kelso and Melrose; the Regent Moray; Robert, prior of Holyrood House; John, prior of Coldingham; Janet, wife of the Earl of Angus; and Adam, prior of the Chartreux at Perth.

JAMES VI. of Scotland, and I. of England, was born in the castle of Edinburgh, June 19, 1566. He was the son of the reigning sovereign Mary, by her husband Henry Lord Darnley, who was nominally associated with her in the government, and was the eldest son of the existing Earl of Lennox. Both by his father and mother James was the great-grandson of Henry VII. of England, and, failing Queen Elizabeth and his own mother, stood nearest to the throne of that kingdom at the same time that he was heir-apparent to the Scottish crown. The character of his parents and their previous history are so well known that it is unnecessary to touch upon them here. It may only be mentioned, that while the royal infant brought with him into the world pretensions the most brilliant that could have befallen a mortal creature, he also carried in his constitution a weakness of the most lamentable nature, affecting both his body and his mind. About three months before his birth his father headed a band of conspirators who broke violently into the privacy of his

mother's chamber, and almost in her presence slew her favourite counsellor David Riccio. The agitation of the mother on that occasion took effect upon the child, who, though intended apparently to be alike strong in mental and bodily constitution, showed through life many deficiencies in both respects, though perhaps to a less extent than has been represented by popular history.

It is well known that a confederation of the Scottish nobles dethroned Mary about a year after the birth of her son. While this ill-fated princess was condemned to imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, her son was taken to Stirling, and there crowned at the age of thirteen months and ten days. The real government was successively administered by the regents Moray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton, under the secret direction of the English queen, by whom, in time, her rival Mary was put to death. James, after a weakly infancy, was placed under the care of the celebrated Buchanan, whose religious principles and distinguished scholarship seemed to qualify him peculiarly for the task of educating a Protestant prince. It would appear that the young king received at the hands of his master a great deal more learning, classical and theological, than he was able to digest, and thus became liable to as much of the fault of pedantry as consists in a hoarding of literature for its own sake, or for purposes of ostentation, accompanied by an inability to turn it to its only true use in the ordinary purposes of life. A pliability of temper, subject alike to evil and to good influences; a sly acuteness in penetrating the motives of men, without the power to make it of any practical advantage; and a proneness to listen to the flattering counsellors who told him he was a king, and ought to have the power of one, were other characteristics of this juvenile monarch; whose situation, it must at the same time be acknowledged, was one of such difficulty as to render a fair development of the best faculties of the mind, and the best tendencies of the heart, hardly to be expected.

Though made and upheld as a king, in consequence of a successful rebellion against the monarchical principle, James was early inspired with a high sense of his royal powers and privileges, probably by some of those individuals who are never wanting around the persons of young princes, let their education be ever so carefully conducted. Even before attaining the age of twelve he had become the centre of a little knot of courtiers, who clustered about him at his residence in Stirling Castle, and plotted schemes for transferring the reins of government into his own hands. Morton permitted himself to be surprised in 1578 by this party, who for some time conducted the affairs of state in the name of the king as if he had been in full possession of his birth-right. Morton, however, soon after regained nearly all his wonted ascendancy, and it was not till two or three years later that the king became completely emancipated from this powerful agent of the English queen. A young scion of nobility, named Captain Stuart, from his commanding the king's guards, and Esme, Earl of Lennox, the king's cousin, were his chief instruments in obtaining the sovereign power, and in raising that prosecution against Morton which ended in his execution, June 2, 1581. The former is represented as a profligate adventurer, who studied only how, by flattering the king and enforcing his despotic views, to promote his own interest. Lennox was a gentler and worthier person, but was obnoxious to popular odium on account of his professing the Catholic faith. The Protestant and English interest soon rallied, and in August, 1582, took place the celebrated Raid of Ruthven, by which a

few Presbyterian nobles, headed by the Earl of Gowrie, were enabled to take possession of the royal person, and use his authority for some time in behalf of liberal government and their own religious principles, while Stuart and Lennox were forbidden his presence.

It was not till June, 1583, that James emancipated himself from a control which, however well he appeared to bear it, was far from agreeable to him. Lennox had now been banished to France, where he died of a broken heart; Stuart was created Earl of Arran on the ruins of the Hamilton family, and became almost sole counsellor to the young monarch. The nobles who had seized the king at Ruthven were pardoned; but Gowrie, having soon after made a second and unsuccessful attempt, was beheaded at Stirling. During the interval between June, 1583, and November, 1585, the government was of a decidedly anti-popular and anti-Presbyterian character, Arran being permitted to act entirely as he pleased. The Presbyterian nobles, however, who had fled into England, were, at the latter period, enabled by Elizabeth to invade their own country with such a force as overturned the power of the unworthy favourite, and re-established a system agreeable to the clergy and people, and more closely respondent to the wishes of Elizabeth. In this way James grew up to man's estate.

In 1584, when eighteen years of age, he made his first appearance as an author by publishing a small thin quarto, entitled *Essays of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie, with the Reulis and Cauteles to be pursued and avoided*. This work consists of a mixture of poetry and prose; the poems being chiefly a series of sonnets, which bear very much the appearance of school exercises, while the prose consists of a code of laws for the construction of verse according to the ideas of that period. There is little in the king's style or his ideas to please the present age; yet, compared with the efforts of contemporary authors, these poems may be said to bear a respectable appearance.

The main effect of the late revolution was to re-establish the English influence, which had been deranged by the ascendancy of Captain Stuart. In June, 1586, James entered into an arrangement with Elizabeth, by which, in consideration of a pension of £5000, rendered necessary by his penurious circumstances, he engaged to support England against the machinations of the Catholic powers of Europe. It was also part of this treaty that a correspondence which he had entered into with his mother should be broken off; and he even submitted so far to the desires of his new superior as to write a disrespectful letter to that unhappy princess, who replied in an eloquent epistle, threatening to denounce him as a usurper, and load him with a parent's curse. James, in reality, during the whole of his occupancy of the Scottish throne, was a mere tool in the hands of one party or another, and had no personal influence or independence whatever till the advanced age of Elizabeth gave him near hopes of the English crown.

In 1588, while the shores of England were threatened with the Spanish Armada, James fulfilled, as far as he could, the treaty into which he had entered with Elizabeth, by using his best exertions to suppress the movements of a powerful Catholic party among his own subjects in support of the invasion. In return for this Elizabeth permitted him to take a wife; and his choice ultimately fell upon the Princess Anne of Denmark, second daughter of the deceased Frederick II. He was married by proxy in August, 1589; but the princess, having been delayed in Norway by a storm, which threatened to detain her for the winter, he gallantly crossed the seas to

Upsala, in order to consummate the match. After spending some months at the Danish court, he returned to Scotland in May, 1590; when the reception vouchsafed to the royal pair was fully such as to justify an expression used by James in one of his letters, that "a king with a new married wyfe did not come hame every day."

The king had an illegitimate cousin, Francis, Earl of Bothwell, who now for some years embittered his life by a series of plots and assaults for which there is no parallel even in Scottish history. Bothwell had been spared by the king's goodness in 1589 from the result of a sentence for treason passed on account of his concern in a Catholic conspiracy. Soon after James returned from Denmark it was discovered that he had tampered with professing witches to take away the king's life by necromancy. He at first proposed to stand a trial for this alleged offence, but subsequently found it necessary to make his escape. His former sentence was then permitted to take effect, and he became, in the language of the times, a broken man. Repeatedly, however, did this bold adventurer approach the walls of Edinburgh, and even assail the king in his palace; nor could the limited powers of the sovereign either accomplish his seizure, or frighten him out of the kingdom. He even contrived at one time to regain his place in the king's council, and remained for several months in the enjoyment of all his former honours, till once more expelled by a party of his enemies. The king appears to have purposely been kept in a state of powerlessness by his subjects; even the strength necessary to execute the law upon the paltriest occasions was denied to him; and his clergy took every opportunity of decrying his government, and diminishing the respect of his people, lest, in becoming stronger or more generally revered, he should have used his increased force against the liberal interest and the Presbyterian religion. If he could have been depended upon as a thorough adherent of these abstractions, there can be no doubt that his Scottish reign would have been less disgraced by the non-execution of the laws. But then, was his first position under the regents and the Protestant nobles of a kind calculated to attach him sincerely to that party? or can it be decidedly affirmed that the zeal of the clergy of those rough and difficult times was sufficiently tempered with human kindness to make a young prince prefer their peculiar system to one which addressed him in a more courteous manner, and was more favourable to that regal power, the feebleness of which had hitherto seemed the cause of all his distresses and all his humiliation?

In 1585, while under the control of Arran, he had written a paraphrase and commentary on the Revelation of St. John, which, however, was not completed or published for some years after. In 1591 he produced a second volume of verse, entitled *Poetical Exercises*, in the preface to which he informs the reader, as an apology for inaccuracies, that "scarcelie but at stolen moments had he leisure to blenk upon any paper, and yet nocht that with free unvexed spirit." He also appears to have at this time proceeded some length with his translation of the psalms into Scottish verse. It is curious that, while the king manifested in his literary studies both the pure sensibilities of the poet and the devout aspirations of the saint, his personal manners were coarse, his amusements of no refined character, and his speech rendered odious by common swearing.

It is hardly our duty to enter into a minute detail of the oscillations of the Scottish church during this reign between Presbytery and Episcopacy. In proportion as the king was weak the former system pre-

vailed; and in proportion as he gained strength from the prospect of the English succession and other causes, the episcopal polity was re-imposed. We are also disposed to overlook the troubles of the Catholic nobles—Huntly, Errol, and Angus, who, for some obscure plot in concert with Spain, were punished to as great an extent as the personal favour of the king, and his fear of displeasing the English Papists, would permit. The lenity shown by the king to these grandes procured him the wrath of the church, and led to the celebrated tumult of the 17th December, 1506, in which the clergy permitted themselves to make so unguarded an appearance, as to furnish their sovereign with the means of checking their power without offending the people.

In February, 1594, a son, Prince Henry, was born to the king at Stirling Castle; this was followed some years after by the birth of a daughter, Elizabeth, whose fate as the Queen of Bohemia, and ancestress of the present royal family of Britain, gives rise to so many varied reflections. James wrote a treatise of counsel for his son, under the title of *Basilicon Doron*, which, though containing some passages offensive to the clergy, is a work of much good sense, and conveys, upon the whole, a respectable impression at once of the author's abilities and of his moral temperament. It was published in 1599, and is said to have gained him a great accession of esteem among the English, for whose favour of course he was anxiously solicitous.

Few incidents of note occurred in the latter part of the king's Scottish reign. The principal was the famous conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, sons of the earl beheaded in 1584, which was developed—if we may speak of it in such a manner—on the 5th of August, 1600. This affair has of late been considerably elucidated by Robert Pitcairn, Esq., in his laborious work, the *Criminal Trials of Scotland*, though it is still left in some measure as a question open to dispute. The events, so far as ascertained, were as follows:—

Early on the morning of the 5th of August, 1600, Alexander, master of Ruthven, with only two followers, Andrew Henderson and Andrew Ruthven, rode from Perth to Falkland, where King James was at that time residing. He arrived there about seven o'clock, and stopping at a house in the vicinity of the palace, sent Henderson forward to learn the motions of the king. His messenger returned quickly with the intelligence that his majesty was just departing for the chase. Ruthven proceeded immediately to the palace, where he met James in front of the stables. They spoke together for about a quarter of an hour. None of the attendants overheard the discourse, but it was evident from the king's laying his hand on the master's shoulder, and clapping his back, that the matter of it pleased him. The hunt rode on, and Ruthven joined the train; first, however, despatching Henderson to inform his brother that his majesty was coming to Perth with a few attendants, and to desire him to cause dinner to be prepared. A buck was slain about ten o'clock, when the king desired the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar to accompany him to Perth, to speak with the Earl of Gowrie. The master of Ruthven now despatched his other attendant to give the earl notice of the king's approach; and immediately afterwards James and he set off at a rate that threw behind the royal attendants, who lost some time in changing horses. When the Duke of Lennox overtook them, the king, with great glee, told him that he was riding to Perth to get a *pose* (treasure). He then asked the duke's opinion of Alexander Ruthven, which

proving favourable, he proceeded to repeat the story which that young man had told him, of his having the previous evening surprised a man with a large sum of money on his person. The duke expressed his opinion of the improbability of the tale, and some suspicion of Ruthven's purpose; upon which the king desired him to follow when he and Ruthven should leave the hall—an order which he repeated after his arrival in the Earl of Gowrie's house.

Meantime Henderson, on his arrival at Perth, found the elder Ruthven in his chamber, speaking upon business with two gentlemen. Gowrie drew him aside the moment he entered, and asked whether he brought any letter or message from his brother. On learning that the king was coming, he took the messenger into his cabinet, and inquired anxiously in what manner the master had been received, and what persons were in attendance upon his majesty. Returning to the chamber, he made an apology to the two gentlemen and dismissed them. Henderson then went to his own house. When he returned, in about an hour, the earl desired him to arm himself, as he had to apprehend a Highlander in the Shoe-gate. The master of the household being unwell, the duty of carrying up the earl's dinner devolved upon Henderson. He performed this service about half-past twelve; and afterwards waited upon the earl and some friends who were dining with him. They had just sat down when Andrew Ruthven entered, and whispered something in the earl's ear, who, however, seemed to give no heed. As the second course was about to be set upon the table the master of Ruthven, who had left the king about a mile from Perth, and rode on before, entered and announced his majesty's approach. This was the first intelligence given the inhabitants of Gowrie House of the king's visit, for Gowrie had kept not only his coming, but also the master's visit to Falkland, a profound secret. The earl and his visitors, with their attendants, and some of the citizens among whom the news had spread, went out to meet the king.

The street in which Gowrie House formerly stood runs north and south, and parallel to the Tay. The house was on the side next the river, built so as to form three sides of a square, the fourth side, that which abutted on the street, being formed by a wall, through which the entry into the interior court, or close, was by a gate. The scene of the subsequent events was the south side of the square. The interior of this part of the edifice contained, in the first story, a dining-room, looking out upon the river, a hall in the centre, and a room at the further end looking out upon the street, each of them occupying the whole breadth of the building, and opening into each other. The second story consisted of a gallery occupying the space of the dining-room and hall below, and at the street end of this gallery a chamber, in the north-west corner of which was a circular closet, formed by a turret which overhung the outer wall, in which were two long narrow windows, the one looking towards the Spy-tower (a strong tower built over one of the city gates), the other looking out upon the court, but visible from the street before the gate. The access to the hall and gallery was by a large turnpike stair in the south-east corner of the court. The hall likewise communicated with the garden, which lay between the house and the river, by a door opposite to that which opened from the turnpike, and an outward stair. The access to the chamber in which was the round closet, was either through the gallery, or by means of a smaller turnpike (called the Black Turnpike), which stood half-way betwixt the principal one and the street.

The unexpected arrival of the king caused a considerable commotion in Gowrie's establishment. Craingelt, the master of the household, was obliged to leave his sick-bed and bestir himself. Messengers were despatched through Perth to seek, not for meat, for of that there seems to have been plenty, but for some delicacy fit to be set upon the royal table. The bailies and other dignitaries of Perth, as also some noblemen who were resident in the town, came pouring in,—some to pay their respects to his majesty, others to stare at the courtiers. Amid all this confusion somewhat more than an hour elapsed before the repast was ready. To judge by the king's narrative, and the eloquent orations of Mr. Patrick Galloway, this neglect on the part of the earl seems to have been regarded as not the least criminal part of his conduct: and with justice; for his royal highness had been riding hard since seven o'clock, and it was past two before he could get a morsel, which, when it did come, bore evident marks of being hastily prepared.

As soon as the king was set down to dinner, the earl sent for Andrew Henderson, whom he conducted up to the gallery, where the master was waiting for them. After some short conversation, during which Gowrie told Henderson to do anything his brother bade him, the younger Ruthven locked this attendant into the little round closet within the gallery chamber, and left him there. Henderson began now, according to his own account, to suspect that something wrong was in agitation, and set himself to pray in great perturbation of mind. Meanwhile the Earl of Gowrie returned to take his place behind the chair of his royal guest. When the king had dined, and Lennox, Mar, and the other noblemen in waiting had retired from the dining-room to the hall to dine in their turn, Alexander Ruthven came and whispered to the king to find some means of getting rid of his brother the earl, from whom he had all along pretended great anxiety to keep the story of the found treasure a secret. The king filled a bumper, and drinking it off, desired Gowrie to carry his pledge to the noblemen in the hall. While they were busy returning the health, the king and the master passed quietly through the hall, and ascended the great stair which led to the gallery. They did not, however, pass altogether unobserved, and some of the royal train made an attempt to follow them, but were repelled by Ruthven, who alleged the king's wish to be alone. From the gallery they passed into the chamber at the end of it, and the door of this room Ruthven appears to have locked behind him.

When the noblemen had dined they inquired after their master, but were informed by Gowrie that he had retired and wished to be private. The earl immediately called for the keys of the garden, whither he was followed by Lennox and part of the royal train; whilst Mar with the rest remained in the house. John Ramsay, a favourite page of the king, says in his deposition, that, on rising from table, he had agreed to take charge of a hawk for one of the servants, in order to allow the man to go to dinner. He seems while thus engaged to have missed Gowrie's explanation of the king's absence, for he sought his majesty in the dining-room, in the garden, and afterwards in the gallery. He had never before seen this gallery, which is said—we know not upon what authority—to have been richly adorned with paintings by the earl's father, and he stayed some time admiring it. On coming down stairs he found the whole of the king's attendants hurrying towards the outer gate, and was told by Thomas Cranstone, one of the earl's servants, that the king had rode on before. Ramsay, on hearing this, ran to the stable

where his horse was. Lennox and Mar, who had also heard the report of the king's departure, asked the porter, as they were passing the gate, whether the king were indeed forth. The man replied in the negative. Gowrie checked him with considerable harshness, and affirmed that the king had passed out by the back gate. "That is impossible, my lord," answered the porter, "for it is locked, and the key is in my pocket." Gowrie, somewhat confused, said he would return and learn the truth of the matter. He came back almost instantly, affirming positively that the king had ridden out by the back gate. The greater part of the company were now assembled on the High Street, in front of the house, waiting for their horses, and discussing how they were to seek the king. At this moment the king's voice was heard crying—"I am murdered! Treason! my lord of Mar, help! help!" Lennox and Mar, with their attendants, rushed through the gateway into the court, and up the principal stair. Sir Thomas Erskine and his brother James seized the Earl of Gowrie, exclaiming, "Traitor! this is thy deed!" Some of the earl's servants rescued their master, who was, however, thrown down in the scuffle, and refused admittance to the inner court. On recovering his feet he retired a short way; then drawing his sword and dagger, he cried, "I will be in my own house, or die by the way."

During these proceedings the king had found himself rather critically circumstanced. Alexander Ruthven, having locked the door of the gallery chamber, led the way to the round closet. James was not a little astonished when, instead of the captive he expected, he saw a man armed at all points except his head. He was more astonished when the master, putting on his hat, drew the man's dagger, and presented it to his breast, saying, "Sir, you must be my prisoner! remember my father's death!" James attempted to remonstrate, but was interrupted with "Hold your tongue, sir, or by Christ you shall die!" But here Henderson wrenched the dagger from Ruthven's hand, and the king, then resuming his remonstrances, was answered that his life was not what was sought. The master even took off his hat when the king, who, amid all his perturbation, forgot not his princely demeanour, reminded him of the impropriety of wearing it in his presence. He then requested James to give him his word not to open the window, nor call for assistance, whilst he went to bring his brother, the earl, who was to determine what farther should be done. Ruthven then left the closet, locking the door behind him; but, according to Henderson's belief, went no farther than the next room. This is more than probable; for, by the nearest calculation, Ramsay must have been at that time still in the gallery. The master re-entered, therefore, almost instantly, and telling the king there was now but one course left, produced a garter, with which he attempted to bind his majesty's hands. James freed his left with a violent exertion, exclaiming, "I am a free prince, man! I will not be bound!" Ruthven, without answering, seized him by the throat with one hand, while he thrust the other into his mouth to prevent his crying. In the struggle which ensued the king was driven against the window which overlooked the court, and at that moment Henderson thrust his arm over the master's shoulder and pushed up the window, which afforded the king an opportunity of calling for assistance. The master thereupon said to Henderson, "Is there no help in thee? Thou wilt cause us all to die!" and tremblingly, between excitement and exertion, he attempted to draw his sword. The king perceiving his intent laid hold of his hand; and thus clasped

in a death-wrestle, they reeled out of the closet into the chamber. The king had got Ruthven's head under his arm; whilst Ruthven, finding himself held down almost upon his knees, was pressing upwards with his hand against the king's face, when, at this critical moment, John Ramsay, the page, who had heard from the street the king's cry for help, and who had got before Mar and Lennox by running up the Black Turnpike formerly mentioned, while they took the principal staircase, rushed against the door of the chamber and burst it open. The king panted out when he saw his page, "Fy! strike him low, he has secret armour on." At which Ramsay, casting from him the hawk which still sat upon his hand, drew his dagger, and stabbed the master. The next moment the king, exerting all his strength, threw him from him down-stairs. Ramsay ran to a window, and called upon Sir Thomas Erskine, and one or two who were with him, to come up the turnpike. Erskine was first, and as Ruthven staggered past him on the stair, wounded and bleeding, he desired those who followed to strike the traitor. This was done, and the young man fell, crying, "Alas! I had not the wyte [blame] of it."

The king was safe for the meantime, but there was still cause for alarm. Only four of his attendants had reached him; and he was uncertain whether the incessant attempts of Mar and Lennox's party to break open the door by which the chamber communicated with the gallery, were made by friend or foe. At this moment the alarm-bell rang out, and the din of the gathering citizens, who were as likely, for anything the king knew, to side with their provost, Gowrie, as with himself, was heard from the town. There was, besides, a still more immediate danger.

Gowrie, whom we left attempting to force his way into the house, was met at the gate by the news that his brother had fallen. Violet Ruthven, and other women belonging to the family, were already wailing his death, screaming their curses up to the king's party in the chamber, and mixing their shrill execrations with the fierce din which shook the city. The earl, seconded by Cranstone, one of his attendants, forced his way to the foot of the Black Turnpike, at which spot lay the master's body. "Whom have we here?" said the retainer, for the face was turned downwards. "Up the stair!" was Gowrie's brief and stern reply. Cranstone, going up before his master, found, on rushing into the chamber, the swords of Sir Thomas Erskine, and Herries, the king's physician, drawn against him. They were holding a parley in this threatening attitude when Gowrie entered, and was instantly attacked by Ramsay. The earl fell after a smart contest. Ramsay immediately turned upon Cranstone, who had proved fully a match for the other two, and having wounded him severely, forced him finally to retreat.

All this time they who were with the Duke of Lennox had kept battering at the gallery-door of the chamber with hammers, but in vain. The partition was constructed of boards, and as the whole wall gave way equally before the blows, the door could not be forced. The party with the king, on the other hand, were afraid to open, lest they should thus give admission to enemies. A servant was at last despatched round by the turnpike, who assured his majesty that it was the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar who were so clamorous for admission. The hammers were then handed through below the door, and the bolts speedily displaced. When these noblemen were admitted, they found the king unharméd amid his brave deliverers. The door, however, which entered from the turnpike had been

closed upon a body of Gowrie's retainers, who were calling for their master, and striking through below the door with their pikes and halberds. The clamour from the town continued, and the voices from the court were divided—part calling for the king, part for their provost, the Earl of Gowrie. Affairs, however, soon took a more decided turn. They who assaulted the door grew tired of their ineffectual efforts and withdrew; and almost at the same moment the voices of bailies Ray and Young were heard from the street, calling to know if the king were safe, and announcing that they were there, with the loyal burgesses of Perth, for his defence. The king gratified them by showing himself at the window, requesting them to still the tumult. At the command of the magistrates the crowd became silent, and gradually dispersed. In the course of a few hours peace was so completely re-established that the king and his company were able to take horse for Falkland.

This bird's-eye view of the occurrences of the 5th of August will be found correct in the main. Although some details have been necessarily omitted, they are sufficient to establish a preconceived scheme between the brothers against the king, but of what nature, and to what purpose, it would be difficult, without further evidence, to say. Of all the people that day assembled in Gowrie's house, not one seems to have been in the secret. Henderson, to whom an important share in the execution of the attempt had been assigned, was kept in ignorance to the last moment, and then he counteracted instead of furthering their views. Even with regard to Cranstone, the most busy propagator of the rumour of the king's departure, it is uncertain whether he may not have spread the report in consequence of the asseverations of his master; and we have his solemn declaration, at a time when he thought himself upon his death-bed, that he had no previous knowledge of the plot. The two Ruthvens of Freeland, Eviot, and Hugh Moncrieff, who took the most active share in endeavouring to stir the citizens up to mutiny to revenge the earl and his brother, may have been actuated, for any evidence we have to the contrary, solely by the feelings of reckless and devoted retainers, upon seeing their master's fall in an affray whose origin and cause they knew not. To this evidence, partly negative and partly positive, may be added the deposition of William Rynd, who said, when examined at Falkland, that he had heard the earl declare—"He was not a wise man who, having intended the execution of a high and dangerous purpose, should communicate the same to any but himself; because, keeping it to himself, it could not be discovered nor disappointed." Moreover, it does not sufficiently appear, from the deportment of the master, that they aimed at the king's life. He spoke only of making him prisoner, and grasped his sword only when the king had made his attendants aware of his situation. At the same time, it was nowhere discovered that any measures had been taken for removing the royal prisoner to a place of security; and to keep him in a place so open to observation as Gowrie House was out of the question. Without some other evidence, therefore, than that to which we have as yet been turning our attention, we can scarcely look upon these transactions otherwise than as a fantastic dream, which is incoherent in all its parts, and the absurdity of which is only apparent when we reflect how irreconcilable it is with the waking world around us.

The letters of Logan of Restalrig, which were not discovered till eight years afterwards, throw some further light upon the subject, though not so much as could be wished. Of their authenticity little doubt can be entertained, when we consider the

number and respectability of the witnesses who swore positively to their being in Logan's handwriting. It appears from these letters that Gowrie and Logan had agreed in some plot against the king. It appears also that Logan was in correspondence with some third person who had assented to the enterprise. It would almost seem, from Logan's third letter, that this person resided at Falkland: "If I kan nocht win to Falkland the first nycht, I sall be tymelie in St. Johnestoun on the morne." And it is almost certain from the fifth letter that he was so situated as to have oral communication with Gowrie, the master of Ruthven: "Pray let his lo. be quik, and bid M. A. remember on the sport he tald me." It does not appear, however, that any definite plan had been resolved upon. The sea excursion, which Mr. Lawson in his *History of the Gowrie Conspiracy* supposes to have been contemplated with the design of conveying James to Fast Castle, was only meant to afford facilities for a meeting of the conspirators with a view to deliberation. Logan's fifth letter is dated as late as the last of July, and yet it does not appear that the writer knew at that time of the Perth project. Taking these facts in conjunction with the hair-brained character of Gowrie's attempt, it seems highly probable, that although some scheme might be in agitation with Logan, and perhaps some other conspirators, the outrage of the 5th of August was the rash and premature undertaking of two hot-blooded fantastical young men, who probably wished to distinguish themselves above the rest of their associates in the plot.

The very scanty information that we possess respecting the character and previous habits of these two brothers is quite in accordance with this view of the matter, and goes a good way to corroborate it. They are allowed on all hands to have been men of graceful exterior, of winning manners, well advanced in the studies of the times, brave, and masters of their weapons. It is not necessary surely to prove at this time of day how compatible all these qualifications are with a rash and headlong temper, completely subject to the control of the imagination—a turn of mind bordering upon frenzy. A man of quick perception, warm feeling, and ungoverned fancy, is of all others the most fascinating, when the world goes smoothly; but he is of all others the most liable, having no guiding reason, to err most extravagantly in the serious business of life: being "unstable as water," he is easily irritated and lashed into madness by adverse circumstances. How much Gowrie was the dupe of his imagination, is evident from the fondness with which he clung to the delusions of the cabala, natural magic, and astrology. Armed (according to his own belief) with powers beyond the common race of man, doomed by his stars to achieve greatness, he laughed at danger, and was ready to neglect the calculations of worldly prudence alike in his aims and the means by which he sought their attainment. The true state of his brother's mind is portrayed incidentally by Logan in his first letter:—"Bot incase ye and M. A. R. forgader, because he is somwhat consety, for Godis sailk be very var with his rakelese tois of Padoa; ffor he tald me aone of the strangest taulis of ane nobill man of Padoa that ever I hard in my lyf, resembling the lyk purpose." This suggests at once the very picture of a young and hot-blooded man, whose brain had been distracted, during his residence in Italy, with that country's numerous legends of wild vengeance. Two such characters, brooding conjointly over real or fancied wrongs, were capable of projecting schemes against which the most daring would remonstrate; and, irritated by the coldness of their friends, were no doubt induced to

undertake the execution alone, and almost unassisted.

It only remains to inquire what was the object which Gowrie proposed to himself in his mad and treasonable attempt, and upon whose seconding he was to depend, suppose his design had succeeded? These two inquiries are inseparably connected, and have been rendered more interesting by a late attempt to implicate the Presbyterian party in the earl's guilt. We are not a little astonished that such an attempt should have been made at this late period, when we recollect that, notwithstanding all the ill odour in which the Presbyterian clergymen stood at court, not one of the thousand idle rumours to which Gowrie's enterprise gave birth tried to direct suspicion towards them. The sole grounds upon which such an accusation can rest for support, are the facts—that Gowrie's father was a leader among the Presbyterians, and his son strictly educated in that faith; that shortly after his arrival in Italy he wrote one letter to a Presbyterian minister; and that some of the Edinburgh clergymen manifested considerable obstinacy in throwing discredit upon the reality of the conspiracy. The two former are of themselves so weak that we pass them over the more willingly, that we shall immediately point out the motives from which Gowrie acted, and the sort of assistance upon which he really relied. The conduct of the clergymen admits of an easy explanation. James, whose perception was nearly as acute as his character was weak, was fully sensible of the ridicule to which he had exposed himself by allowing his desire of money to lead him into so shallow a device as Ruthven's. In addition to this he wished, upon all occasions, to appear as much of the hero as possible. The consequence was, that his edition of the story was so dressed up as to render it inconsistent, first, with his well-known character; secondly, with the most distant possibility of his having been deceived with the master's pretences; and, thirdly, with the depositions of the witnesses. Inconsistencies so startling were sufficient to justify some preliminary scepticism; and if ever there was an occasion where it was allowable openly to call a king's word in question, it was when James demanded, not merely that his party should hypocritically profess a belief which they did not entertain, but that they should, daringly and blasphemously, mix up this falsehood in the solemn services of devotion. A short time, however, was sufficient to convince the most incredulous of the truth of the conspiracy, stripped of the adventitious circumstances which the king linked with it; and the obstinate recusancy of Bruce the clergyman is sufficiently accounted for by James' insisting upon prescribing the manner in which he was to treat the subject, and by that individual's overstrained notions of the guilt incurred by a minister who allowed any one to dictate to him concerning the mode in which he was to conduct public worship.

But Gowrie relied upon the support of no faction, religious or political. His sole motive seems to have been a fantastic idea of the duty incumbent upon him to revenge his father's death. He is reported, on one occasion, when some one directed his attention to a person who had been employed as an agent against his father, to have said, "*Aquila non capiat muscas.*" Ruthven also expressly declared to the king when he held him prisoner in the closet, that his only object was to obtain revenge for the death of his father. The letters of Logan (except in one solitary instance, where a scheme of aggrandizement is darkly hinted at, and that as something quite irrelevant to the purpose they had on hand) harp on this string alone, proving that Gowrie and his friends

seek only "for the revange of that cawse." The only members of the conspiracy who are known to us, are men likely enough to engage in such a cause, but most unlikely to be either leaders or followers in a union where the parties were bound together by an attachment to certain political principles. The three conspirators are—the earl and his brother, such as we have already described them, and Logan of Restalrig, a broken man—a retainer and partisan of Bothwell—a maintainer of thieves and sorners—a man who expressly objects to communicating their project to one who he fears "*vill dissuade us fra our purpose with ressones of religion, quhilk I can never abyld.*" And if any more evidence were required to show how little Gowrie relied upon the Presbyterians, we might allude to his anxiety that Logan should sound his brother, Lord Home—a Catholic.

In short, everything leads us to the opinion we have already announced, that the Ruthvens were instigated to their enterprise by feelings of private revenge alone, and that they did not seek to make any political party subservient to their purposes. It is to this isolated nature of their undertaking—its utter want of connection with the political movements of the period—that we attribute the circumstance of its history having so long remained unknown, and are satisfied that much of that history must ever remain a riddle. It is with it as with the mystery of the Man in the Iron Mask, and that whole class of events which seem political merely because they befall persons who rank high in the state. They generally appear more mysterious than they really are, because, if no chance unveils them at the time, they stand too far apart from all other transactions to receive any reflected light from them.¹

On the 9th of November, 1600, was born Charles, James' second son, afterwards Charles I. of England. With that country the king now carried on a close correspondence; first, with the Earl of Essex, whom, on hearing of his imprisonment, he besought Elizabeth to spare, and afterwards with the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Robert Cecil, and other influential men, on the subject of his title to the English succession, which was generally acknowledged by the distinguished men connected with the English court.

On the 28th of March, 1603, Elizabeth expired, having named James as her successor, who was accordingly proclaimed King of England. His claim to the succession arose from his relationship to Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., who married James IV. of Scotland, great-grandfather of James VI. Immediately after Elizabeth's decease Sir Robert Carey, who had formerly been kindly entertained by James, set off on a private expedition to Scotland, to convey to the new sovereign the message. Leaving London on Thursday morning, and stopping at his estate of Witherington on the way, from which he issued orders for proclaiming James at several places in the north of England, he reached Edinburgh on Saturday night, when the king had gone to bed, but, gaining admission, saluted him as King of England. Next morning Carey was created gentleman of the bedchamber, and was at last elevated by Charles I. to the title of Earl of Monmouth. The regular messengers to James, announcing his succession, soon arrived. One of the attendants, called Davis, the king recognized as the author of a poem on the immortality of the soul, which seems to have given him high satisfaction, and promised him his patronage, which he afterwards faithfully bestowed.

On the Sunday after his accession the king attended at the High Church. After sermon he addressed the audience on his affection for his Scottish subjects; and after committing his children to the care of trusty nobles, and making arrangements for the management of Scottish business, he set off with a small number of attendants from his ancient kingdom, over which he had reigned for thirty-five years. The reception he met with on the way was very magnificent, especially at Sir Robert Cecil's, Sir Anthony Mildmay's, and Mr. Oliver Cromwell's.² In his progress many petitions were presented and granted—volumes of poems were laid before him by the university of Cambridge, and the honour of knighthood was conferred on no fewer than 237 individuals. Even in these circumstances, however, he displayed his notions of royal prerogative by ordering the recorder of Newark to execute a cut-purse apprehended on the way. On reaching London, he added to the privy-council six Scottish favourites, and also Lord Montjoy, and Lords Thomas and Henry Howard, the son and brother of the late Duke of Norfolk; and, on the 20th of May, created several peers. Numerous congratulations flowed in upon the king. The Marquis de Rosni, afterwards Duke of Sully, arrived on the 15th of June. The following sketch of James, as he appeared on this occasion to the marquis, is strong and striking:—"He was upright and conscientious; he had eloquence and even erudition—but less of these than of penetration and of the show of learning. He loved to hear discourses on matters of state, and to have great enterprises proposed to him, which he discussed in a spirit of system and method, but without any idea of carrying them into effect—for he naturally hated war, and still more to be personally engaged in it—was indolent in all his actions except hunting, and remiss in affairs—all indications of a soft and timid nature, formed to be governed." The king entertained the marquis and his attendants at dinner; when he spoke with contempt of Elizabeth—a circumstance which probably arose from the control which he was conscious she had exercised over him, and especially the idea, which he expresses in one of the documents in the negotiations on an alliance with Spain, that she was concerned in the attempts of his Scottish enemies against him—and also of a double marriage he desired between the French and English royal families.

The queen followed James a few weeks after his arrival, having on the eve of her departure quarrelled with the Earl of Mar, to whom James had committed the care of Prince Henry, and whose letter to her, advising her not to treat him with disrespect, excited the passion of that high-spirited woman. She was crowned, along with her husband, on the 25th of July, by Archbishop Whitgift, with all the ancient solemnity of that imposing ceremony. He soon after, by proclamation, called upon his subjects to solemnize the 5th of August in honour of his escape from the Gowrie conspiracy.

At the commencement of the following year was held the famous Hampton Court Conference. On the first day a few select individuals only were admitted to the king; on the following four puritan ministers, chosen by the king himself, appeared—and his majesty presided as moderator. He conversed in Latin, and engaged in dispute with Dr. Reynolds. In answer to an objection against the Apocrypha started by that learned divine, the king interpreted one of the chapters of Ecclesiasticus, according to his own ideas. He also pronounced

¹ In this account of the conspiracy and summary of the evidence, we use a masterly condensation of the matter of Mr. Pitt-Rivers's documents which appeared in the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*.

² Uncle of the Protector.

an unmeasured attack on Presbytery, which he said "agreed as well with monarchy as God and the devil."—"Stay," he added, "I pray, for one seven years, before you demand; and then, if you find me grown pursy and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you. For that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough." On this occasion Bancroft, Bishop of London, flattered him as "such a king, as, since Christ's time, the like had not been"—and Whitgift professed to believe that his majesty spoke under the special influence of the Holy Spirit. With such flattery, is it to be greatly wondered at that the king esteemed himself an accomplished theological disputant? Indeed, the whole conference seems to have been managed in a most unreasonable manner. It was followed by a proclamation enforcing conformity, and a number of puritans, both clergy and laity, severely suffered.

In March, 1604, the king, the queen, and the prince rode in splendid procession from the Tower to Whitehall; and at the meeting of parliament, a few days after, James delivered his first speech to that assembly. One part of it excited general disapprobation—that in which he expressed himself willing to favour the Roman Catholics—a feeling on his part which probably arose from the prospects afforded him of friendship with countries so powerful as France and Spain, and also perhaps from some degree of attachment to the Romish faith, as that of his royal ancestors. At this meeting of parliament the king also brought forward his favourite proposal of a union betwixt England and Scotland, the result of which was the appointment of a committee for drawing up articles of union; one of the most zealous members of which was Sir Francis Bacon. To this great man James showed strong attachment; and even if Sir Francis had not proved himself to be devoted with peculiar ardour to the king, it may be supposed that he would have been regarded by the latter with peculiar pride from that splendid series of writings which he had already begun to publish, and of which *The Advancement of Learning*, with a very flattering dedication to the king, came forth in 1605.

A great part of the summer following the meeting of parliament the king devoted to his favourite sport of hunting—his attachment to which continued through life, even when corpulence, arising from excess in drinking, which was a noted fault of James, had unfitted him for every active exercise. About this time we find him engaged in arranging a marriage between Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere; writing from Royston to the council that hunting was the only means to maintain his health, desiring them to take the charge and burden of affairs, and foresee that he should not be interrupted nor troubled with too much business; and inquiring into the case of Haddock, called the *sleeping preacher*, from his being said to deliver excellent sermons, and speak excellent Greek and Hebrew in the midst of sleep, although very stupid when awake, who was brought by the king to confess that the whole was an imposture. But James was soon placed in a more serious situation by the celebrated Gunpowder Plot, which was discovered on the 5th of November, for which day parliament had been summoned. A letter was found, supposed to have been written by the sister of Lord Montague, who, though approving of the conspiracy, and the wife of one of the conspirators, wished to preserve her brother from the meditated ruin. On examination barrels of gunpowder were found deposited below the place where parliament was just about to meet, and the very train and match for the discharge of their contents were in

readiness. The conspirators were with considerable difficulty discovered, and were found to comprehend some Jesuits; and to have been united by their common attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, which in England had been lately treated with increased severity. Indeed, there is much reason to believe that the plot in some degree depended on Spanish influence. At the meeting of parliament, a few days afterwards, James expatiated at great length on this terrible conspiracy; but still expressed himself indulgent to the English Catholics. Shortly after appeared a *Discourse on the Gunpowder Plot*, which is supposed to have been the composition of the king. The conspirators were condemned, and acts against the Catholics were passed in parliament; but James continued to discover his unwillingness to treat them with severity.

In July, 1606, he received a visit from the King of Denmark, who was welcomed with imposing splendour. Prince Vaudemont, a French relative of James, also paid a visit about this time to his royal kinsman. In November the king again supported before the parliament his favourite scheme of a union between his Scottish and English kingdoms. The following passages give a curious example of his mode of conversation. The circumstances are given by Harrington as having occurred about this time:—"He engaged much of learning, and showed me his own in such a sort as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetime. He sought much to know my advances in philosophy, and introduced profound sentences of Aristotle, and such-like writers, which I had never read, and which some are bold enough to say others do not understand."—"The prince did now press my reading to him part of a canto in Ariosto, praised my utterance, and said he had been informed of many as to my learning in the time of the queen. He asked me what I thought pure wit was made of, and when it did best become; whether a king should not be the best clerk in his own country; and if this land did not entertain good opinion of his learning and good wisdom. His majesty did next press for my opinion touching the power of Satan in matters of witchcraft, and asked me with much gravity, if I did truly understand why the devil did work more with ancient women than others. His majesty asked much concerning my opinion of the new weed tobacco, and said it would by its use infuse ill qualities on the brain, and that no learned man ought to taste it, and wished it forbidden." After discoursing on religion, at length he said, "I pray you, do me justice in your report, and in good season I will not fail to add to your understanding in such points as I may find you lack amendment." Before this time the king had published not only his *Demonology*, but also *A Counterblast to Tobacco*.

In 1607 he published an answer to a work by Tyrone, and soon after his *Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus*—a defence of an oath which was imposed on foreigners by an act of parliament after the Gunpowder Plot. In 1609 he republished it, with a dedication to all Christian kings and princes, answers having been previously made to it by Bellarmine and other writers. This has been considered as among the best of the king's productions, and is characterized by a late historian of his court as "a learned defence of Protestant principles, an acute exposure of the false statements and false reasonings of Bellarmine, and a vigorous but not intemperate manifesto against papal usurpation and tyranny; yet a vain and useless ostentation of parts and knowledge: and a truer judgment, by admonishing the royal author of the incompatibility of the polemical character with

the policy and dignity of a sovereign, would have spared him the numerous mortifications and inconveniences which ensued."¹

One great cause of the king's unpopularity was his excessive favour for a Scotsman of the name of Carr. In February, 1610, at the meeting of parliament, he did not appear in person, but he had the mortification soon after, of having his plan of a union disapproved by parliament, and a supply to himself refused. They were accordingly summoned to meet the king at Whitehall, where he explained to them his singular views of royal prerogative. The same year Henry was appointed Prince of Wales, on which occasion the ceremonies were continued for three days.

In 1611 James, when on a hunting expedition, received a book on the *Nature and Attributes of God*, by Conrad Vorstius. The king selected several doctrines which he considered heresies, and wrote to the Dutch government, signifying his disapprobation—Vorstius having lately received a professorship of divinity at Leyden as successor of Arminius. He also ordered the book to be burned in London. Soon after, Bartholomew Legate was brought into his presence, accused of professing Arianism in the capital, after which he continued for some time in Newgate, and was then burned at Smithfield. About the same time a similar example of barbarous intolerance occurred. But it was in the same year that our English translation of the Bible was published—an undertaking which the king had set on foot, at the suggestion of Dr. Reynolds, in 1604, which had been executed by forty-seven divines, whom James furnished with instructions for the work; and the fulfilment of which has been justly remarked as an event of very high importance in the history of the language as well as of the religion of Great Britain. About the end of this year the king founded a college at Chelsea for controversial theology, with a view to answer the Papists and Puritans. His own wants, however, now led him to create the title of baronet, which was sold for £1000; and a man might purchase the rank of baron for £5000, of viscount for £10,000, and of an earl for £20,000. He also suffered about this time by the death of the Earl of Salisbury, whom he visited in his illness. But a domestic loss awaited him—which however, it is said, occasioned him slighter suffering than might have been expected, although the nation felt it as a painful stroke. During preparations for the marriage of the princess, the king's daughter, to the elector palatine, who arrived in England for the purpose on the 16th of October, 1612, Prince Henry was cut off by death on the 6th of November, having been taken ill the very day before the elector's arrival. This young prince was eminently distinguished by piety and honour, amiable manners and literary habits. His death-bed was cheered by the practice and consolations of the religion to which, amidst the seductions of a court, he had adhered in life, and he died, lamented by his family and country, in the nineteenth year of his age.

In February, 1613, the Princess Elizabeth was married to the elector palatine—not, it is said, without the dissatisfaction of her father. The preparations, however, were of the most splendid kind; so that means were again adopted to supply the royal wants, as also in the following year.

In 1615 James paid a visit to the university of Cambridge, where he resided in Trinity College, and was received with many literary exhibitions, in the form of disputations, sermons, plays, and orations.

In this year he wrote his *Remonstrance for the Right of Kings and the Independence of their Crowns*, in answer to a speech delivered at Paris in January by Cardinal Perron, who sent it to James. This year also occurred the celebrated trials for the murder of Overbury, in the examinations previous to which James personally engaged. He had now lost his enthusiastic attachment to Carr, the person chiefly accused of this foul deed, whom he had created Earl of Somerset, and who had lately been replaced in his affections by Villiers, the royal cup-bearer, whom he knighted, and appointed a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and whom he gradually advanced, until he was created Duke of Buckingham.

In 1617, after some changes in the court, James paid a visit to Scotland, leaving Bacon as principal administrator in his absence. On this occasion literary exhibitions were presented to him by the universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and he also amused himself with his favourite sport of hunting. But he soon proceeded to enforce the customs of the English hierarchy on the Scottish people—a measure which, notwithstanding considerable encouragement from a General Assembly, convoked with a view to the proposed alterations, the nation in general deemed an infringement of a promise he had made many years before, and which they succeeded, to a considerable degree, in resisting.

The following year was marked by another act of cruelty. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been confined in the Tower for twelve years on the charge of having been engaged in a Spanish conspiracy, but had at last obtained release from his imprisonment, was condemned and executed, in consequence of his marked misconduct in an expedition to explore a mine in Guiana which he had represented to the king as well fitted to enrich his exchequer. His execution, it will scarcely be doubted, was owing to the influence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, an enemy of Raleigh at the English court, in prospect of a marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish infanta. Soon after the queen died—a woman who seems to have been by no means destitute of estimable qualities, but still more remarkable for the splendour of her entertainments, to which Ben Jonson and other writers contributed largely of their wit. Indeed, that eminent dramatist seems to have been a person of considerable consequence at the English court. At this time James' own literary character was exhibited to the world in a folio edition of his works, edited, with a preface well seasoned with flattery, by the Bishop of Winchester. Soon after, on an application from Prince Maurice for the appointment of some English divines as members of a council for the settlement of the controversy between the Arminians and Gomarists, which was held at Dort in November, 1618, five learned men were nominated on that commission, directed by James to recommend to the contending parties the avoidance in public instruction of the controverted topics. His favour to the Church of England was manifested about the same time by his treatment of the celebrated Selden, who had written a work on "the history of tithes," in which he held the injustice of considering the alienation of what had once been church lands to any other than ecclesiastical purposes to be in every case an act of sacrilege. For this work the king required an explanation, and it was shortly afterwards prohibited by the high-commission court. The nation in general was displeased with the rigour of the king's administration; with the plan, which he had not yet abandoned, of a marriage between his son and the Infanta of Spain; and with the favouritism which he manifested, especially towards Villiers,

¹ Aiken's *Court of James*.

whose connections called on him for bountiful provisions, which the king, at his request, with gross facility conceded.

In 1620 the circumstances of his son-in-law, the elector palatine, began to occupy the particular attention of the king. That prince, after having been chosen king by the Bohemians, who had thrown off the Austrian sway and received support from various states of Germany, was at last in a very perilous condition, and on the 8th November, 1620, defeated at the battle of Prague. After much delay, in which he carried on a diplomatic interference, James at last agreed to send a supply of chosen men. But he soon resigned this active interference in his behalf; he called in vain for a benevolence from his wealthy subjects to enable him, as he said, to give him a vigorous support in the event of future urgency; and, finally, summoned a parliament, which had not met for many years, to deliberate on the subject. It met in January, 1621—a parliament memorable for the investigation it made into the conduct of Lord Bacon, and the sentence it pronounced on that distinguished man, who had published only a short time before the second part of his immortal *Novum Organum*. The king, however, had previously promised him either freedom from such a sentence, or pardon after it, and Bacon accordingly was soon released from imprisonment, and, in three years after, fully pardoned by the king. This parliament also granted supplies to James, but in the same year refused farther supplies to the cause of the palatine. James adjourned it in spite of the remonstrance of the House of Commons; and on the same day occurred a well-known conversation of the king and the Bishops Neale and Andrews: "My lords," said the king, "cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?" "God forbid, sir," said Neale; "but you should—you are the breath of our nostrils." "Well, my lord," rejoined his majesty to Andrews, "and what say you?" He excused himself on the ground of ignorance in parliamentary matters. "No put-off, my lord," said James, "answer me presently." "Then, sir," said the excellent prelate, "I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money, for he offers it." The king, however, had himself recommended to this parliament the investigation of abuses, and especially inveighed against corruption and bribery in courts of law. In this year he conferred the seals, which Bacon had resigned, upon Williams, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, who induced him to deliver the Earl of Northumberland from imprisonment; and soon after he very creditably interfered for the continuance of Archbishop Abbot in his office, after he had involuntarily committed an act of homicide.

Parliament meeting again in February, 1622, the commons prepared a remonstrance to the king on the dissatisfaction which was generally felt with the position of affairs both at home and abroad, and calling on him to resist the measures of the King of Spain—to enforce the laws against Popery—marry his son to a Protestant—support Protestantism abroad, and give his sanction to the bills which they should pass with a view to the interest of the nation. On hearing of this proceeding the king addressed an intemperate letter to the speaker, asserting, as usual, the interest of his "prerogative-royal." It was answered by the commons in a manly and loyal address, to which the king replied in a letter still more intemperate than the former. The commons, notwithstanding, drew up and recorded a protest, claiming the right of delivering their sentiments, and of deciding freely, without exposure to impeachment from their speeches in parliamentary debate, and

proposing that, should there be objection made to anything said by a member in the house, it should be officially reported to the king before he should receive as true any private statement on the subject. This protest the king tore out of the journal of the house, ordered the deed to be registered, and imprisoned several of the individuals concerned, who, however, were soon afterwards liberated. But James still maintained his own authority; he strictly prohibited the general discussion of political subjects, and enjoined on the clergy a variety of rules, guarding them against preaching on several subjects, some of which must be regarded as important parts of the system which it is the duty of the clergy to proclaim.

On the 17th of February, 1623, Prince Charles and the Marquis of Buckingham set off on a visit to Spain, with a view to the marriage of the former with the infanta, although the king had resisted the proposal of this journey, which had been urgently made by the prince and Buckingham. On the circumstance being known in England, the favourite was loudly blamed, and the prince suspected of an attachment to Popery. The travellers proceeded in disguise, visited Paris for a single day, and reached Madrid on the 6th of March. The Earl of Bristol, the English ambassador, met them with surprise. James corresponded with them in a very characteristic manner, and sent a large supply of jewels and other ornaments, as a present for the infanta. The Spaniards were generally anxious for the consummation of the marriage. But the pope, unwilling to grant a dispensation, addressed to Charles a letter entreating him to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, to which the prince replied in terms expressive of respect for the Romish church.

Accordingly, all was prepared for the marriage, which was appointed to take place on the 29th of August. But before the day arrived Pope Gregory had died—a circumstance which destroyed the force of the matrimonial articles; and the prince left Spain in the midst of general demonstrations of attachment to his person, and inclination towards the intended marriage. On his way to England, however, he discovered a coldness towards the measure, and shortly after his arrival, in October, the king acceding to the proposal of the favourite, who was displeased at his reception in Spain, a letter was sent to the Earl of Bristol ordering him not to grant the proxy which was required according to the treaty, after the Papal dispensation was obtained, before security should be given by Spain for the restoration of the palatine. But even after the King of Spain had agreed to this proposal, James, persuaded by the favourite, expressed a wish that the matter should be broken off. But the low state of pecuniary resources into which these negotiations had reduced the English king induced him to call a parliament, in February, 1624, to submit to them the matters about which he was now particularly interested. It offered supplies to the king for a war with Spain. War was declared, and the favourite of the king became the favourite of a large proportion of the nation. About the same time an accusation of Buckingham for his conduct in regard to Spain and Bohemia was presented secretly to the king by the Marquis Inojoso. It threw his majesty into excessive agitation; and on setting out for Windsor he repulsed the duke as he offered to enter the royal carriage. The duke inquired, with tears, in what respect he had transgressed, but received only tears and reproaches in return. On receiving an answer by Williams to the charges against the duke, he again received him into favour, and soon after broke off all friendly negotiations with Spain. He resisted, however, though not success-

fully, the proposal of Buckingham and Charles, that he should impeach the lord-treasurer on the ground of corruption in office. He also resisted, with much better reason, the petition of Buckingham that the Earl of Bristol should be forced to submit, exclaiming, "I were to be accounted a tyrant to engage an innocent man to confess faults of which he was not guilty." The earl, however, was prevented from appearing in the presence of the king, who also cautioned the parliament against seeking out grievances to remedy, although they might apply a cure to obviously existing ones.

June, 1624, was occupied by the king and Buckingham in carrying on measures for a marriage between Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII., and daughter of Henry IV.; and on the 10th of November a dispensation having been with some difficulty obtained from the pope, the nuptial articles were signed at Paris. But in the spring of 1625, the king, whose constitution had previously suffered severely, was seized with ague, of which he died at Theobald's on the 27th of March, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and the funeral sermon was preached by Williams.

On the character of James, so palpable and generally known, it is not necessary to offer many observations. Much of his conduct is to be attributed in a great measure to his political advisers, who were often neither wise nor faithful. His own character embraced many combinations of what may be almost denominated inconsistencies. He was peculiarly subject to the influence of favourites, and yet exceedingly disposed to interfere with the course of political affairs. Indeed, to his warm and exclusive attachments, combined with his extravagant ideas of his own office and authority, may be traced the principal errors of his reign. He was accordingly resolute, and yet often too ready to comply; sensible to feeling, and yet addicted to severity; undignified in manner, and yet tyrannical in government. Erring as was his judgment, his learning cannot be denied, though the use he often made of it, and especially the modes in which he showed it in the course of conversation, have been with reason the subjects of amusement or scorn. His superstition was great, but perhaps not excessive for the age in which he lived; and it is said that in his latter days he put no faith in witchcraft. His religion was probably in some degree sincere, though neither settled nor commanding. Neither his writings nor his political courses, it is to be feared, have done much directly to advance the interests of liberal and prudent policy; but in both there are pleasing specimens of wisdom, and both may teach us a useful lesson by furnishing a melancholy view of the nature and tendency of tyranny, even when in some degree controlled by the checks of parliamentary influence and popular opinion.

JAMESONE, GEORGE, the first eminent painter produced by Britain, was born at Aberdeen towards the end of the sixteenth century. The year 1586 has been given as the precise era of his birth, but this we can disprove by an extract which has been furnished to us from the burgh records of his native town, and which shows that the eldest child of his parents (a daughter) was born at such a period of this year as rendered it impossible that he could have been born within some months of it.¹ It is alone certain that

the date of the painter's birth was posterior to 1586. Of the private life of this distinguished man few particulars are known, and of these few a portion rest on rather doubtful authority. Previously to his appearance no man had so far succeeded in attracting the national attention of Scotland to productions in painting as to render an artist a person whose appearance in the country was to be greatly marked. At that period of our history, too, men had other matters to occupy their minds; and it may well be believed, that, in passing through the fiery ordeal of the times, many men who in peace and prosperity might have had their minds attracted to the ornamental arts, were absorbed in feelings of a very different order, which hardly allowed them an opportunity of knowing, far less of indulging, in the elegant occupations of peace. The father of Jamesone was Andrew Jamesone, burgess of guild of Aberdeen, and his mother was Marjory Anderson, daughter of David Anderson, one of the magistrates of that city. What should have prompted the parents of the young painter to adopt the very unusual measure of sending their son to a quiet fireside in Aberdeen to study under Peter Paul Rubens in Antwerp must remain a mystery. The father is said to have been an architect, and it is probable that he had knowledge enough of art to remark the rising genius of his child, and was liberal enough to perceive the height to which the best foreign education might raise the possessor of that genius. If a certain Flemish building projecting into one of the narrow streets of Aberdeen, and known by the name of "Jamesone's house," be the production of the architectural talents of the elder Jamesone, as the period of the style may render not unlikely, he must have been a man of taste and judgment. Under Rubens Jamesone had for his fellow-scholar Sir Anthony Vandyke, and the early intercourse of these two artists had the effect of making the portraits of each be mistaken for those of the other. In 1620 Jamesone returned to Aberdeen, and established himself as a portrait-painter. He there, on the 12th of November, 1624, married Miss Isobel Tosh—a lady with whom he seems to have enjoyed much matrimonial felicity, and who, if we may judge by her husband's representation of her in one of his best pictures,² must have been a person of very considerable attractions; he had by her several children, of whom the sons seem to have all met early deaths, a daughter being the only child he left behind him.³

Soon after the above entry, there occurs one regarding the baptism of their eldest child, the sister of the painter, in these terms:

"The penult day July, 1586. Ando. Jamesone, Marjore Andone, dochtar in marage, callit Elspett; James Robertson, Edward Donaldson, Elspatt Cuttes, Elspatt Mydilton, witnesses."

¹ The marriage is thus entered in the burgh records: "12th November, 1624, George Jamesone, Isobell Tosche."

² This picture represents the painter himself, and his wife and daughter. The grouping is very neat, and the attitudes of the hands as free from stiffness as those of almost any picture of the age. The daughter is a fine round-cheeked spirited-looking girl, apparently about twelve years old. Walpole says this picture was painted in 1623. From the date of Jamesone's marriage, this must be a mistake. This picture was engraved by Alexander Jamesone, a descendant of the painter, in 1728, and a very neat line engraving of it is to be found in Dallaway's edition of Walpole's *Anecdotes*.

³ The following entry in the council records of Aberdeen relates to the birth of one of Jamesone's children: "1629 yieris—George Jamesone and——Toche, an sone, baptized be Mr. Robert Baron the 27th day of July, callit William; Mr. Patrick Done, Robert Alexander, Andrew Meldrum, William Gordone, god-fathers." The next notice of him which we find in the same authority shows, that on the 2d January, 1630, he was present at the baptism of a child of "James Toshe," probably a relation of his wife, at which, it may be mentioned, William Forbes, Bishop of Edinburgh, officiated. In October of the same year we find him again demanding a similar duty for his own family: "October, 1630 yieres, George

¹ The marriage of the parents of Jamesone is thus entered in these burgh records:

"Thair is promess of marriage betwix
Ando Jamesone } in 17th August, 1585."
Marjore Anderson }



148888

THE NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

A curious evidence of the locality of Jamesone's residence in Aberdeen is to be found in an epigram on that city by the painter's intimate friend Arthur Johnstone, author of the Latin version of the Psalms. It is interesting, as proving that Jamesone possessed what was then seldom to be found in Scotland, a habitation, which added to the mere protection from the inclemency of the seasons, some attempt to acquire the additions of comfort and taste. The epigram proceeds thus:—

"Hanc quoque Lanaris mons oriat, amoenior illis,
Hinc ferrugineis Spada colorat aquis;
Inde suburbanum Jamesoni despicis hortum
Quem domini pictum suspicior esse manu."

In *A Succinct Survey of the Famous City of Aberdeen, by Philopoliteius*, the passage is thus "done" into what the author is pleased to term "English:—

"The Woolman hill, which all the rest outvies
In pleasantness, this city beautifies;
There is the well of Spa, that healthful font,
Whose yrne-hewed water coloureth the mount:
Not far from thence a garden's to be seen
Which unto Jamesone did appertain:
Wherein a little pleasant house doth stand,
Painted as I guess with its master's hand."¹

Jamesone appears to have been in Edinburgh during the visit of King Charles I. in the year 1633. To gratify the taste of that prince he was employed by the magistrates to paint portraits, as nearly resembling probable likenesses as he could devise, of some of the real or supposed early kings of Scotland. These productions had the good fortune to give satisfaction, and the unhappy king, who had soon far different matters to occupy his attention, sat for his portrait, and rewarded the artist with a diamond ring from his own finger. It is alleged that the painter was on this occasion indulged with a permission to remain covered in the presence of majesty—a circumstance which is made to account for his having always represented himself (and he was not spar-

ing in portraits of himself) with his hat on: neither is the permission characteristic of the monarch, nor its adoption by the artist; and the peculiarity may be better attributed to a slavish imitation of his master Rubens in a practice which had been sanctioned by the choice of Carracci and Guido.

It is probable that the patronage and notice of the monarch were the circumstances which introduced the paintings of Jamesone to the notice of the nobility. He appears, soon after the period we have alluded to, to have commenced a laborious course of portrait-painting, then, as now, the most lucrative branch of the art; and the many portraits of their ancestors, still in possession of families dispersed through various parts of Scotland, attest the extent of his industry. The Campbells of Glenorchy, then an opulent and powerful family, distinguished themselves by their patronage of Jamesone. What countenance he may have obtained from other quarters we do not know, and the almost utter silence regarding so great a man on the part of contemporaries makes a document which Walpole has rescued from oblivion, relative to his labours for the family of Glenorchy, highly interesting. From a MS. on vellum, containing the genealogy of the house of Glenorchy, begun in 1598, are taken the following extracts, written in 1635, page 52:—"Item, the said Sir Coline Campbell (eighth laird of Glenorchy), gave unto George Jamesone, painter in Edinburgh, for King Robert and King David Bruysse, Kings of Scotland, and Charles I., King of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, and his majesties quein, and for nine more of the queins of Scotland, their portraits, quihills are set up in the hall of Balloch (now Taymouth), the sum of twa hundreth thrie scor pounds."—"Mair the said Sir Coline gave to the said George Jamesone for the knight of Lochow's lady, and the first Countess of Argyle, and six of the lads of Glenurquhay, their portraits, and the said Sir Coline his own portrait, quihills are set up in the chalmier of deas of Balloch, an hundreth four scoire punds."² There is a further memorandum, intimating that in 1635 Jamesone painted the family tree of the house of Glenorchy, eight feet long by five broad. What may have become of the portraits of Robert and David Bruce, and of the nine queens, which must have taxed the inventive talents of the artist, we do not know. Their loss may be, however, of little consequence, as we can easily argue from the general effect of Jamesone's productions, that his talent consisted in giving life and expression to the features before him, and not in design. The other paintings have, however, been carefully preserved by the family into whose hands they fell. They consist of portraits of Sir Duncan Campbell, the Earl of Airth, John Earl of Rothes, James Marquis of Hamilton, Archibald Lord Napier, William Earl of Marischal, Chancellor Loudoun, Lord Binning, the Earl of Mar, Sir Robert Campbell, Sir John Campbell, and the genealogical tree mentioned in the memorandum. All these are, we believe, still to be seen in good preservation in Taymouth Castle, where in 1769 they were visited by Pennant, who thus describes the genealogical tree: "That singular performance of his, the genealogical picture, is in good preservation. The chief of the Argyle family is placed recumbent at the foot of a tree, with a branch; on the right is a single head of his eldest son, Sir Duncan Campbell, laird of Lochow; but on the various ramifications are the names of his descendants, and along the body of the tree are nine small heads, in oval frames, with the names on the

Jamesone, and Isobell Toshe, ane sone, baptized the 27th day, callit Paul; Mr. Menzies of Kinnundie, provost, Mr. Alexander Jaffray, bailzie, Mr. David Wedderburne, Mr. Robert Patrie, Patrick Jack, Patrick Fergusson, Andrew Strachan, godfathers." This is a curious evidence of Jamesone's respectability as a citizen. Paul, afterwards Sir Paul Menzies, a man of considerable note in Aberdeenshire, and provost of the city, appears to have been name-father, and Alexander Jaffrey, another of the sponsors, was himself afterwards provost. The extractor of these entries remarks, that the chief magistrate appears to have acted as sponsor only at the baptisms of the children of very influential citizens.

¹ With farther reference to this piece of pleasure-ground, and an anxiety to collect every scrap of matter which concerns Jamesone, we give the following entry regarding a petition, of date the 15th of January, 1645, given in to the town-council of Aberdeen by "Mr. John Alexander, advocate in Edinburgh, makand mention that where that piece of ground callit the play-field besyd y^e Wolman-hill (quihilk was set to unquhill George Jamesone, painter, burges of Edinburgh in liferent, and buildet be him in a garden) is now unprofitable, and that the said John Alexander, sone in law to the said unquhill George Jamesone, is desirous to have the same peice of ground set to him in few heritable to be houlden of the provost, bailzies, and of the burghie of Aberdene, for payment of a reasonable few dutie yeirle theifor;" praying the magistrates to set to him in feu tack the foresaid piece of ground: the request is granted by the magistrates, and farther official mention is made of the transaction of date the 10th November, 1645, where the "marches" of the garden are set forth in full. This piece of ground was the ancient "Playfield" of the burgh, which remained disused after the Reformation had terminated the pageants and mysteries there performed. Persons connected with Aberdeen will know the spot when they are informed, that it is the piece of flat ground extending from the well of Spa to Jack's Brae, bounded on the east by the Woolman-hill, and the burn running at its foot; on the south by the Denburn and the ridge of ground on which Skene Street now stands; on the west by Jack's Brae; and on the north by the declivity occupied by the Gilcomston brewery. The appropriation of the spot to the garden of the painter is still noted by the name of a fountain, called "The Garden Neuk Well."—*Council Record of Aberdeen*, liii. p. 37, 98.

² Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, i. 24.

margins, all done with great neatness: the second son was first of the house of Breadalbane, which branched from the other above four hundred years ago. In a corner is inscribed 'The Genealogie of the House of Glenorquhie, quhairof is descendit sundrie nobil and worthie houses. *Jameson faciebat, 1635.*'¹ After a life which must have been spent in great industry, and enjoying independence, and even wealth, Jamesone died at Edinburgh in 1644, and was buried without a monument in the Grayfriars' Church there.

Walpole, who obtained his information from a relation of the painter, says, "By his will, written with his own hand in July, 1641, and breathing a spirit of much piety and benevolence, he provides kindly for his wife and children, and leaves many legacies to his relations and friends, particularly to Lord Rothes the king's picture from head to foot, and Mary with Martha in one piece: to William Murray he gives the medals in his coffer; makes a handsome provision for his natural daughter; and bestows liberally on the poor. That he should be in a condition to do all this seems extraordinary, his prices having been so moderate; for, enumerating the debts due to him, he charges Lady Haddington for a whole length of her husband, and Lady Seton, of the same dimensions, frames and all, but 300 merks: and Lord Maxwell for his own picture and his lady's to their knees, 100 merks, both sums of Scots-money."² The average remuneration which Jamesone received for his portraits is calculated at twenty pounds Scots, or one pound thirteen shillings and four pence sterling. People have wondered at the extreme smallness of the sum paid to so great an artist; but, measured by its true standard, the price of necessary provisions, it was in reality pretty considerable, and may easily be supposed to have enabled an industrious man to amass a comfortable fortune. Walpole continues, "Mr. Jamesone (the relation from whom the facts of the account were received) has likewise a memorandum written and signed by this painter, mentioning a MS. in his possession, 'containing 200 leaves of parchment of excellent write, adorned with diverse histories of our Saviour curiously limned,' which he values at £200 sterling, a very large sum at that time! What is become of that curious book is not known." It is probable that the term "sterling" affixed to the sum is a mistake. It was seldom if ever used in Scotland at the period when Jamesone lived. We are not given to understand that the "limning" was of the painter's own work, and we are not to presume he was in possession of a volume superior in value to the produce of many years' labour in his profession. The manuscript, though mentioned with an estimation so disproportionate to that of the works of its proprietor, was probably some worthless volume of monkish illuminations, of which it would waste time to trace the ownership. The description might apply to a manuscript "Mirror of the Life of Christ," extant in the Advocates' Library.

We have already mentioned a considerable number of the portraits by Jamesone as extant in Taymouth Castle. An almost equal number is in the possession of the Alva family; and others are dispersed in smaller numbers. Carnegie of Southesk possesses portraits of some of his ancestors, by Jamesone, who was connected with the family. Mr. Carnegie, town-clerk of Aberdeen, possesses several of his pictures in very good preservation, and among them is the original of the portrait of the artist himself which has been engraved for this work. An-

other individual in Aberdeen possesses a highly curious portrait by Jamesone of the artist's uncle, David Anderson of Finzeach, merchant-burgess of Aberdeen, an eccentric character, the variety of whose occupations and studies procured him the epithet of "Davie do a' thing." Some of Jamesone's portraits hang in the hall of Marischal College in a state of wretched preservation. Sir Paul Menzies, provost of Aberdeen, presents us with a striking cast of countenance boldly executed; but in general these are among the inferior productions of Jamesone. They are on board, the material on which he painted his earlier productions (and which he afterwards changed for fine canvas), and are remarkable for the stiffness of the hands, and the awkward arrangement of the dress; two defects which, especially in the case of the former, he afterwards overcame. There is in the same room a portrait of Charles I. of some merit, which the exhibitor of the curiosities in the university generally attributes to Vandyke. It is probably the work of Jamesone, but it may be observed, that there is more calm dignity in the attitude, and much less expression, than that artist generally exhibits. Walpole and others mention as extant in the King's College of Aberdeen, a picture called the "Sibyls," partly executed by Jamesone, and copied from living beauties in Aberdeen: if this curious production still exists in the same situation, we are unaware of its being generally exhibited to strangers. There is a picture in King's College attributed to Jamesone, which we would fain bestow on some less celebrated hand. It is a view of King's College as originally erected, the same from which the engraving prefixed to Orem's account of the cathedral church of Old Aberdeen is copied. It represents an aspect much the same as that which Slezer has given in his *Theatrum Scotiæ*, and, like the works of that artist, who could exhibit both sides of a building at once, it sets all perspective at defiance, and most unreasonably contorts the human figure. In characterizing the manner of Jamesone, Walpole observes that "his excellence is said to consist in delicacy and softness, with a clear and beautiful colouring; his shades not charged, but helped by varnish, with little appearance of the pencil." This account is by one who has not seen any of the artist's paintings, and is very unsatisfactory.

It is indeed not without reason that the portraits of Jamesone have frequently been mistaken for those of Vandyke. Both excelled in painting the human countenance—in making the flesh and blood project from the surface of the canvas, and animating it with a soul within. That the Scottish artist may have derived advantage from his association with the more eminent foreigner it were absurd to deny; but as they were fellow-students, candour will admit that the advantage may have been at least partly repaid, and that the noble style in which both excelled may have been formed by the common labour of both. It can scarcely be said that on any occasion Jamesone rises to the high dignity of mental expression represented by Vandyke, nor does he exhibit an equal grace in the adjustment of a breast-plate or the hanging of a mantle. His pictures generally represent hard and characteristic features, seldom with much physical grace, and representing minds within, which have more of the fierce or austere than of the lofty or elegant; and in such a spirit has he presented before us the almost breathing forms of those turbulent and austere men connected with the dark troubles of the times. The face thus represented seems generally to have commanded the whole mind of the artist. The back-ground presents nothing to attract attention, and the outlines of the hard features gene-

¹ *Tour*, 1769, p. 87.

² *Anecdotes*, i. 250.

rally start from a ground of dingy dark brown, or deep gray. The dress, frequently of a sombre hue, often fades away into the back-ground, and the attitude, though frequently easy, is seldom studied to impose. The features alone, with their knotty brows, deep expressive eyes, and the shadow of the nose falling on the lip—a very picturesque arrangement followed by Vandyke—alone demand the attention of the spectator. Yet he could sometimes represent a majestic form and attitude, as the well-known picture of Sir Thomas Hope testifies. We shall notice one more picture by Jamesone, as it is probably one of the latest which came from his brush, and exhibits peculiarities of style not to be met with in others. This portrait is in the possession of Mr. Skene of Rubislaw, and represents his ancestor Sir George Skene of Fintray, who was born in 1619. The portrait is of a young man past twenty; and it will be remarked, that the subject was only twenty-five years of age when the artist died. The picture is authenticated from the circumstance of a letter being extant from the laird of Skene to Sir George Skene, requesting a copy of his portrait “by Jamesone,” and in accordance with a fulfilment of this request, a copy of the portrait we allude to is in the family collection at Skene. Jamesone has here indulged in more fulness and brilliancy of colouring than is his general custom: the young man has a calm aspect; his head is covered with one of the monstrous wigs then just introduced; he is in a painter’s attitude, even to the hand, which is beautifully drawn, and far more graceful than those of Jamesone generally are. On the whole, this portrait has more of the characteristics of Sir Peter Lely than of Vandyke.

Jamesone has been termed the “Vandyke of Scotland,” but he may with equal right claim the title of the Vandyke of Britain. Towards the latter end of Elizabeth’s reign Hilliard and Oliver had become somewhat distinguished as painters in miniature, and they commanded some respect, more from the inferiority of others, than from their own excellence; but the first inhabitant of Great Britain, the works of whose brush could stand comparison with foreign painters, was Jamesone.

A Latin elegy was addressed to the memory of Jamesone by David Wedderburn; and his friend and fellow-townsmen Arthur Johnston (whose portrait had been painted by Jamesone) has left, in one of his numerous epigrams, a beautiful poetical tribute to his memory. After his death the art he had done so much to support languished in Scotland. His daughter, who may have inherited some portion of plastic genius, has left behind fruits of her industry in a huge mass of tapestry which still dangles from the gallery of the church of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen. This lady’s second husband was Gregory the mathematician. A descendant of the same name as the painter has already been alluded to as an engraver in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and John Alexander, another descendant, who returned from his studies in Italy in 1720, acquired celebrity as an inventor of portraits of Queen Mary.

JAMESON, ROBERT, regius professor of natural history in the university of Edinburgh, and keeper of the university museum, &c.—This eminent naturalist, who has frequently been called the father of modern natural history, was third son of Thomas Jameson, soap manufacturer, Leith, and was born there in July, 1772. After the usual preliminary education he was set to the study of medicine, with a view to following the profession of the healing art; but his predilections for natural history were so strong and early as to

decide the course of his future life. Even while a boy at the grammar-school of Leith, he was more intent in stuffing birds, and collecting animals and plants on the beach, than in conjugating Latin verbs, and studying the measures of verses. As these pursuits grew upon him until he became a confirmed naturalist, his study of medicine in its various departments aided his researches, and was wisely adopted as their handmaid. It was by this science that his investigations were reduced to form and order, and that he was enabled duly to appreciate the physiological as well as the systematic elements of natural history. What remarkable proficiency he had made in geology was attested by his *Outlines of the Mineralogy of the Shetland Islands and of the Island of Arran, with an Appendix containing Observations on Peat, Kelp, and Coal*—a work which he produced in his twenty-fifth year. Two years afterwards (1800) he published his *Outlines of the Mineralogy of the Scottish Isles*.

These early achievements in his favourite science, distinguished though they were, did not satisfy the aspirations of Jameson, and what would have sufficed a less craving appetite for knowledge, in him only whetted it into renewed vigour. Having mastered all that the schools of our island could teach, and visited London in 1793, where he enjoyed personal intercourse with Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Shaw, and other chief members of the Linnean Society, he resolved to apply to the continental schools; he accordingly passed over to Germany, and at Freyburg in Saxony became the disciple of the celebrated Werner, whose theories he adopted, and of which he became for some time one of their most enthusiastic propagators and expounders. After a stay of nearly two years in Saxony, during which, for the purpose of improving his knowledge in geology and mineralogy, he not only attended the lectures of Werner, but wrought in the mines like a common workman, he returned to Scotland in 1804. He would have again visited Germany, had it not been for an important event which occurred in the same year. This was his appointment to the chair of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, in consequence of the death of Dr. Walker, who had previously held that charge, and of whom Professor Jameson had been the favourite pupil. This appointment, Dr. Fleming, his highly distinguished friend, informs us, “raised great expectations and were speedily realized. The notions of the Huttonians at this period respecting the laws of superposition of the strata were very defective, scarcely amounting to perceivable glimmerings. But Professor Jameson, intimately acquainted with the geognosy of Werner, speedily began to group the rocks of the neighbourhood into their distinct formations, and to assign the relative position of our transition rocks, old red sandstone, and the independent coal formation. This important step in the progress of our geology was followed by a system of prelections, accompanied by excursions to the more important localities where the phenomena could be studied in the field, and produced a number of zealous observers, who have not only extended our knowledge of the structure and contents of this locality, but of the United Kingdom and its dependencies.” While his lessons a-field were thus zealously prosecuted, Professor Jameson’s course of lecturing in the class-room was not less distinguished by devotedness to natural science, and it embraced general views and particular details in meteorology, hydrology, mineralogy, geology, botany, and zoology.

In the same year that Mr. Jameson was appointed to the professorship, he published part 1 in 8vo,

with maps and plates, of his *Mineralogical Description of Scotland*. This he intended to be only the beginning of a series that should have comprised geological accounts of all the counties of Scotland. But from this highly useful purpose he was prevented by the cares of attending to the university museum, the publication of a *System of Mineralogy*, and a volume on the *Characters of Minerals*. In 1808 he founded at Edinburgh the Wernerian Natural History Society. Hitherto the Huttonian doctrines had prevailed, while those of the Wernerian school were comparatively unknown, until in 1809 Professor Jameson published his *Elements of Geognosy*, by which Wernerianism was promulgated, and converts made to its theory among the scientific inquirers both in Scotland and England. The establishment of such a society, which was regarded as an intrusion, and its doctrines, which were opposed as downright heresies, roused the indignation of the Huttonians, who had hitherto held possession of the field, and under the distinctive titles of Plutonists and Neptunians, or Huttonists and Wernerians, the rival parties commenced a war against each other which was carried on with almost theological intensity. The strife indeed has passed away, and even the combatants are asking each other why they fought so fiercely; but some such commotion was needed to quicken the researches of the scientific, and drive them into practical research instead of theory and hypothesis, while science itself has been amplified and improved by the interest which the battle had kindled. Of the Wernerian Society which he founded in Edinburgh, Professor Jameson was elected perpetual president, and to the seven volumes of its *Transactions* which have been published he was a frequent contributor.

The Travels of Baron Leopold Von Buch through Norway and Lapland during the years 1806-7-8 having been published in one volume quarto, Professor Jameson was so thoroughly impressed by the scientific merits of the work, that he suggested a translation of it for the press; and this being done, he enriched the English version with an account of its author the distinguished traveller and geologist, and several notes illustrative of the natural history of Norway. It was the professor's intention that this should form one of a series of translations, chiefly from the German, of the travels of scientific men, who, like Von Buch, had described the appearance and geological structure of the countries they visited, as well as given an attractive account of their animal and vegetable productions, and the manners and customs of their inhabitants.

In 1816 another edition of his *System of Mineralogy* appeared in three volumes, and during its day was the most complete work on the subject. About the same period a new edition of his *Characters of Minerals* was published, and only two years afterwards (1820), so great was the demand for these works, that fresh editions of both were prepared and issued from the press. In 1821 he published a *Manual of Minerals and Mountain Rocks*. This was reckoned by scientific judges the best text-book of its time, and so great was the demand for it that 1500 copies were sold in the course of a few months.

A still more strenuous task for the improvement and diffusion of scientific knowledge was undertaken by Professor Jameson. He had planned in conjunction with Dr. (afterwards Sir David) Brewster the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, and in 1819 the publication of the series commenced, which at Jameson's death, had extended to seventy volumes. For the first six years he edited the work in conjunction with Sir David, but afterwards was sole editor until the close of his life. Speaking of this work in 1854,

the biographer of Jameson adds, "It is, we believe, admitted to be the most valuable repository of scientific information in Britain for the period of its existence. The earlier volumes contain not a few contributions from himself; and besides numerous original articles from other hands, the journal comprehends translations of memoirs from the French, German, Italian, and Swedish languages, with many communications from foreign correspondents on all the branches of natural history. It will form one of the most durable monuments of his talents and industry." Our ideas of his industry and enthusiastic zeal for science are enhanced by our knowledge of the fact, that during this busy life of authorship, he was diligently performing the duties of his professorial office, and giving two courses of lectures annually, the one in summer and the other in winter.

Although we have mentioned the principal writings of Professor Jameson, there were many others with which he was connected, editorially or otherwise, which were enlarged or illustrated by his pen. This was especially the case with Cuvier's celebrated *Discourse on the Theory of the Earth*, which was translated into English and published by Mr. Kerr in 1813—a translation which ran through five editions, and made Cuvier familiar to the British public, who until now had known little of this eminent scientific Frenchman. This translation Jameson entirely remodelled in the fifth edition, and so entirely, that it was extended from 190 to 550 pages. "The notes I have added," he modestly says in the preface, "will, I trust, be found interesting; and the account of Cuvier's geological discoveries, which accompanies them, will be useful to those who have not an opportunity of consulting the great work." Another demand was made upon Jameson by Captain Parry, on the return of the latter from his Polar expedition; and the professor on this occasion drew up, from the specimens brought home, a sketch of the geology of the different coasts discovered and touched upon, which was published in Parry's narrative of the voyage. Besides this, he drew up for the *Cabinet Library* an account of the geology of those Arctic regions which Captain Parry had visited. He wrote excellent articles on the physical geography of Africa and India, which were published in the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*. He also revised and arranged in a scientific manner a new edition which was published of Wilson's *American Ornithology* in four volumes, making it suitable for a text-book in our universities and schools. Among the detached articles which he wrote at different periods for the Scottish encyclopædias, may be mentioned those entitled "Adelfors," "Ailsa," "Alabaster," "Altai," "Allegban Mountains," "Amber," "Ambergis," "Ammoniac," "Ammonites," "Amphibia," "Amphibious," "Arran," "Diamond," "Hartz," and "Mineralogy," which appeared in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*—and the articles "Mineralogy," "Geology," and "Organic Remains," which were published in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, when edited by Macvey Napier. Reverting again from his works in authorship, to the effects of his teaching, the pupils of Jameson were such as few professors could boast of. Of these his biographer has enumerated nineteen who rose to the highest eminence in the sciences which he taught, and of each of whom he might say, as Ulysses does of Achilles—

"Injecique manum, fortemque ad fortia misi:
Ergo opera illius, mea sunt."

The following testimony to his teaching and its effects, was given by Professor Edward Forbes, his scholar, and afterwards his distinguished successor:—

"The value of professional worth should chiefly be estimated by the number and excellence of disciples. A large share of the best naturalists of the day received their first instruction in the science that was afterwards to prove their fountain of honour, from Professor Jameson. Not even his own famous master, the eloquent and illustrious Werner, could equal him in this genesis of investigators. Under his auspices, too, were lasting friendships and unions of kindred minds formed, that have been productive in good to the cause of knowledge. Valuable as were his writings—each, when estimated with regard to the position of science at the time of its issue, an effective advance—his pupils were even more valuable. The greatest praise of a great professor is that which proclaims that he has founded a school. And where else in the British empire, except here, has there been for the last half century a school of natural history?"

While Professor Jameson was thus unwearied in publishing and lecturing, another subject of his care was, that there should be a proper collection of specimens, by which the several departments of natural history might be illustrated. But on his appointment to the professorship scarcely the embryo of a museum existed in the university of Edinburgh. The splendid bequest of Sir Andrew Balfour to the college, in 1694, of the extensive collection which he had been forty years in accumulating, and which was supposed at the time to be the finest in Europe, had been so little appreciated and so carelessly kept, that it had mouldered away into a few specimens, which were regarded as unsightly rubbish. Accordingly, when Jameson became professor of natural history, in 1804, the beggarly inventory of this sometime famous collection had dwindled into a few glasses of birds and serpents, a small collection of minerals, and a few dresses and weapons of savage nations. It was such a museum as is sometimes to be found in a cellar, and shown to spectators for the sum of one penny. Even the birds, too, were in such a decayed condition, that Jameson was soon forced to throw them out. Such was the germ out of which he evolved the rich and widely-famed Edinburgh museum, of which he may be justly considered the founder and builder. His first step was to place his own collection of natural history in the museum, and afterwards to collect or procure, as far as his influence went, such additions as were best suited for the purpose, much of the expenditure for which was defrayed from his own pocket. As the cost, however, of such a process soon outgrew his means, he laid the case before government, and obtained an order that £100 should be paid annually to the professor of natural history for the use of the museum. The early increase of the collection through the zeal of the professor necessitated increased accommodation, and on applying to the town-council, a very spacious and handsome museum was fitted up for the reception of the articles of natural history—and when this accommodation also in course of time became too limited, he applied for and obtained that part of the building of the university, then in the course of erection, which was afterwards distinguished by the title of the New Museum. This grant was not more than necessary, for in 1819 the famous Dufresne collection had become the property of the university of Edinburgh by purchase, and at the instigation of Professor Jameson, although the Emperor of Austria and also the Emperor of Russia had offered much larger sums for it. About the same time a good many valuable articles of natural history were purchased by the university at the sale of Mr. Bullock's cabinet—and these,

with the Dufresne collection, and all the previous collections, were safely housed and arranged, in 1820, in their new college buildings. Yet still his own private outlay had been going on, and was continued till the hour of his death. But far more ample resources were needed for such a great national undertaking, and these were obtained, although still most inadequate for the occasion, by admitting the public in 1820 to the museum, at the cost of half-a-crown for each visitor, which was afterwards reduced to a shilling. He also made another appeal to government, and the annual grant of £100 per annum for the benefit of the museum was raised to £200. And yet these would have been only drops in the bucket or sprinkled upon the sand, but for his indomitable energy, as well as his personal sacrifices. What the museum had been in 1804, when he first took possession of it, we have already seen: what it had become under little more than twenty years of his fostering care, he thus stated in his evidence before the royal commission in giving a history of the museum from the year 1804 to 1826:—"Since that time [the removal into the new building], the museum has increased more than at any former period, so that the collection is nearly double what it was in 1820. About a year ago I again stated to the commissioners for college buildings, that further accommodation for objects of natural history was wanted, the cases in the New Museum being completely filled. The commissioners, with their usual liberality and activity, after considering my proposal, ordered a suite of rooms, five in number, to be immediately fitted up. This series of rooms, at the time this report is writing, is nearly filled with beautiful and interesting objects of natural history. The museum is rapidly increasing, and will, ere many years pass, equal in extent and splendour some of the most distinguished museums in other parts of the world."

In concluding this part of his evidence before the royal commission, the professor had stated the necessity of still larger accommodation, and declared that another series of rooms must be provided before these hopes for the museum could be realized. For this he memorialized the crown, the city, and the senatus, and was enabled in conclusion to declare, "The commissioners for college buildings, to whom I have again applied, are now considering the propriety of erecting another museum of natural history, on the ground to the westward of the present museum." But notwithstanding his appeals the subject was allowed to slip aside, and Professor Jameson was left to "find ample room and verge enough" where he best could, or make shift without them. Thus affairs continued until 1852, when the collection had so greatly increased that it could not be exhibited without more liberal accommodation; and this he explained in a statement which was laid before the town-council. Convinced of the fact, the council presented a memorial to government for museum extension, and for converting the present museum into a national museum for Scotland—himself also forwarding a strong memorial to the same effect. And we know how successful these appeals were at last. The national museum was built, and its collection constitutes not only one of the proudest ornaments of our country, but one of the noblest collections of which science can boast. But Jameson, who had done so much for it, and without whom it would probably have never existed, was not permitted to see the rising of the walls, or even the laying of the foundation-stone. After he had reached the age of eighty years, filled his official chair for half a century, and obtained a world-wide

renown, which every year has tended only to deepen and confirm, he passed away in the full brightness of his fame, and left a void which will not soon be filled. His death occurred on the 19th of April, 1854. Although of slender body, his general health was good, and his wiry frame could endure much fatigue without injury; and his first tokens of decay were from repeated and severe attacks of bronchitis during the last two years of his life, under which he finally yielded. His remains were honoured with a public funeral, and interred in the Warriston cemetery. His chief characteristics are thus described by the biographer from whose account we have chiefly drawn up this memoir.

"Robert Jamieson was the father of modern natural history. His loss is deeply to be deplored; a man of the same grasp of mind, devoted to physical science, only at times appears to enlighten his age. He was eminently fitted for the station which he had filled with so much success. He had fine natural talents, which had been carefully cultivated, and were applied with vigour to the studies in which he delighted. He was a careful observer, a comprehensive thinker, and his industry was unwearied. He was never satisfied with loose and general notions upon any subject; his range of information was wide, and what he knew he knew thoroughly. He was practical, and anxious to be useful, in days when science and practice stood apart, as if they were two repellant forces. He did much towards neutralizing these states; and was one of the pioneers to whom we are indebted for that union of science and practice which is now the prevailing feature of our time."

JAMIESON, Rev. JOHN, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.—This excellent natural philologist was born in Glasgow, in March, 1759. His father, the Rev. Mr. Jamieson, was one of the early ministers of the Secession, and presided over the Antiburgher congregation of Duke Street, Glasgow. As John was also designed for the ministry, he was sent in early life to the university of his native city, where his philological capacities obtained for him respectable notice as an apt and diligent scholar in Latin and Greek. But this was by no means the field in which he was ultimately destined to excel; and his bent was already indicated, in his love of ancient ruined towers and black-letter books. His vocation evidently was not to master a dead, but to revive a dying language; by far the more glorious achievement of the two. After the usual course of logic, ethics, and physics, he became a student in theology, and his proficiency excited the highest expectations of future success as a minister. At the close of his theological course he was taken on trials as a licentiate by the General Associate presbytery of Glasgow, and licensed as a preacher in 1780. Two congregations were soon desirous to have him for their minister; the one in Dundee, and the other in Forfar. In this question of contending claims, it was for the Associate Synod to decide; and in consequence of their preference to the call from Forfar, Mr. Jamieson was ordained to the pastoral charge in that town by the Secession presbytery of Perth, in 1781.

At the early age of twenty-two Mr. Jamieson thus entered upon the sacred office of a minister. It was at that time one of peculiar difficulty among the Secession body; for the ferment produced in this country by the French revolution, and the political suspicions which it diffused through the whole community, caused all who did not belong to the Established church to be considered as disloyal, or at least discontented, subjects. Mr. Jamieson of course was regarded, at his entrance into Forfar, as one

who might become a teacher of sedition, as well as a preacher of the gospel of peace. But he had not been long there when his conduct disarmed the suspicious, and procured him general confidence and esteem; while his able clerical labours were rewarded with a full congregation and permanent usefulness. He thus made trial of his ministry for sixteen years, during which period he married the daughter of a neighbouring proprietor, who gladdened the course of his long life, and died only a year before his own decease. It was in Forfar also that he commenced his life of authorship, and his first production was of a kind the least to be expected from a plodding, word-sifting antiquary—it was a poem! It was published in 1789, and entitled the "*Sorrows of Slavery*, a Poem, containing a Faithful Statement of Facts respecting the Slave-trade." We suspect that though most of our readers may have read the splendid lyrics of Cowper and Montgomery on the same subject, they have not chanced to light upon this production of Jamieson. He made another attempt of the same nature in 1798, when he published "*Eternity*, a Poem, addressed to Free-thinkers and Philosophical Christians." But during the interval between these two attempts his pen had been employed in more hopeful efforts. These were, an "*Alarm to Britain*; or, an Inquiry into the Causes of the Rapid Progress of Infidelity," which he published in 1795; and a "*Vindication of the Doctrine of Scripture*, and of the Primitive Faith concerning the Divinity of Christ, in reply to Dr. Priestley's *History of Early Opinions*," which appeared in the same year. The last was a work of great scholarship and research, as well as cogent argument; and in these departments, at least, he showed himself a full match for his formidable antagonist. Another work which he published during his ministry in Forfar was of a different bearing, as may be learned from its title, which was *Sermons on the Heart*.

By these labours Jamieson won for himself an honourable name in literature, that was especially grateful to the religious community to which he belonged, and they testified their feeling in a way that was not only creditable to him, but to themselves. A call was sent to him in 1796, from the congregation in Nicolson Street, Edinburgh, whose pastor, the Rev. Mr. Banks, had left them for America. The synod at the time judged his transfer from Forfar to Edinburgh inexpedient, and decided accordingly; but the Nicolson Street congregation thought otherwise, and renewed their call and were successful, so that he was inducted as their minister in June, 1797. Jamieson's clerical duties were thus multiplied by a new and more extensive field of labour; but he did not remit those literary exertions which had thus far been crowned with success. In 1799 he published his *Remarks on Rowland Hill's Journal*. In 1802 appeared his work, in two volumes octavo, entitled the *Use of Sacred History*; and in 1806, the *Important Trial in the Court of Conscience*. His next work, and by far his most important, was the *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*. The herculean attempt which he proposed to himself in this work, and which he has so successfully accomplished, was the following:—1. To illustrate the words, in their different significations, by examples from ancient and modern writers. 2. To show their affinity to those of other languages, and especially the northern. 3. To explain many terms which, though now obsolete in England, were formerly common to both countries. 4. To elucidate national rites, customs, and institutions, in their analogy to those of other nations.

The history of this national production of Jamieson

is worthy of particular notice. When he first engaged in a task to which his early studies and pursuits had been so congenial, he had meant to produce nothing more than a work of small dimensions—a mere vocabulary or glossary of the Scottish tongue; and in the notes which he had prepared for the occasion, the names of his authorities were merely mentioned, without further reference. It was then suggested to him that the *Dictionary* would be more acceptable to the public, as well as more satisfactory as a standard, if he quoted those passages at full by which his definitions were confirmed. He acted upon this advice, being fully persuaded of its correctness, and the consequence was, that his drudgery was again to be undergone, and that too with many heavy additions, so that he went over the whole ground not only a second, but in many cases a third time. It was not wonderful if, under such a process, the result was two goodly quarto volumes, instead of a slim duodecimo. The new light, also, which broke upon him in the course of his studies, was sufficient to inspire him with tenfold ardour in the task. At the outset he had supposed, in common with the prevalent opinion, that the Scottish language was, in fact, no language at all, but a mere dialect of the Anglo-Saxon; and that, as such, its fountain was at no greater distance than England, and of no higher antiquity than the days of Hengist and Horsa. His interviews, however, with a learned Icelander, suggested another and more important theory: this was, that the primitive words of the Scottish dialect were not Saxon, nor even Celtic, but Gothic. Were the Lowlanders of Scotland, then, the descendants not merely of Anglo-Saxon captives and refugees, but of a still more illustrious race—even of those who conquered Rome herself, and opened the way to the regeneration of Europe? Such, he concluded, *must* be the case; and the only difficulty that remained was to prove it. This he endeavoured to accomplish, by demonstrating that the Picts were not a Celtic but a Gothic race; and that from them, and not the Welsh or the Saxon, we derive these peculiarities of the Scottish tongue. This theory, which he supported with a great amount of learning and probability, is published in his “*Dissertation on the Origin of the Scottish Language*,” prefixed to the *Dictionary*. The *Dictionary* itself was published in 1808-1809, to which a *Supplement*, in two other quarto volumes, was added in 1825. As the first portion of the work was soon out of print, he published an abridgment of it in 1818, in one volume octavo. All this was an immense amount of labour for a single mind, and the literary world was astonished at his long-continued, unshrinking perseverance, as well as the successful termination that required it. But still he never considered it completed, and continued his additions and improvements to the last; so that, at his death, two large volumes in manuscript had accumulated, nearly ready for the press. And besides all this, his antiquarian industry was employed upon other tasks of a kindred nature. In 1811 he published *An Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees of Iona, and of their Settlement in England, Scotland, and Ireland*. In 1814 appeared his “*Hermes Scythicus*,” or the Radical Affinities of the Greek and Latin Languages to the Gothic.” In 1817 he contributed to the *Edinburgh Phil. Trans.* a paper “On the Origin of Cremation, or Burning of the Dead.” In the year following he unexpectedly appeared in a *Grammar of Rhetoric and Polite Literature*. He also edited two important national productions, which, on account of their obsolete language, were fast hastening into general forgetfulness. These were the *Wisdom of Blind Harry*, and the *Brace of Barbour*.

This list of Jamieson's publications, of a strictly scholastic nature, may startle some who recollect that all the while he was minister of an Antiburgher congregation; and that, too, in the heart of Edinburgh. How were his clerical duties fulfilled, and his people satisfied? But while he was delighting the literary world by his valuable productions, and winning the foremost place in Scottish antiquarianism, he was not regardless of theology as his proper sphere. In 1811 he published a sermon entitled *The Beneficent Woman*; in 1818, a sermon on *The Death of the Princess Charlotte*; and in 1819, *Three Sermons concerning Brotherly Love*. His close attention to his pastoral duties had also endeared him to his congregation, while they were proud of the high reputation of their minister, which was thrown with a reflected lustre upon themselves. An event also occurred in their religious body that highly gratified his Christian feelings of brotherly affection and unity, as well as the enlarged and liberal aspirations of his intellectual character. This was the union of the Burgher and Antiburgher divisions of the Secession church, who, after having kept apart until there were no longer grounds for separation, at length agreed to reunite and be at one. This consummation he had long earnestly sought; and besides using every effort to procure it, he preached and published two sermons recommendatory of the union, which was accomplished in 1820. Ten years after this gratifying event, Dr. Jamieson, whose age had now passed the threescore years and ten, and had entered the last decade of the series whose “strength is but labour and sorrow,” resigned his charge of Nicolson Street congregation, and withdrew into private life. And in his old age he was soon alone, for his numerous family of fourteen children had gone successively to the grave before him, many of them when they had reached the season of manhood, and one of them, Robert Jamieson, when he had become one of the most distinguished lawyers in Scotland. Last of all his wife died also, only a year before his own death, and while his final illness was creeping upon him. But it was then, when nothing more remained for him, that he felt the immeasurable superiority of religion, and the comfort which it can impart, when even literary fame, the purest of all earthly consolations, has no longer the power to charm. He died at his house in George Street, Edinburgh, on the 12th of July, 1838, in the eightieth year of his age.

JARDINE, GEORGE, A.M., for many years professor of logic in the university of Glasgow, was born in the year 1742 at Wandal, in the upper ward of Lanarkshire, where his predecessors had resided for nearly two hundred years. The barony of Wandal formerly belonged to the Jardines of Applegirth—a younger son of whom appears to have settled there about the end of the sixteenth century, and to have also been vicar of the parish during the time of Episcopacy. The barony having passed from the Applegirth to the Douglas family, Mr. Jardine's forefathers continued for several generations as tenants in the lands of Wandal, under that new race of landlords. His mother was a daughter of Weir of Birkwood, in the parish of Lesmahagow.

After receiving his elementary education at the parish school, he, in October, 1760, repaired to Glasgow College, and entered as a member of a society, where, with very little interruption, he was destined to spend the whole of his life. After going through the preliminary classes, where his abilities and diligence attracted the attention and acquired for him the friendship of several of the professors, he entered the divinity hall under Dr. Trail, then professor of

theology, and in due time obtained license as a preacher from the presbytery of Linlithgow. He did not, however, follow out the clerical profession, having, from the good wishes of several of the professors of Glasgow College, reason to hope that he might eventually be admitted to a chair, which was the great object of his ambition.

In 1771 he was employed by Baron Mure of Caldwell to accompany his two sons to France, and to superintend their education at an academy in Paris. The baron, who was at that time one of the most influential men in Scotland, and who lived much in the literary circle of Edinburgh, obtained from his friend David Hume letters of introduction to several of the French philosophers of that day; by means of which Mr. Jardine had the advantage of being acquainted with Helvetius and with D'Alembert, who were then in the zenith of their fame, and whose manners he used to describe as presenting a striking contrast—Helvetius having all the style and appearance of a French nobleman of the first fashion, while D'Alembert preserved a primitive simplicity of dress and manner, at that time quite unusual in Paris. During his residence there he lived a good deal in the society of Dr. Gemm, the uncle of Mr. Huskisson, who was then settled as a physician in Paris, and noted not only for his eminence in his profession, but for his talents as a philosopher. Dr. Gemm was an ardent friend to liberty, and at that time did not scruple to anticipate, to those with whom he was intimate, the fall of the French monarchy as an event at no great distance.

Soon after his return from France, in July, 1773, a vacancy occurred in the humanity chair of Glasgow by the death of Mr. Muirhead, for which a very keen competition arose between him and Mr. Richardson, the result of which was doubtful until the very morning of the election, when, notwithstanding, every exertion made in behalf of Mr. Jardine by Lord Frederic Campbell, the lord-rector, Mr. Richardson carried the election by a majority of one vote. Upon this occasion Mr. Clow, the professor of logic, who had always befriended Mr. Jardine, though, from a prior engagement, he on this occasion felt himself obliged to support the other candidate, told him not to be discouraged, for that there might ere long be an opportunity of his being admitted into their society. The expectations which Mr. Clow thus kindly threw out he very soon realized; for, towards the end of the following session, he intimated to the college, that, from his advanced age, he required to be relieved from the labour of teaching, and expressed a wish that Mr. Jardine might be associated with him in the professorship. About this time, too, Dr. Moor, professor of Greek, gave in his resignation; and in June, 1774, upon the same day, the faculty of Glasgow College elected Mr. Young to the Greek chair, and appointed the subject of this memoir assistant and successor to Mr. Clow.

By this arrangement the charge of the three junior classes of Glasgow college came, at the same time, to devolve upon three men in the vigour of life, who all entered most zealously into the business of their respective departments, in which they soon introduced very material improvements:—in particular, they contrived to infuse a spirit of emulation among their pupils by the institution of prizes publicly distributed at the end of each session to those who had distinguished themselves during the course—an institution which was gradually extended to other classes at Glasgow, and which has now been generally introduced into the other universities. These prizes have been increased during recent years by the munificence of several of the lord-rectors and

the generosity of public-spirited individuals. There are prizes bearing the names of James Watt, Lord Jeffrey, Mr. James Ewing, the Marquis of Breadalbane, &c., arising from large sums of money permanently invested for that purpose.

The business of the logic class had hitherto consisted in an explanation of the *Dialectics* of Aristotle, followed up, towards the end of the course, by an exposition of the most abstruse doctrines of metaphysics and ontology, embracing the general attributes of being, existence, essence, unity, necessity, &c., and other similar abstract conceptions of pure intellect. For the first year or two the new professor followed the same track; but he soon discovered, from the examination of his students, that by far the greater number of them comprehended very little of the doctrines explained; that a few only of superior abilities could give any account of them at all, and that the most of the young men remembered only a few peculiar phrases or technical expressions which they delivered by rote, unaccompanied by any distinct notion of their meaning. Besides, even when these abstract doctrines were understood, intelligent persons who sent their sons to the logic class could not fail to observe that the subjects to which their attention was directed had no relation to any profession or employment whatever, and that little could be derived from prelections on such topics, which was likely either to adorn conversation, or to qualify the student for the concerns of active life. Mr. Jardine soon perceived, therefore, the necessity of a thorough and radical change on the subjects of his lectures, and after a simple analysis of the different powers of the understanding, with the means of their improvement, accompanied with a short account of Aristotle's logic, he devoted by far the greater part of the course to the original progress of language, the principles of general grammar, the elements of taste and criticism, and to the rules of composition, with a view to the promotion of a correct style, illustrated by examples. His course of lectures was accordingly entirely new-modelled, and he soon found that a great proportion of the students entered with awakened interest upon the consideration of these subjects, instead of the listless inattention which had been bestowed on the abstract doctrines of metaphysics.

But the greatest improvement which he introduced into the mode of conducting the business of the class was a regular system of examinations and exercises. He was of opinion with Dr. Barrow "that communication of truth is only one half of the business of education, and is not even the most important half. The most important part is the habit of employing, to some good purpose, the acquisitions of memory by the exercise of the understanding; and till this be acquired, the acquisition will not be found of much use." The mere delivery of a lecture, especially to very young persons, he held of very little advantage, unless they were placed in the situation of those who were bound to give an account of it, and the exposition of the rules of composition to be of little avail unless accompanied by the application of those rules by the student himself. Accordingly, at a separate hour in the forenoon the students were examined each day on the lecture of the morning, and written essays were required from time to time on subjects more or less connected with those embraced in the lectures. These were regularly criticized by the professor in the presence of the class; and after the principles of criticism had been explained, they were, towards the end of the session, distributed among the students themselves, who were required to subjoin a written criticism upon each other's performances, under the superintendence of

the professor; and prizes were bestowed at the end of the session, according to the determination of the students, to those who excelled in these daily examinations and exercises. This system of practical instruction is explained in all its details in a work published by Mr. Jardine before he relinquished the charge of the logic class, entitled *Outlines of Philosophical Education*, in which is to be found a full exposition of a system of academical discipline which was pursued in the logic class of Glasgow during the period of fifty years it was under his direction, and which was found by experience to be attended with the most beneficial effects.

The details of this system were, of course, attended with no small additional labour to the professor; for, besides two, and occasionally three, hours each day of public teaching, he had every evening to examine and correct the essays of the students, which were in such numbers as to occupy a large portion of his time. He was reconciled, however, to this tedious and laborious occupation by a thorough conviction of its great practical utility, which each year's additional experience tended more and more to confirm. He had the satisfaction, too, of knowing that his labours were not without success, both from his students themselves, many of whom did not hesitate to ascribe their advancement in after-life to the active and industrious habits acquired in the logic class, and also from the opinion of the public at large, which was very clearly evinced by the progressive increase of the number of students, the average of which, when he entered upon the office, in the public class was about 50, but which increased to nearly 200. This was no doubt partly owing to general causes, applicable to the times, but to a certain extent it was assuredly to be attributed to the great estimation in which this class was held by the public at large. Few teachers have ever enjoyed so large a portion of the respect and affection of their pupils. This was owing not a little to the warm interest which they could not fail to perceive he took in their progress—to his strict impartiality, which admitted of no preference or distinction of any sort except that of talents and industry—and to a kindly, affectionate, and almost paternal regard which marked the whole of his demeanour to his students—who, dispersed as they afterwards came to be into all quarters of the globe, have very generally concurred in expressions of cordial esteem to their old preceptor. With such a hold upon the affection of his class, he scarcely ever required to have recourse to the ordinary means of enforcing academical discipline.

From 1774, when he first entered upon his office, till 1824, when he gave up teaching, the business was systematically carried on in the way here described, with such improvements from time to time as were suggested by his experience; and he possessed such an excellent constitution, aided by a temper remarkably cheerful, that during the whole fifty years he was scarcely a single day absent from his class on account of indisposition. His predecessor, Mr. Clow, survived till 1788, having the year before his death resigned to his successor the whole privileges of the office, with his seat in the faculty; and, notwithstanding the very laborious duties which he had imposed on himself by his mode of teaching, Mr. Jardine still contrived to devote a portion of his time to the extrication of the patrimonial affairs of the college, and the arrangement of their accounts, which his business habits enabled him to undertake without much difficulty, and which, chiefly by his exertions, were brought from a state of comparative confusion into a very satisfactory arrangement. In 1792, likewise, when the Royal Infirmary was erected at Glas-

gow, he bestowed very great labour in promoting the undertaking, and for more than twenty years afterwards officiated as secretary, taking on himself the chief management of the affairs of the institution, from which he only retired a short time before his death, when he received the thanks of the managers for the unwearied attention he had bestowed on their business for nearly thirty years.

The private life of Mr. Jardine did not present any great variety of incident. During the session he lived in college in terms of great friendship with several of his colleagues, particularly with Professors Millar and Young, whose views in college affairs generally coincided with his own; and in summer he resided at a small property which he purchased in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, which he took great delight in adorning, and entered with much relish upon the employments of a country life, which formed an excellent relaxation after his winter labours. His residence in that quarter naturally occasioned a connection with the presbytery of Hamilton, who, for upwards of thirty years, returned him as their representative to the General Assembly, which he regularly attended, taking a considerable share in the business, and generally coinciding in opinion with the late Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, with whom he lived for a great many years in habits of the most unreserved friendship. One of the last public appearances which he made was in May, 1825, upon the question of pluralities, to which he had on all occasions been a determined adversary; when he opened the second day's debate by a forcible speech on the impolicy of uniting professorships with church livings, which, considering his great age, was viewed at the time as a very remarkable effort, and was listened to with profound attention.

In 1824, after having taught for fully half a century, he thought himself fairly entitled to retire from his labours. Those who attended the class during that last session did not perceive any abatement either of his zeal or energy; and during that winter he was not absent from his class a single hour. But he foresaw that the time could not be far distant when these exertions must cease, and he preferred retiring before he was actually compelled to do so by the infirmities of age. At the end of that session he accordingly requested his colleagues to select a person to fill his place, declaring that he left the arrangement entirely to them, and that he would not interfere either directly or indirectly in the appointment farther than by expressing an earnest wish that they might select one who would take a zealous interest in the prosperity of the class, and would continue the same system of active employment on the part of the students which had been found to be attended with so much benefit. Their choice fell upon the Rev. Robert Buchanan, minister of Peebles, who had himself carried off the first honour at this class; whose literary attainments were of a high order, and who zealously continued to follow out the same system of daily examinations and regular exercises which was introduced by his predecessor.

Upon the occasion of his retirement from public teaching a number of those who had been his pupils determined to show their respect by giving him a public dinner in the town-hall of Glasgow, which was attended by upwards of 200 gentlemen, many of whom came from a great distance to evince their respect for their venerable instructor. Mr. Mure of Caldwell, his earliest pupil, was in the chair, and the late Marquis of Breadalbane, who had been peculiarly under his charge at Glasgow College, and to whom he was very much attached, came from a great distance to officiate as croupier.

Mr. Jardine survived about three years after his retirement from public duties, during which time he resided as usual during winter in college, and continued to take an active interest in the affairs of the society. While attending the General Assembly in May, 1826, he was seized with a bilious attack—almost the first illness he ever experienced—from which he never completely recovered, and he sank under the infirmities of age on the 27th of January, 1827, having just completed his eighty-fifth year; contemplating his dissolution with the composure of a Christian, and expressing his gratitude to the Author of his being for the many blessings which had fallen to his lot, of which he did not consider as the least the numerous marks of esteem and regard evinced by his old pupils, with whom he was ever delighted to renew a kindly intercourse. His death was deeply regretted by the society of which he had been so long a member, and by the inhabitants of Glasgow, where he was very generally respected and esteemed.

In 1776 Mr. Jardine married Miss Lindsay of Glasgow, whom he survived about twelve years, and by whom he had one son, John Jardine, advocate, who held the office of sheriff of Ross and Cromarty, and died in 1850.

JEFFREY, FRANCIS.—This eminent barrister, and still more distinguished critic, was born in Edinburgh, on the 23d of October, 1773. His father was George Jeffrey, one of the depute-clerks of the Court of Session; his mother was Henrietta Loudon, daughter of Mr. John Loudon, farmer in the neighbourhood of Lanark. Francis, the subject of our memoir, was the eldest son of a family of five children; and it will be seen, from the foregoing particulars, that the success of his future career, be it what it might, could derive little aid from paternal wealth or interest. After having learned to read and write, he was sent, at the age of eight, to the high-school of Edinburgh, and there he continued six years, employed almost entirely in the dry study of Latin—for in those days the high-school curriculum had not expanded beyond its ancient limits. The first four years of this long course were spent under Mr. Fraser, one of the teachers who had the distinguished honour of being preceptor successively to Walter Scott, Francis Jeffrey, and Henry Brougham; the last two years he was taught by Dr. Adam, rector of the institution, and author of the *Roman Antiquities*, under whose able tuition he matured his knowledge of Latin. One day, towards the close of this course, an incident occurred which seldom fails to influence a young aspiring mind at its outset: he saw one of the truly great, whom the world is proud to worship. On the High Street his notice was arrested by a plain country-looking man, in whose appearance there was nothing remarkable but a pair of large dark eyes, which, when animated, were wont to glow from their deep recesses like lighted charcoal. The young critic even already seemed to have discovered that no ordinary merit was thus passing before his view, so that he continued to gaze after the stranger, until a person standing at a shop-door tapped him on the shoulder, and said, "Ay, laddie, ye may weel look at that man! That's Robert Burns!" After this Jeffrey might say, "*tantum Virgilium vidi*," for although he afterwards enjoyed the intercourse of Campbell, Scott, and Byron, he never saw Burns again.

Having finished his preparatory education at the high-school, Jeffrey, now in his fourteenth year, was sent to the university of Glasgow. His first year was devoted to the study of Greek under Professor John Young, one of the most finished Grecians and elegant scholars of his day; the second to logic,

under Professor Jardine, a teacher in whom the faculty of calling forth the latent capacities of his pupils, and turning them to good account, seemed to be a kind of instinct. He was thus singularly fortunate in having two such preceptors at an educational institution seldom possesses at the same time; and to the benefits which he derived from their instructions he bore a most honourable and enthusiastic testimony many years after, in his inaugural address to the college on being elected its lord-rector. Of Jardine he said, "It is to him and his most judicious instructions, that I owe my taste for letters, and any little literary distinction I may since have been enabled to attain." Such was his declaration when he had attained the very highest literary distinction; and there are some who can still remember how the tears rolled down the cheeks of the good old professor when he found himself thus gratefully and unexpectedly requited. During his third season at college, Jeffrey attended the course of moral philosophy under Professor Arthur, the successor of Reid, a man whose promise of high distinction was closed by an early death. Thus fortunate in his opportunities of superior instruction, the young student devoted himself with earnestness to his successive tasks, and appears, even then, to have indicated not only his future bent, but the eminence he would attain in it. His note-books at the different classes were not merely *memoranda*, but regular digests of the lectures; he was already a keen critic both of sentiment and composition; and in the debating society of the students, of which he was a member, he was soon distinguished as one of its most ready speakers. These aptitudes, however, were still more distinctly exhibited in his private studies from May, 1789, when he left the college of Glasgow, till September, 1791, when he went to Oxford. This interval of a home life, which so many youths of seventeen regard as a season of rest, or spend they know not how, was with Jeffrey anything but a period of repose or frivolity, as his piles of manuscript written between these dates sufficiently attested. Seated by the light of his "dear, retired, adored little window," as he called it, of the garret of his father's house in the Lawnmarket, he handled his already indefatigable pen upon subjects of poetry, history, criticism, theology, metaphysics; and the result of his diligence is attested by twelve letters in the manner of the *Spectator*, and thirty-one essays, the latter being written within the compass of six months, while his criticisms alone comprise fifty authors, chiefly French and English. Even then, too, the voice of prophecy was not wanting to predict his future renown. One night, while taking his "walk of meditation," he found James Boswell, the biographer of Johnson, utterly prostrated upon the pavement by intoxication. It was a fresh case of that *quare adhaesit pavimento*, for which Boswell, on awakening from one of his bivouacs in the street, found in his right hand a brief and retainer. Jeffrey, aided by some lads, carried the fallen worshipper of Paoli and Johnson to his home, and put him into bed. On the following morning Boswell, on learning who had been his benefactor, clapped young Jeffrey's head, and among other compliments said, "If you go on as you have begun, you may live to be a Bozzy yourself yet."

At the close of the last century a conviction or prejudice was prevalent in Scotland, that the education of an English university was necessary to complete that of a Scottish one. It was deemed essential, therefore, that Francis Jeffrey, after having ended his curriculum at Glasgow, should amplify and confirm it at Queen's College, Oxford; and thither accordingly he repaired at the close of



September, 1791. But there he found neither the happiness nor improvement he had expected. His hopes, perhaps, had been raised too high to be fulfilled; and to this disappointment was superadded such a pining consumption of home-sickness as would have been enough for either Swiss or Highlander. It is no wonder, therefore, if, among his letters of this period, we find such a lugubrious sentence as the following:—"I feel I shall never be a great man, unless it be as a poet." In the following month he writes:—"Whence arises my affection for the moon? I do not believe there is a being, of whatever denomination, upon whom she lifts the light of her countenance, who is so glad to see her as I am!" A poet, it is evident, he was in danger of becoming, instead of a censor and scourge of poets; and this melancholy and moon-staring was but the commencement of a hopeful apprenticeship. With the same morbid feelings he contemplated the society around him, and characterized them all as drunkards, pedants, or coxcombs. Few men depended more upon locality for happiness than Jeffrey, and Scotland was not only his native country, but his native element. To this, therefore, and not to any inherent defects in the education or students of Oxford, we may trace his querulous murmurs; so that the whole world was changed when he looked at it from Arthur's Seat or the Pentlands.

On returning to Edinburgh at the age of nineteen, Jeffrey appeared little changed by his sojourn in England. He was the same vivacious, slim, short stripling as before, with the same wide range of thought and fluency of language that had so often charmed or nonplussed his companions. In one respect, however, a material change had occurred; he had abandoned his native Doric dialect for that sharp, affected, ultra-English mode of pronunciation, which afterwards abode with him more or less through life, and which was in such bad taste, that Lord Holland declared, "Though he had lost the broad Scotch at Oxford, he had only gained the narrow English." It was now full time to make choice of a profession in good earnest, and prepare for it, as hitherto his law studies at Oxford had been little more than nominal. He might, if he pleased, be a merchant under his paternal uncle, who was settled at Boston in America; but he felt no vocation for mercantile labour and adventure. Literature he would have chosen in preference to anything, and, of all literary occupations, that of poetry; but authorship as a trade was too precarious, and the fame of a poet too unsubstantial. Then there was the English bar, which gave full scope to the utmost ambition; but Jeffrey knew withal that the great expense of preparation, followed by that of waiting for practice, was more than his resources could encounter. Nothing remained for him but the profession of a Scottish advocate, for which his father's legal acquaintanceships could secure him as much practice as would suffice for a commencement. Here, then, his choice rested, and he became a student of the classes of Scotch law in the university of Edinburgh. But besides these he had, in the Speculative Society, of which he became a member at the end of 1792, a still more effectual spur to progress, as well as better training both for law and criticism. This society had been established in the college of Edinburgh in 1764, for the purposes of reading literary and scientific essays, and holding forensic debates upon the subjects of these essays; it had already produced during the forty-eight years of its existence some of the most distinguished characters of the day; and when Jeffrey enrolled he found himself a fellow-debater of those who afterwards obtained the foremost

name in their respective walks of life. Of these it is sufficient to name Sir Walter Scott, Lord Brougham, Lord Moncrieff, Francis Horner, and William Scarlett, at that time young men, but with whom it was impossible for the most talented to contend without being braced by such formidable exercise. It was no wonder, therefore, that by such weekly meetings Jeffrey soon perfected himself in the practice of composition, and became a ready and eloquent debater. Three years was the usual period of attendance; but after this term he continued for four years a voluntary visitor, and took part in its proceedings with unabated interest. In 1834, when he had reached the full summit of his reputation as sovereign of the empire of criticism and champion of the Scottish bar, he presided at a dinner to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the institution, and gloried in acknowledging the benefits he had derived from it.

Jeffrey had now reached his twentieth year, and was busy in preparation for passing as a Scottish advocate, while he thus characterized himself: "I have lived on this earth very nearly one score of years, and am about to pass some professional trials in a few months, who have no fortune but my education, and who would not bind myself to adhere exclusively to the law for the rest of my life for the bribery of all the emoluments it has to bestow." He had so learned to love literature for its own sake, that, be his occupation what it might, his favourite recreations would still be found in criticism and the *belles-lettres*. This he afterwards more distinctly intimated in a letter to his brother, where he writes: "I shall study on to the end of my days. Not law, however, I believe, though that is yet in a manner to begin; but something or other I shall—I am determined." But what was that something? as critic or poet—reviewer or reviewed? It will scarcely be believed, that while studying law he had also been equally diligent in verse-making, so that a poetical translation of the *Argonauticon* of Appollonius Rhodius, two dramatic productions, and a large bundle of descriptive and sentimental poems, were the fruits of this dangerous pursuit. Happily, however, a healthier spirit was rising within him; and he manifested it by keeping his poetry not merely from the press, but the perusal of his friends. At length the full cure of this intermittent disease was effected on the 16th of December, 1794, for on that day he was admitted to practise as an advocate at the Scottish bar—an occupation from which there is no retreat except to politics or agriculture, and a place at which of all others the Muses have least dared to intrude.

The position which the northern barristers at that period occupied could only be peculiar to such a country as Scotland. In England, indeed, the occupation could raise a talented practitioner to greater wealth and higher political rank; but the English bar was only a part of the great whole, and had but a single voice in the complicated administration of the common weal; and to whatever height it might lead its best and ablest, there was still a summit above them which they could not reach, and under which they were overshadowed. But in Scotland the case was different. The union that had annihilated every national distinction had left our tribunal untouched. Here, then, was the place around which the whole nationality of the country could rally, and through which the *ingenium perfervidum* could find utterance; and therefore the Parliament House, besides being a court of law, was palace, council, and senate of the now abrogated kingdom of Scotland. Such were the attractions which the Scottish bar possessed, and hitherto they had sufficed, not only

for the highest talent, but the best aristocracy of the country. But here, also, the old feudalism of Scotland had made its last rallying effort, so that the divine right of kings, the unquestionable right of lairds, and the superiority of everything that was ancient, were the favourite axioms of the Edinburgh Court of Session. All this, indeed, would soon have died out had it not been for the French revolution, which ministered new fuel to an already decaying flame, and made it burst forth with greater vigour than ever. While every nation took the alarm, and began to draw the old bands of order more tightly around its institutions, this process was judged especially necessary for Scotland, which had neither king nor parliament of its own, and was therefore deemed the more likely to join the prevalent misrule. Modern Toryism was therefore ingrafted upon the ancient Scottish feudalism, and unqualified submission became the order of the day. Even the distance from the seat of government only made our northern politics the more sensitive to every indication of independent thought or action; and thus, what was nothing more than Whiggery within the precincts of Westminster, was sheer rebellion and high treason in the Parliament Square of Edinburgh.

Such was the condition of that honoured and influential class into which Jeffrey was now admitted. It will at once be seen that the difficulties of his new position were of no trivial amount. Even at the outset his undistinguished birth was against him; and those who belonged to the "lordly line of high Saint Clair" could scarcely be expected to admit the son of a clerk-depute into full fraternity. He undoubtedly possessed a superiority of talent that might more than counterpoise such inferiority; but here, instead of holding the field without a rival, he had many who were fully his match—competitors as well equipped for the encounter, and who attained as high professional rank and reputation, as himself. Still, however, one remedy remained. The tide of Toryism was at the height, and by throwing himself implicitly upon it, he would be borne onward to fortune. And this, too, he might do not only without degradation, but with universal approval; for loyalty was the order of the day, and every step was commended that went against the anarchy with which throne and altar were menaced. But Jeffrey was a Whig. From an early period he had revolved the questions of civil and political liberty, and instead of discarding them as the mere Brutus and Cassius dreams of college boyhood, he had clung to them with all the greater tenacity as years went onward; and now that he was about to enter into active life, he boldly avowed them as the conclusions of his matured judgment, and the principles of his future political conduct. And what chance had he, then, of success in a profession where his opinions of popular rights were not only condemned as mischievous, but despised as vulgar and mobbish? There were men, indeed, not only in Edinburgh, but even the Court of Session, who in political principles were like-minded with himself; but they were for the most part so independent, either by family, or fortune, or position, that they could better afford to oppose the prevailing current than a young man to whom the pathway of life was just opened, with nothing but his own energies to bear him forward. Taking all these circumstances into account, there is none, be his principles in politics what they may, who can refuse to Jeffrey the award of unswerving integrity and high heroic consistency. And truly he reaped the reward he merited, not only in his own advancement, but the final ascendancy of those obnoxious political doctrines which he so bravely advocated and consistently maintained.

On commencing practice at the bar, Jeffrey laboured under a difficulty upon which perhaps he had not calculated. This was the unlucky half English mode of speaking which he had learned or assumed at Oxford, but which he had not the good taste to discard at Edinburgh; and such was the strength of popular prejudice at this period, that there were few who would not have scrupled to intrust the management of a law case to an "Englified" pleader. With this mode of speech, which was thought to savour of affectation, he combined an oppressive sharpness of tone, volubility of words, and keenness of sarcasm, calculated to wound the self-love of those who could not parry and return the thrusts of such an agile fencer. His business, therefore, as an advocate went on very slowly, and his fees were proportionably scanty. Most of the cases, indeed, which passed through his hands, were obtained by the influence of his father. The necessity of having some other dependence than the bar became so strong, that in 1798 he conceived the idea of commencing authorship in London as his future profession; and for this purpose he repaired thither, furnished with introductions to the editors of some of the principal reviews and newspapers, and buoyed up with the expectation that he would quadruple the scanty revenue that he could ever hope to enjoy from his profession in Edinburgh. But London was not destined to be his sphere, and notwithstanding his introductions, he got so little encouragement that he was soon glad to return. He resumed his very limited practice as an advocate, although with a thousand plans of emancipation that ended as such dreams generally do, but still improving his knowledge, as well as increasing the circle of his literary acquaintances. At length, as if to place the copestone upon his desperate fortunes, he adventured upon marriage, and in 1801 became the husband of Catherine Wilson, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, professor of church-history at St. Andrews, a second cousin of his own. Jeffrey's income at this time averaged nothing more than £100 per annum, while his wife had no fortune, except the inestimable one of an amiable affectionate disposition and pleasing manners, that shed a gentle charm over her whole household economy. The happy pair established their domicile in a third story of Buccleugh Place, which they furnished upon the most cautious scale of economy. But it was in the study of this dwelling, and around the plain table and few chairs of which the study could boast, that a plan was formed by which not only the literature of Scotland, but of Europe itself, was to be revolutionized, and upon which Jeffrey himself was thenceforth to depend for the high literary reputation and prosperous career that accompanied him to the end.

We allude to the establishment of the *Edinburgh Review*. Hitherto, in the critical department of literature in England, a review had been little more than a peg upon which to hang a book for advertisement; and the individual merits of each work were more attended to than the great general questions of science, literature, or politics, which it more or less involved. In Scotland the department of criticism was at a still lower ebb; for the country had no regular review, the only one which it possessed, called the *Edinburgh Review*, having expired in 1756, after a short twelvemonth of existence. But the world was ripe for change, and the whole framework of intellectual and political society was already loosening, for the purpose of being resolved into new forms and combinations. It was evident, therefore, that either in London or in Edinburgh some standard periodical should be established, to meet, and if

possible to direct and control, the coming change—and this, it was evident, could only be done by a more ample system of reviewing than had hitherto been attempted. Such was the impression that for some time had been floating through the minds of the more observant in Edinburgh; but to embody that impression, and reduce it to action, was still the difficulty. This, however, was soon obviated. A meeting of Jeffrey's literary friends was assembled at his dwelling in Buccleugh Place, and there the idea of such a review was started, and the plan of its management deliberated. The proposal was due to the Rev. Sydney Smith, who is entitled "the original projector of the *Edinburgh Review*;" an eager discussion followed; and as the night without was very tempestuous, the coterie made themselves merry with the thought of the still greater storm they were devising within. The plan, after several such meetings, was settled, and it was resolved to bring out the first number of the work in June, 1802, but, from several causes, the publication was delayed till the 10th of October. Its descent upon the literary world was followed by a burst of astonishment—it exhibited such a form and character of criticism as the British public had never yet thought of—and that such should have been produced in a remote nook like Edinburgh greatly heightened the general wonderment. The contributions of Jeffrey on this occasion were five in number, and his critique upon "Mourier on the Influence of the French Revolution," was the first in the work. His importance in the future character and success of the *Review* was even thus early predicted by Horner, also one of the contributors, who made the following entry in his private journal:—"Jeffrey is the person who will derive most honour from this publication, as his articles in this number are generally known, and are incomparably the best. I have received the greater pleasure from this circumstance, because the genius of that little man has remained almost unknown to all but his most intimate acquaintances. His manner is not at first pleasing; what is worse, it is of that cast which almost irresistibly impresses upon strangers the idea of levity and superficial talents. Yet there is not any man whose real character is so much the reverse. He has, indeed, a very sportive and playful fancy, but it is accompanied with an extensive and varied information, with a readiness of apprehension almost intuitive, with judicious and calm discernment, with a profound and penetrating understanding." It was no small praise that Jeffrey should already have acquired so high a character in a talented community such as we might now look for in vain in Edinburgh. The chief of these, besides Horner himself and Sydney Smith, were Lord Brougham; Brown, the professor of moral philosophy; Lord Webb Seymour; Mr. Hamilton, afterwards professor of Sanscrit at Halesbury College; Dr. John Thomson, who became professor of pathology in the university of Edinburgh; Mr. Reddie, afterwards town-clerk of Glasgow; Mr. Thomas Thomson, the eminent Scottish antiquary; and Lord Murray, late judge of the Court of Session. All these were young men full of talent and ambition, to whom the *Edinburgh Review* at its commencement was a vent for feelings and theories that had been accumulating for years. Above all, it enabled them to give full utterance to those political principles that were so obnoxious to the rulers of the day, and so doubly proscribed in Scotland. Each individual no longer stood alone, but was part of a collected and well-disciplined phalanx; and instead of being obliged to express his opinions in bated breath, and amidst an overwhelming uproar of contradiction, he could now announce them in full and

fearless confidence, through a journal which was sure of being heard and feared, at least, if not loved and respected.

As the *Edinburgh Review* was a new experiment in literary adventure, its outset was accompanied with many difficulties, arising from want of experience among its chief conductors; and therefore it was obliged, in the first two or three years of its existence, to grope its way, step by step, as it best could. It was launched even without a pilot, for Sydney Smith edited no more than the first number. The meetings of the contributors were held with all the dread and mystery of a state-conspiracy, in a little room off Willison's printing-office in Craig's Close, to which each member was requested to steal singly, by whatever by-way would be least suspected; and there they examined and criticized each other's productions, and corrected the proof-sheets as they were thrown off. These contributions, also, for the first three numbers at least, were given gratuitously. No journal, it was soon felt, could long make head against such deficiencies; and the first important advance in improvement was to appoint Jeffrey sole and responsible editor. The dismal and ludicrous secret meetings in the back-room of the printing-office quickly disappeared—for what author, however in love with the anonymous, could long continue to be ashamed of being a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*! The rapid sale of the work and the large profits it realized made the payment of articles a necessary consequence, and therefore the first remuneration was fixed at ten guineas a sheet, which rose to sixteen as the *minimum* price, while the editor was salaried at £300 per annum. By these changes a coalition of talented writers was bound together, and pledged to the furtherance of the work. But the life and soul of that coalition was Jeffrey, and nothing could have been more appropriate than his appointment to the editorship. Unconsciously he had made his whole life a training for the office, not only by the multifariousness of his studies, but his early practice of analyzing the authors he read, as well as his own miscellaneous compositions, so that the practice as well as the talents of a critic were ready for instant action. On the appointment being offered to him he had some dubitation on the subject, which he thus expresses at full to his excellent friend and adviser, Francis Horner:—"There are *pros* and *cons* in the case, no doubt. What the *pros* are I need not tell you. £300 a-year is a monstrous bribe to a man in my situation. The *cons* are—vexation and trouble, interference with professional employment and character, and risk of general degradation. The first I have had some little experience of, and am not afraid for. The second, upon a fair consideration, I am persuaded I ought to risk. It will be long before I make £300 more than I now do by my profession, and by far the greater part of the employment I have will remain with me, I know, in spite of anything of this sort. The character and success of the work and the liberality of the allowance are not to be disregarded. But what influences me the most is, that I engaged in it at first gratuitously, along with a set of men whose character and situation in life must command the respect of the multitude, and that I hope to go on with it as a matter of emolument along with the same associates. All the men here will take their ten guineas, I find, and, under the sanction of that example, I think I may take my editor's salary also, without being supposed to have suffered any degradation. It would be easy to say a great deal on this subject, but the sum of it, I believe, is here, and you will understand me as well as if I had been more

eloquent: I would undoubtedly prefer making the same sum by my profession; but I really want the money, and think that I may take it this way, without compromising either my honour or my future interest.

Such was the train of reasoning by which Jeffrey committed himself to the *Review*. It was that important step in life which a man can take but once, and by which the whole tenor of his after-course is determined. In Jeffrey's case it was both wise and prosperous, notwithstanding the manifold feuds of authorship in which it necessarily involved him. It was not merely from the small fry of writers, who writhed under his critical inflictions, that these quarrels arose; but also from men of the highest mark, whom he tried by a standard proportioned to their merits, and therefore occasionally found wanting. In this way he offended such distinguished authors as Scott, Byron, Southey, Wordsworth, and Coleridge; but in most instances the resentment he kindled was transient, and followed by a cordial reconciliation. Even Byron, the most indignant and most formidable of the whole, recanted his vilifications of Jeffrey in a much higher strain of poetry than that which characterized his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. But of all these quarrels, that with Thomas Moore threatened to be the most serious. In 1806 the young poet of Erin published a volume, which will ever remain a blot upon his fair fame. It was entitled *Epistles, Odes, and other Poems*; and notwithstanding its undoubted merits, which no one was more ready to acknowledge than Jeffrey, he opened his critique with such a burst of indignation as the offence of the poet merited. After acknowledging the high talents of Moore in a few sentences, the reviewer thus continues: "He is indebted, we fear, for the celebrity he actually enjoys to accomplishments of a different description; and may boast, if the boast can please him, of being the most licentious of modern versifiers, and the most poetical of those who, in our times, have devoted their talents to the propagation of immorality. We regard his book, indeed, as a public nuisance, and would willingly trample it down by one short movement of contempt and indignation, had we not reason to apprehend that it was abetted by patrons who are entitled to a more respectful remonstrance, and by admirers who may require a more extended exposition of their dangers." The article throughout was judged to be so personal, that the poet resolved to redress himself in another way than by writing a rejoinder, either in prose or verse. In short, he resolved to call the critic out, a purpose which he was enabled to effect in consequence of a visit that Jeffrey made to London a short time after the article was published. The hostile parties met in a field near London, and Jeffrey was attended on this occasion by his friend Horner. The police, however, had got intelligence of their purpose, and arrested the combatants when the duel was about to commence. On reaching the police-office the pistols were examined, when it was found that Jeffrey's contained no bullet, as it had probably dropped out when the weapon was snatched from him; while that of the poet was furnished with the usual complement of lead, and ready for execution. A foolish affair in itself, the meeting was rendered more ridiculous still by the reports that were founded upon the harmless pistol, both weapons being represented as in the same condition, and fit to produce nothing more than a little noise. The offending parties, being bound over to keep the peace, resolved to adjourn the combat to the neutral ground of Hamburg. But better thoughts occurred, and an explanation fol-

lowed, in which Jeffrey declared that it was the morality of the book, and not of the man, which he had judged and condemned; while Moore professed himself satisfied with the explanation. Nothing was more natural than that two such fiery spirits should pass from the extreme of dislike to that of friendship; and such was the case with Moore and Jeffrey, whose affection for each other continued till the close of life.

We have already seen the misgivings of Jeffrey as to the effect which his literary censorship would produce upon his progress at the bar. In this respect his fears were happily disappointed; for, although his progress was not rapid, it was steadily growing from year to year, accelerated on the whole, rather than retarded, by his office of reviewer. The literary society of Edinburgh, also, was constantly increasing, and among these he was enabled to take an important stand, as the highest and most influential of British critics. Even the death of his amiable wife, which occurred in 1805, and which he felt more deeply than any calamity that ever befell him either before or after, only drove him more keenly into the duties of active life. And these were neither few nor trivial; for, besides his practice, both in the civil and criminal courts, he took an important share in the legal business of the General Assembly, in which he continued a pleader for twenty years. Saving this mournful domestic bereavement, all things went prosperously onward, so that by the commencement of 1807 he thus writes to his brother: "I work at the *Review* still, and might make it a source of considerable emolument if I set any value on money. But I am as rich as I want to be, and should be distressed with more, at least if I were to work more for it." Of the journal itself, also, Sir W. Scott, who disliked its political principles with a full measure of feudal and Tory dislike, thus testifies to its popularity: "Of this work 9000 copies are printed quarterly, and no genteel family can pretend to be without it; because, independently of its politics, it gives the only valuable literary criticism which can be met with." This unprecedented success not only alarmed the enemies of political innovation, but excited their literary ambition. Could not a coterie be assembled in London as learned and talented as that of Edinburgh, and an antagonist journal be started as formidable as this critical Goliath? At length the decision was precipitated by an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1808, on "Don Pedro Cevallos on the French Usurpation of Spain." This talented paper, written by Jeffrey himself, which ventured to run counter to the political enthusiasm of the day upon the subject of Spanish patriotism, excited the Tory resentment to the highest pitch; and the feeling was expressed in every form, from the magnificent disdain of the Earl of Buchan—who kicked the offensive number through his lobby, and into the street, believing that thereby he had sealed for ever the fate of the *Edinburgh Review*—to the calm but stern disapproval of Sir Walter Scott, who thus wrote to its publisher: "The *Edinburgh Review* had become such as to render it impossible for me to continue a contributor to it; now it is such as I can no longer continue to receive or read it."

The plan of the *Quarterly*, which had for some time been contemplated, was soon arranged, and its first number appeared in February, 1809. It is honourable to the *Edinburgh Review* to state, that its system of management was the one adopted by the new rival journal, at the recommendation of Sir Walter Scott. This plan was unfolded by Sir Walter in a letter to Gifford, the newly-appointed editor

of the *Quarterly*, previous to its commencement. His letter, from which we give the following extract, sufficiently shows how essential Jeffrey had been to the prosperity of the *Edinburgh periodical*, as well as the sagacious measures which he had adopted for the purpose. Indeed, they may be said to have formed the exemplar of all the numerous magazines of our day:—"The extensive reputation and circulation of the *Edinburgh Review* is chiefly owing to two circumstances: first, that it is entirely uninfluenced by the booksellers, who have contrived to make most of the other reviews merely advertising sheets to puff off their own publications; and, secondly, the very handsome recompense which the editor not only holds forth to his regular assistants, but actually forces upon those whose circumstances and rank make it a matter of total indifference to them. The editor, to my knowledge, makes a point of every contributor receiving this *bonus*, saying that Czar Peter, when working in the trenches, received pay as a common soldier. But there is still something behind, and that of the last consequence. One great resource to which the *Edinburgh* editor turns himself, and by which he gives popularity even to the duller articles of his *Review*, is accepting contributions from persons of inferior powers of writing, provided they understand the books to which the criticisms relate; and as such are often of stupifying mediocrity, he renders them palatable by throwing in a handful of spice—namely, any lively paragraph, or entertaining illustration, that occurs to him in reading them over. By this sort of veneering, he converts, without loss of time or hindrance of business, articles which, in their original state, might hang in the market, into such goods as are not likely to disgrace those among which they are placed." In this way Jeffrey plumed many a heavy article, and sent it soaring heavenward, which, without such aid, would have been doomed to dabble in the mud. It is evident, however, that this, the most important, was also the most difficult, of all editorial labours; and without a very skilful hand, would have converted the process of fine veneering into clumsy patchwork. It must have been amusing in not a few cases, to see a grave contributor to the *Edinburgh Review* reading his article for the first time in print, and wondering at his own wit and vivacity!

Notwithstanding the merited success of the *Quarterly*, Jeffrey felt neither envy nor alarm; there was now room enough in the literary world for both journals, and the excellence of the one was a healthy stimulus to the other. His affairs were also so prosperous, that after successive removals to more fashionable mansions in Edinburgh, he was enabled, in 1812, to occupy a country-house at Hatton, near Edinburgh, once a seat of the Earls of Lauderdale. This antique residence was soon enlivened by an additional tenant. In 1810 Jeffrey had met with Miss Charlotte Wilkes, grand-niece of the celebrated John Wilkes, who was on a visit to Edinburgh with her uncle and aunt, and this acquaintance ripened into an attachment, that was followed by marriage in 1813. As the lady, however, resided in New York, it was necessary that Jeffrey should repair to America for his bride; and thither accordingly he went, notwithstanding his invincible abhorrence of the sea, and impatience of the restraints of navigation. His journal of the voyage, as might be expected, is a wrathful enumeration of cloudy skies, gales, sea-sickness, lumbered decks, soured companions, and squalling children; ending with "If I get back safe to my own place from this expedition, I shall never willingly go out of sight of land again in my life." It was well that such a consolation

awaited his landing, in one who, for thirty-four years, was the comfort of his life and enliverer of his home. At his return to Edinburgh, in the beginning of 1814, he threw himself into the work of the *Review* with fresh ardour, for the disastrous campaign of Napoleon in Russia, and the series of important events that rapidly followed, by which the whole history of the world was changed, gave full scope to his political prelections. In 1815 he removed his country residence from Hatton to Craigcrook, about three miles to the north-west of Edinburgh, and there his summers were spent till the close of his life. The mansion at first consisted of nothing but an old tower; but this and the adjacent grounds he enlarged, improved, and beautified, as he would have done with some article for the *Review* that was too dull to be published in its original state, but too good to be neglected. By successive additions the building was expanded into a stately baronial residence, while the thirty or forty acres that surrounded it gave full exercise to that taste for the pleasing and the beautiful which hitherto he had expressed only in theory. There, also, he gathered round him such distinguished characters as Atticus himself might have envied. "What can efface these days," exclaims his affectionate biographer, "or indeed any Craigcrook day, from the recollection of those who had the happiness of enjoying them!"

A change in the Scottish tribunal at the beginning of 1816 brought Jeffrey into greater legal practice than ever. This was the introduction of juries for the trial of facts in civil causes; and for such a department he soon showed himself well fitted, by his versatile intellectual powers, the variety of his knowledge, and ready command of every kind of oratory. Here, too, the fact of his connection with the *Review*, instead of retarding his progress, only brought him clients in multitudes, for he was now recognized as the champion of popular rights, as well as a most able and accomplished pleader. Yet, with this great addition to his professional duty, neither his diligence nor productiveness as a writer was abated, so that, independently of his wonted labours in the *Review*, he wrote the article "Beauty" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—a treatise that, notwithstanding the fluctuating nature of every theory upon that subject, will always continue to be admired for the metaphysical depth of its sentiments, and the classic finished elegance of its style. This tide of success, however, was on one occasion interrupted. Strange to tell, Jeffrey stuck a speech! In 1818 John Kemble was about to take leave of the Scottish stage; and as his admirers proposed to give him a public dinner in Edinburgh, Jeffrey was commissioned to present him a snuff-box at the banquet. He rose for the purpose with full confidence in that extemporaneous power which had never failed him; but when the dramatist raised his kingly form at the same instant, and confronted him with magnificent obeisance, the most fluent of speakers was suddenly struck dumb—he sat down, with his speech half-finished and his gift unrepresented!

It was now time that honorary distinctions as well as substantial profits should descend upon the successful critic and barrister, so that he should become something more than plain Francis Jeffrey. These were now at hand; and the first that adorned him appropriately enough came from a seat of learning. His own college of Glasgow had not lost sight of its early *alumnus*; and after having elected the highest and most talented to the office of lord-rector of the university, the claims of the prince of critics to fill it ought not to be overlooked. So felt the young students, by whose suffrages the rector is chosen,

and in 1820, notwithstanding the hostility of the professors, whose dislike of Jeffrey's Whiggism could not be overcome, he was invested with the honoured distinction. After this, proposals were made from influential quarters to obtain for him a seat in parliament; but these he declined: it was from the court of law and not the senate that his next honours were to be obtained. Accordingly, in 1829, he was unanimously elected dean of the Faculty of Advocates, the highest honour which his own profession can bestow, and all the more honourable that the election was by the votes of his brethren. It was no trivial indication of political change, that the editor of the *Edinburgh Review* should have been appointed to such an office, in the very heart of Edinburgh, and by a body of men who had in former times been the keenest and most influential champions of Toryism. It was necessary, however, that his editorship should cease, and he gladly resigned it into younger hands. It was not an easy sacrifice to relinquish an office so congenial to his tastes and habits, which he had held for twenty-seven years, and which he had raised by the force of his talents to such high distinction in the literary and political world. The list of his contributions during this period is truly astounding, not only for quantity, but variety. They amounted in all to 201 articles, a selection from which was published in eight volumes, under his revision, in 1843. After having been dean of faculty for a very short period, Jeffrey, in 1830, was appointed lord-advocate. This office, although resembling that of the attorney-general in England, has few recommendations, beyond those of mere distinction, to a successful practitioner at the Scottish bar; for, besides affording a salary of only £300 per annum, it has legal and political duties attached to it sufficient for the utmost energies of the most talented individual. For three years and a half he continued in this laborious office, during which period he was almost exclusively occupied with the important measures of parliamentary and burgh reform, and spent much of his time in attendance upon the House of Commons, which he did as member for the Forfarshire burghs, and finally for the burgh of Malton. His situation in the House of Commons was anything but a sinecure, as the passing of the reform bill for Scotland, of which he was the official manager, cost him many speeches and sleepless nights, as well as a vast amount of daily anxiety. After this great work was successfully accomplished, his chief ambition was to represent his native city in the first reformed parliament. Nothing, indeed, could be more legitimate than such ambition after the toils he had undergone in the cause of reform, not merely as Lord-advocate of Scotland, but also as the ablest of political writers in behalf of the measure, when its very idea was reckoned tantamount to high-treason. His wish was gratified. He was put in nomination as candidate for the representation of Edinburgh, and returned by a majority of votes on the 19th of December, 1832, after which he resumed his parliamentary duties, and the incessant worry with which the adjustment of the details of the Reform Bill was connected. While thus employed, a vacancy occurred on the bench of the Court of Session, in 1833, and Jeffrey was appointed to this, the highest office which a Scottish lawyer can attain. But what he valued more highly was, that it freed him from the harassing labours of parliament, and those of lord-advocate, and restored him to the society of his friends and full enjoyment of his home. It was the natural feeling of one who had already passed three-score years of life, and passed them in severe toil and intellectual exertion.

Having ceased from his avocations as lawyer and reviewer, and passed into that peaceful but dignified office to which his merits had so honourably won their way, the rest of the narrative of Jeffrey's life may be briefly told. On the 7th of June, 1834, he took his seat on the bench, with the title of Lord Jeffrey, instead of assuming a territorial one from the landed property which he possessed. Was this humility, eschewing a pompous designation as savouring too much of aristocracy and feudalism—or pride, that felt as if his own family name had now been raised to such distinction as to make a lordly change unnecessary? Both feelings may have been so curiously blended in the choice, that it would be better to leave them unquestioned. At all events, the familiar name of Jeffrey was more grateful to the literary ear than Lord Craigcrook, or any other such title could have been. His official duties required his attendance in the court every morning at nine o'clock, and thus, with him, the virtue of early rising was enforced by necessity. During the winter, when the court was sitting, his place of residence was Edinburgh; he then usually repaired in spring to London or its neighbourhood; and in autumn he lived at his residence of Craigcrook, which seemed every year to become more and more endeared to him. Having now so much leisure upon his hands, and that too, it may be added, for the first time in his life, he was often urged by his friends to write some important original work, in which his whole intellectual power would be condensed, and his fame embodied for the esteem of posterity when the *Edinburgh Review* itself would be supplanted by younger and more popular candidates. But to this his answer was, "I have no sense of duty that way, and feel that the only sure or even probable result of the attempt, would be hours and days of anxiety and unwholesome toil, and a closing scene of mortification." It was the apology of one who had already written so much that he had become weary of the task—or who had written so well, that he was afraid of risking all he had already won upon such a final and decisive cast. At all events, he rested satisfied with the fame he had already acquired, and in this way it may be that he acted wisely. On the 27th of June, 1838, his daughter, and only child, was married to William Empson, Esq., professor of law in the East India College, Haileybury; and this union, besides imparting an additional charm to his yearly visits to England, produced to him those solaces for his old age, which perhaps a new successful literary undertaking would have failed to impart. These were the little grandchildren who were soon entwined like rich tendrils around his affectionate heart, and in whose society he renewed all the freshness and buoyancy of his early youth.

In his capacity of judge, Lord Jeffrey was connected with those decisions of the Court of Session that preceded the disruption of the Church of Scotland; and his award was in favour of that party by whom the Free Church was afterwards constituted. He took an intense interest in the whole controversy from the commencement, and even at an early period foresaw that a disruption was inevitable, while he lamented such a fatal necessity. But still his heart was with the dissentients, for he saw that they could not act otherwise consistently with their convictions as to the spiritual independency of the church. Thus he felt while their case was discussed in the Court of Session, and afterwards removed by appeal to the House of Lords, and he regarded the final award of the supreme tribunal as short-sighted, unjust, and tyrannical. At length the crisis approached, for the meeting of the General Assembly of 1843 was at

hand. His interest about the result in the great coming conflict of the church was thus expressed: "I am anxious to hear what her champions and martyrs are now doing, and what is understood to be their plan of operation at the Assembly. It will be a strange scene any way, and I suppose there will be a separation into two assemblies." He knew too well the elements of the Scottish character, and was too conversant with the history of our national church, to believe, as most of the politicians of the day believed, that the opposition of the evangelical party would break down at the last moment under the argument of manse, glebe, and stipend. But would the secession be on such a scale as to constitute a great national movement? Or when the crisis came, might there not be such a fearful winnowing as would reduce the protesting party to a mere handful? At length the day and the hour of trial arrived. Jeffrey was reading in his study when tidings were brought to him that the whole body had departed as one man—that 450 ministers had fearlessly redeemed their pledge to sacrifice their earthly interests at the command of duty, and had left the assembly, to constitute another elsewhere! He threw the book from him, and exclaimed in a tone of triumph, "I am proud of my country! no other than Scotland," he added, "would have acted thus."

The remainder of Lord Jeffrey's life was passed in the enjoyment of a happy old age, his duties of judge, to which he attended to the last, being alternated with social intercourse, domestic enjoyment, and reading—that incessant process of acquiring new ideas, without which it seemed as if he could not have survived for a single hour. Thus his course went on till the close of 1849; but though still exhibiting much of his former activity, as well as enjoying every source of happiness, he knew that this must soon terminate. "I have made," he thus writes to his son-in-law and daughter, "a last lustration of all my walks and haunts, and taken a long farewell of garden and terrace and flowers, seas and shores, spiry towers and autumnal fields. I always bethink me that I may never see them again." He had indeed seen the last of his autumns; for on the 22d of January following, after a brisk afternoon walk round the Calton Hill, he was attacked by bronchitis, a complaint to which he had for several years been more or less subject; but so little did he apprehend the consequences, that he thought that at the worst they would only compel him to resign his place on the bench. But death was advancing with a swift though silent step, and after four days of illness, in which he suffered little, and anticipated a speedy recovery, he breathed his last. This was on the 26th of January, 1850. He, too, felt his ruling passion strong in death; for in his dreams during the three nights previous to his dissolution, the spirit of the Edinburgh reviewer predominated, so that he was examining proof-sheets, reading newspapers, and passing judgment upon arguments or events as they rose before his mind's eye in the most fantastical variety. During the last year of his life his walks had carried him to the Dean Cemetery, where, amidst its solemn vistas, enlivened with the song of the blackbird, he had selected the spot which he wished to be his final resting-place; and there accordingly his remains were deposited on the 31st of January.

Mrs. Jeffrey outlived her husband only a few months. She died at Haileybury on the 18th of May, and her remains were interred beside his in the Dean Cemetery.

JOHNSTON, SIR ARCHIBALD, of Warriston (a judge by the designation of Lord Warriston), an

eminent lawyer and statesman, was the son of James Johnston of Beirholm in Annandale, a descendant of the family of Johnston in Aberdeenshire, and who for some time followed a commercial life in Edinburgh, being mentioned in a charter of 1608 as "the king's merchant." The mother of the subject of our memoir was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Craig, the first great lawyer produced by Scotland, and whose life has already been given in the present work. Of the date of the birth of Archibald Johnston, and the circumstances of his education, no memorial has been preserved: he entered as advocate in 1633. In the great national disturbances which commenced in 1637 Johnston took an early and distinguished part, acting apparently as only second to Sir Thomas Hope in giving legal advice to the Covenanters. The second or general supplication of the nation to Charles I. for relief from his Episcopal innovations was prepared by the Earl of Rothes and Archibald Johnston—the former being preferred on account of his distinction as an active and influential partisan, and the latter from the general character given of him by his friends, as singularly well acquainted with the history and constitution of the genuine Presbyterian Church of Scotland. This document, which was presented to the privy-council on the 24th of September, 1637, in the presence of a band of the supporters of its principles, which made the act more solemn than a regal pageant, leaves for the politicians of all ages a fine specimen of that calmness in reasoning and statement which men of judgment and principle know to be necessary for the preservation of order in a state when they are representing grievances, however deep, to a governor, however unreasonable; and of that firmness of position which, when supported by a hold of popular opinion, must either be allowed to prevail, or leave to him who obstructs it the odium of the confusion which may follow. After the supplicants, who had increased to a vast body of men, spreading over the whole of the southern part of Scotland, had united themselves under a representative constitution, termed "The Tables," a renewal of the national covenant was judged a useful measure for a combination of effort and the insurance of a general union and purpose. Johnston and the celebrated Alexander Henderson were employed to suit the revered obligation to which their ancestors had sworn, to the new purpose for which it was applied, by including the protestations against the liturgy of the Episcopal church, under the general declarations which it previously bore against the doctrine of the Church of Rome, and adducing authorities in support of the new application. The obligation was signed in March, 1638, under circumstances too well known to be recapitulated.¹

Johnston, although from his secondary rank he did not then assume the authority of a leader, was, from his knowledge and perseverance, more trusted to in the labours of the opposition than any other man, and his name continually recurs as the agent in every active measure. To the unyielding and exasperating proclamation which was read at the market-cross of Edinburgh on the 22d of February, 1638, he prepared and read aloud, on a scaffold erected for the purpose, the celebrated protestation in name of the Tables, while the dense crowd who stood around prevented the issuers of the proclamation from departing before they heard the answer to

¹ For such matters connected with this period as are here, to prevent repetition, but slightly alluded to, see the memoirs of HENDERSON, of MONTROSE, and of the first DUKE OF HAMILTON, in this collection.

their challenge. On the 8th of July the king issued another proclamation, which though termed "A proclamation of favour and grace," and though it promised a maintenance of the religion *presently professed within the kingdom*, without innovation, an interim suspension of the service-book, a rectification of the high-commission, and the loudly called for General Assembly and parliament, was, with reason, deemed more dangerous than a defiance. Johnston had a protestation prepared for the delicacy of this trying occasion, which, with the decorum from which he seems on no occasion to have departed, he, "in all humility, with submissive reverence," presented in presence of the multitude.¹ When, on the 22d of September, the parliament and General Assembly were proclaimed, he prepared another protestation in a similar tone to the former, which he read in his own name, and in that of the Earl of Montrose, for the nobles; Gibson younger of Durie for the barons; George Porterfield, merchant in Glasgow, for the burghs; and Henry Pollock, minister of Edinburgh, for the clergy. It will be easily conjectured that, at the period when he was thus publicly employed, Johnston was privately acting as a partisan of the covenant, and an enemy of Prelacy and arbitrary power, by all the means which a political agent invariably uses. At such a period the more we can trace the private proceedings and feelings of the public man the better can we hold him up as a biographical example. As the only curious document connected with our subject at this period of his existence, we give the following somewhat mutilated letter to Johnston, from a person who did not choose to sign his name; it is characteristic of the feeling of the party, and of the occupation of the subject of our memoir; and if to a speculative politician it may breathe an illiberal spirit, let him remember that there never existed a party, however pure, which did not wish to suppress the opposite party, and that not having power and numbers on their side, the opponents of the covenant were in the situation of disturbers of society, in as far as they wished to impose rules on the whole kingdom.

"For Mr. Archibald Johnston of Warriston, advocate.

"Dear Christian Brother and courageous Protestant—Upon some rumour of the Prelate of St. Andrews his coming over the water, and finding it altogether inconvenient that he or any of that kynd should show themselves peaceably in publicke, some course was taken how hee might be enterreynt in such places as he should come unto: we are now informed that hee (will) not come, but that Broughen is in Edinburgh or thereabout; it is the advyce of your friends here, that in a private way some course may be taken for his terror and disgrace if he offer to show himself in publick. Think upon the best r . . . by the advyce of your friends there. I fear that their publick appearance at Glasgow shall be prejudicial to our cause. We are going to take order (with) his cheefe supporters there, Glaidstanes, Skryngmoor, and Hallyburton.

"Wishing you both protection and direction from your maister, I continew, youre owne whome you know. G.

"28th October, 1638."²

Such was the feeling in which the leaders of the covenant prepared themselves for the renowned General Assembly held at Glasgow in November and December, 1638. On that occasion Johnston was, by a unanimous vote, chosen clerk of the assembly. On its being discovered that his precursor had been enabled to procure only two of the seven volumes of minutes of the General Assemblies held since the Reformation, the moderator, probably in pursuance of a preconceived measure, called upon all those who were aware of the existence of any others to give information on the subject to the assembly. Johnston hereupon produced the other five volumes—how obtained by him we know not—

by which service he greatly increased the confidence previously placed in him. On the day before the session terminated the assembly elected him procurator for the church, and, as was afterwards ratified by act of parliament, he received for the former of these offices 500, and for the latter 1000 merks yearly.³

Johnston was one of the commissioners appointed by the Scots to conduct the treaty at Berwick. The General Assembly, which was the consequence of that pacification, passes over, and the unsatisfactory parliament which followed is commenced, ere we again observe Johnston's name connected with any public affairs beyond the usual routine of his duties. The parliament commenced its sittings on the 31st of August, 1639. On the 14th of November Sir Thomas Hope, in his official capacity as lord-advocate, produced a warrant from the king addressed to the commissioners, which, on the ground that the royal prerogative was interested in the proceedings, ordered a prorogation to the 2d of June, 1640. The warrant was read by Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, one of the clerks of session, on which the lord-advocate took the usual protest, calling on the clerk actually to dissolve the meeting. On this the clerk, who was performing an unpleasing office, answered "that he had already read the said warrant containing the said prorogation, and was ready to read the same as oft as he should be commanded, but could not otherwise prorogate the parliament." The Earl of Rothes added to his embarrassment, by challenging him to "do nothing but as he would be answerable to the parliament, upon payne of his life." And the junior clerk, Mr. William Scott, being called on to dissolve the meeting, sagaciously declined officiating in the presence of his senior. Johnston then came forward, and, in name of the three estates, read a declaration purporting that his majesty, having, in compliance with the wish of his faithful subjects, called a free assembly and parliament, and submitted matters ecclesiastical to the former, and matters civil to the latter; the commissioner had (it was presumed, without the full permission of the king, attempted to dissolve the parliament—a measure which the estates maintained could not be constitutionally taken without the consent of the parliament itself. With that respect for the person of the king which, as the advocates of peaceful measures, the Covenanters at that period always professed to maintain, the document proceeds to state that the estates are constrained to the measure they adopt by "our zeal to acquit ourself according to our place, both to the king's majesty, whose honour at all times, but especially convened in parliament, we ought to have in high estimation, and to the kingdom which we represent, and whose liberties shall never be prostituted or vilified by us." Having denounced the prorogation as unconstitutional, this remarkable state-paper thus proceeds—"But because we know that the eyes of the world ar upon us, that declarations have been made and published against us, and malice is prompted for hir obloquies, and wateth on with opin mouth to snatch at the smallest shadow of disobedience, disservice, or disrespect to his majesty's commandments, that our proceedings may be made odious to such as know not the way how thes commandments are procured from his majesty, nor how they are made knowin and intimat to us, and doe also little consider that we are not now private subjects bot a sitting parliament, quhat national prejudices we have sustenit in tyme past by misinformation, and quhat is the present state of the

¹ Balfour's *Annals*, ii. 276.

² Wodrow's *Collection*, Advoc. Lib. vol. lxvi. No. 58.

³ Balf. *An. ii.* 301, 313; *Scots Worthies*, 271; *Act. Parl.* v. 316.

kingdom;" so arguing, the presenters of the declaration, that they may put far from them "all shaw or appearance of what may give his majesty the least discontent," resolve, in the meantime, merely to vindicate their rights by their declaration, and, voluntarily adjourning, resolve to elect some of each estate, as a permanent committee, endowed with the full powers of a parliamentary committee, to "await his majesty's gracious answer to our humble and just demands, and farther to remonstrate our humble desires to his majesty upon all occasions; that hereby it may be made most manifest, against all contradiction, that it was never our intention to deny his majesty any parte of the civil and temporal obedience which is due to all kings from their subjects, and from us to our dread soverane after a special maner, bot meerlie to preserve our religion, and the liberties of the kingdome, without which religion cannot continue long in safetie."—"And if it sall happen," continues this prophetic declaration "(which God forbid), that, efter we have made our remonstrances, and to the uttermost of our power and duetie used all lawful meanes for his majesty's information, that our malicious enemies, who are not considerable, sall, by their suggestions and lyes, prevail against the informations and generall declarations of a whole kingdom, we tak God and men to witness, that we are free of the outrages and insolencies that may be committed in the mean tyme, and that it sall be to us no imputation, that we are constrained to tak such course as may best secure the kirk and kingdome from the extremitie of confusion and miserie."

It is to be remarked that this act of the Covenanters did not assume the authority of a protest; it was a statement of grievances to which, for a short time, they would submit, supplicating a remedy. The assertion that the crown had not the sole power of proroguing parliament may be said to be an infringement of prerogative; but this very convenient term must owe its application to practice, and it appears that the royal power on this point had not been accurately fixed by the constitution of the Scottish parliament. The choice of the lords of articles by the commissioner—a step so far a breach of "privilege" (the opposite term to prerogative), that it rendered a parliament useless as an independent body—was likewise remonstrated against, along with the application of supplies without consent of parliament.

The Earls of Dunfermline and Loudon were sent as commissioners to represent the declaration to the king. "They behaved themselves," says Clarendon, "in all respects, with the confidence of men employed by a foreign state, refused to give any account but to the king himself; and even to the king himself gave no other reason for what was done, but the authority of the doers, and the necessity that required it; that is, that they thought it necessary; but then they polished their sturdy behaviour with all the professions of submission and duty which their language could afford."

As connected with this mission, some historians have alluded to, and others have narrated, a dark intrigue, of which Johnston was the negative instrument; a matter which has never been cleared up. We shall give it in the words of Burnet, the nephew of Johnston, and who had therefore some reason to know the facts. "After the first pacification, upon the new disputes that arose, when the Earls of Loudoun and Dumfermling were sent up with the petition from the Covenanters, the Lord Saville came to them, and informed them of many particulars, by which they saw the king was highly

irritated against them. He took great pains to persuade them to come with their army into England. They very unwillingly hearkened to that proposition, and looked on it as a design from the court to ensnare them, making the Scots invade England, by which this nation might have been provoked to assist the king to conquer Scotland. It is true, he hated the Earl of Strafford so much, that they saw no cause to suspect him; so they entered into a treaty with him about it. The Lord Saville assured them, he spoke to them in the name of the most considerable men in England, and he showed them an engagement under their hands to join with them if they would come into England, and refuse any treaty but what should be confirmed by a parliament of England. They desired leave to send this paper into Scotland, to which, after much seeming difficulty, he consented; so a cane was hollowed, and this was put within it; and one Frost, afterwards secretary to the committee of both kingdoms, was sent down with it as a poor traveller. It was to be communicated only to three persons—the Earls of Rothes and Argyle, and to Warriston, the three chief confidants of the Covenanters. . . . To these three only this paper was to be showed, upon an oath of secrecy; and it was to be deposited in Warriston's hands. They were only allowed to publish to the nation that they were sure of a very great and unexpected assistance, which, though it was to be kept secret, would appear in due time. This they published; and it was looked on as an artifice to draw in the nation; but it was afterwards found to be a cheat indeed, but a cheat of Lord Saville's, who had forged all those subscriptions. . . . The Lord Saville's forgery came to be discovered. The king knew it; and yet he was brought afterwards to trust him, and to advance him to be Earl of Sussex. The king pressed my uncle (Johnston) to deliver him the letter, who excused himself upon his oath; and not knowing what use might be made of it he cut out every subscription, and sent it to the person for whom it was forged. The imitation was so exact, that every man as soon as he saw his hand simply by itself, acknowledged that he could not have denied it."¹ Burnet had certainly the best opportunities for both a public and private acquaintance with such an event, and the circumstance has been at least hinted at by others; but Mr. Laing justly remarks that "in their conferences with these noblemen, and with Pym and Hambden, the Scottish commissioners during their residence in London must have received such secret assurances of support, that, without this forged invitation, the committee of estates would have chosen to transfer the war into England."²

At the parliament which met on the 2d of June, 1640, the representative of majesty in that body choosing to absent himself, or dreading the danger of a journey to Scotland, the estates proceeded to reduce themselves to a formal and deliberative body by the choice of a president. To this convention Johnston produced a petition from the General Assembly, which had been ratified by the privy-council, praying for a legislative ratification of the covenant, and an order that it should be enforced on the inhabitants of the country with all civil pains,³ —a requisition which the convention was not in a disposition to refuse. On the 11th of June, by the 34th act of this parliament, the celebrated committee of forty having, in absence of the superior body which called it into existence, the full legislative power of a republican congress, was elected, and the members

¹ Burnet, 37, 39, 41. ² Laing, iii. 194. ³ Act. Parl. v. 293.

were divided betwixt the camp and Edinburgh. Our surprise that so influential and laborious a man as Johnston was not chosen a member of this body is relieved by the place of higher, though somewhat anomalous, trust to which we find him appointed, as general agent and adviser to the body—a sort of leader without being a constituent member. “And because,” says the act, “there will fall out in the camp a necessitie either of treatties, consultations, or public declarations, to schaw the reasons of the demands and proceedings in the assemble and parliament, and the prejudices agains either of them, the estates ordayne Mr. Archibald Johnston, procurator for the kirk, as best acquaint with these reasons and prejudices, to attend his excellence (the general) and to be present at all occasions with the said committee, for their farther information, and clearing thairant.”¹ Johnston was one of the eight individuals appointed to treat with the English commissioners at Ripon, by an act of the great committee of management, dated the 30th of September, 1640.² When this treaty was transferred to London, Johnston was chosen a member of the committee, along with Henderson, as supernumeraries to those appointed from the estates, and probably with the peculiar duty of watching over the interests of the church, “because many things may occur concerning the church and assemblies thereof.”³

The proceedings and achievements of this body are so well known that, in an article which aims at giving such memorials of its subject as are not to be readily met with in the popular histories, they need not be repeated. On the 25th day of September, 1641, Johnston produced in parliament a petition that he might be exonerated from all responsibility as to the public measures with which he had for the previous four years been connected, mentioning the important office which he held as adviser to the commissioners attending on the motions at the camp, and the duties he was called on to perform at the treaty of Ripon and London; and observing, that it has been considered necessary that others so employed should have their conduct publicly examined in parliament, he craves that all requisite inquiry may immediately be made as to his own proceedings; that, if he has done anything “contrair to their instructions, or prejudicial to the publick, he may undergoe that censure which the wrongers of the countrey and abusers of such great trust deserves;” but if it has been found that he has done his duty, “then,” he says, “doe I in all humility begg that, seeing by God’s assistance and blessing the treattie of peace is closed, and seeing my employment in thir publick business is now at an end, that before I returne to my private affaires and calling, from the which these four yeires I have been continually distracted, I may obtaine from his gracious majesty and your lordships an exoneration of that charge, and an approbation of my former carriage.” The exoneration was granted, and the act ratifying it stated, that after due examination, the estates found that Johnston had “faithfullie, diligientlie, and cairfullie behaved himself in the foresaid charge, employments, and trust put upon him, in all the passages thairrof, as he justly deserves thair treu testimonie of his approven fidelitie and diligence.”⁴

In 1641, when the king paid his pacificatory visit to Scotland, Johnston obtained, among others, a liberal peace-offering. He had fixed his eyes on the office of lord-register, probably as bearing an affinity to his previous occupations; but the superior influ-

ence of Gibson of Durie prevailed in competition for that situation; he received, however, the commission of an ordinary lord of session, along with a liberal pension, and the honours of knighthood. During the sitting of the parliament we find him appointed as a commissioner, to treat with the king on the supplementary matters which were not concluded at the treaty of Ripon, and to obtain the royal consent to the acts passed during the session. Much about the same period he was appointed, along with others, to make search among the records contained in the castle, for points of accusation against the “incendiaries;” the persons whom he and his colleagues had just displaced in the offices of state and judicature. It may be sufficient, and will save repetition, to mention that we find him appointed in the same capacity which we have already mentioned, in the recommissions of the committee of estates, and in the other committees chosen to negotiate with the king, similar to those we have already described, among which may be noticed the somewhat menacing committee of 1641, appointed to treat as to commerce, the naturalization of subjects, the demands as to war with foreigners, the Irish rebellion, and particularly as to “the brotherlie supplie and assistance” of the English parliament to the Scottish army.⁵

In the parliament of 1643 Sir Archibald Johnston represented the county of Edinburgh, and was appointed to the novel situation of speaker to the barons, as a separate estate. In this capacity, on the 7th of June, 1644, he moved the house to take order concerning the “unnatural rebellion” of Montrose,⁶ and somewhat in the manner of an impeachment he moved a remonstrance against the Earl of Carnwath, followed by a commission to make trial of his conduct, along with that of Traquair, of which Johnston was a member.⁷ During the period when, as a matter of policy, the Scots in general suspended their judgment between the contending parties in England, Warriston seems early to have felt, and not to have concealed, a predilection for the cause of the parliament, and was the person who moved that the General Assembly should throw the weight of their opinion into that scale.⁸

Johnston had been named as one of the commissioners, chosen on the 9th August, 1643, for the alleged purpose of mediating betwixt Charles I. and his parliament; but Charles, viewing him as a dangerous opponent, objected to providing him with a safe-conduct, and he appears to have remained in

¹ *Act. Parl.* v. 357, 371, 372, 489, &c.

² *Balfour’s Annals*, iii. 177.

³ *Act. Parl.* vi. 6, 8.

⁴ A curious evidence of his opinions, and the motives of his political conduct at this period, exists, in the form of some remarks on the aspect of the times, which appear to have been addressed to his friend Lord Loudon. The manuscript is in scroll, very irregularly written, and with numerous corrections; circumstances which will account for any unintelligibility in the portion we extract. It bears date the 21st of June, 1642. “Seeing thir kingdoms most stand and fall together, and that at the first design in all thir late troubles, so the last effort of thes evil counsels prevailing stit to the suppression of religion and liberty and the erection of poperye and arbitrary power; it is earnestly desyrd by good Christians and patriots that the question of the war be right stated, as a warr for religion and libertie, against papists and prelates, and their abackers and adherents; and that now, in thair straits and difficulties, they might enter in a covenant with God and amongst themselves, for the reformation of the church, abolishing of popery and prelaycy out of England and Scotland, and preservation of the roule and peace of thir kyngdoms, &c. without diminution of his majesty’s authorities, might not only free them of fears from this, but also fill them with hopes of their bearing alongst with their proceedings the hearts and confidence of thir kyngdoms. Pitmaylie may remember weal what of this kynd was motioned at Rippon, and spoken of agayne, when the English armye was reported to be comyng up.”—Wodrow’s *Papers*, Ad. Lib. vol. lxvi.

¹ *Act. Parl.* v. 311.

² *Balf. An.* ii. 416.

³ *Balfour’s An.* ii. 408.

⁴ *Act. Parl.* v. 414.

Edinburgh. He, however, conducted a correspondence with the commissioners who repaired to London, as a portion of which, the subjoined letter to him from the Earl of Loudon, which throws some light on the policy of the Scots at that juncture, may be interesting.¹

We find Johnston sent to London on the 4th of July, 1644, but it is probable that, before that time, he had managed to visit England without the ceremonial of a safe-guard from the falling monarchy; and on the 9th of January, 1645, we find him along with Mr. Robert Barclay, "two of our commissioners lattle returned from London," reporting the progress of their proceedings to the house.² The proceedings of this commission, and of the assembly of

divines at Westminster, with which Warriston had a distinguished connection, may be passed over as matters of general history. Warned, probably, by the cautious intimations of the letter we have just quoted, Johnston was the constant attendant of the English commissioners on their progress to Scotland, and was the person who moved their business in the house.³ On the death of Sir Thomas Hope, in 1646, Johnston had the influence to succeed him as lord-advocate, an office for which he seems to have adapted himself by his numerous motions against malignants. With a firm adherence to his previous political conduct, Johnston refused accession to the well-known engagement which the Duke of Hamilton conducted as a last effort in behalf of the unfortunate monarch.

On the 10th of January, 1649, the Marquis of Argyre delivered a speech, "wich he called the breking of the malignants' teith, and that he quho was to speake after him (viz. Warriston) wolde brecke their jawes." Argyre found the teeth to be five, which he smashed one by one:—"His first was against the ingagers being statesmen, and intrusted with great places, quho had broken their trust. 2. Against the engagers' committee-men, quho by ther tyranny had opprest the subjects. 3. Against declared malignants, formerly fyned in parliament, or remitted, and now agayne relapsed. 4. Against thesesse that wer eager promoters of the laitt ingagemet with England. 5. Against suche as had petitioned for the advancement of the levey." After these were demolished, Johnston commenced his attack on the toothless jaws; he "read a speache two houres in lenthe off his papers, being an explanatione of Argyre's five heads, or teith, as he named them; with the anssuering of such objects he thought the pryme ingagers wolde make in their awen defence against the housse now convened, wich they did not acnounge to be a lawfull parliament."⁴

On the 6th of January, the imminent danger of the king prompted the choosing a committee to act for his safety under instructions. The instructions were fourteen; and the most remarkable and essential was, that a protest should be taken against any sentence pronounced against the king. "That this kingdom may be free of all the desollatione, misery, and bloodshed, that incertable will follow thereupone, without offering in your ressonne, that princes ar eximed from triall of justice."⁵ This was by no means in opposition to the principles which Johnston had previously professed, but his mind appears to have been finally settled into a deep opposition to all monarchy. Along with Argyre he distinguished himself in opposing the instructions by a method not honourable to their memory—a proposition that the measure should be delayed for a few days to permit a fast to be held in the interim. One of the last of his ministerial acts as lord-advocate was the proclamation of Charles II. on the 5th of February, 1649; and he was, on the 10th of March in the same year, appointed to his long-looked-for post of lord-register, in place of Gibson of Durie, superseded by the act of classes. At the battle of Dunbar in 1650 he was one of the committee of the estates appointed to superintend the military motions of Leslie, and was urgent in pressing the measure which is reputed to have lost the day to the Scots. He was naturally accused of treachery, but the charge has not been supported. "Waristoun," says Burnet, "was too hot, and Lesley was too cold, and yielded too easily to their humours, which he ought not to have done;"⁶

¹ "My Lord,—The sending of commissioners from the parliament here to the parliament of Scotland at this time was upon the sudden moved in the House of Commons (befoir wee wer acquainted thereof) by the solicitor, and seconded by some who profes to be o' freinds, as a greater testimonie of respect than the sending of a letter alone, and was in that sens approved by the whole hous, who, I believe, does it for no other end, neither is ther any other instructions given by the house than these, whereof the copy is sent to you, which ar only general for a good correspondence betwixt the two kingdoms. Bot I cannot forbear to tell you my apprehensions, that the intention and designs of some particular persons in sending down at this time, and in such a juncture of affaires (when ther is so great rumor of division and factiones in Scotland), is by them to learne the posture of business ther in the parl^t, assemblies, and kingdom, that they may receive privat information from them, and make ther applications and uses thereof accordingly. That which confirms this opinion to me the more, is, that the sending of these perones to Scotland was moved and seconded by such as profes themselves to be o' freinds w^out giving us any notice thereof till it was done; and the day before it was motioned, they and yo' old friend Sir Henry Vaine, younger, wer at a consultation together, and yo' lo^p: knows how much power Sir Henrie Vain has with Sir W^m Armyne and Mr. Bowlls.* Sir William Armyne is a very honest gentleman, but Mr. Bowlls is very deserving, and doubtless is sent (thoghe not of intention of the parl^t) as a spy to give privat intelligence to some who are jealous and curious to understand how all affairs goe in Scotland. Thomsone I hear is a Independent, and (if he goe not away before I can meit with some freinds) I shall c^otryve that there may be a snare laid in his gaitt to stay his journey; they wold be used with all civillie when they come, bot yo' lo^p: and others wold be verie wary and circumspect in all yo' proceedings and deallings wth them; seeing the hous of parl^t and all such heir as desyre a happie and well-grounded peace, or a short and prosperous warre, ar desyrus that the Scottish armie advance southward (although I dare not presume to give any positive judgment without presyene knowledge of the condition and posture of o' own kingdom). I cannot see any human means so probable and lyklye to settle religion and peace, and make o' nation the more considerable, as the advancing of o' armie southward if the turbulent comotions and rud distractions of Scotland may permitt, nor is it possible that so great an armie can be longer entertained by the northern counties, so barren and much waisted with armies; nor can it be expected that the parl^t of England can be at so great charge as the entertainment of that armie (if they did realleie intertain them), unless they be more useful for the caus and publick service of both kingdoms than to lye still in thes northern counties, being now reduced, and the king to vexe the south with forces equal to theirs; bot there needs not arguments to prove this point, unless that base crewe of Irish rebels and their perfidious confederates, and the unnatural factions of o' countrymen forgetting o' covenant, ar grown to such a hight of mischief and misery, as to make such a rent at home as to disable us to assist o' freinds, and prosecute that cause which I am confident God will carrie on and perfyte against all opposition; and in confidence thereof I shall encourage myself, and rejoyce under hope, although I should never sie the end of itt. I beseeche you to haist back this bearer, and let me know with him the condition of affairs in Scotland; how o' good freinds are, and how soon we may expect yo' returne hither, or if I must come to you befoir ye come to us. I refer the Marquiss of Argyre and my Lord Balmerinoch, and other freinds to you for intelligence, to spair paines and supply the want of leasure; and will say noe more at this time, bot that I am your most affectionate and faithfull friend, LOUPOUNE."—Wodrow's *M.S. Collection*, vol. lxxi. The letter is dated from Worcester House, January 6, 1644.

² Balf. *An.* iii. 204, 248.

* The English commissioners were—the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyne, Sir Henry Vane (younger), Thomas Thacher, and Henry Darnley.

³ Balf. *An.* iii. 262.

⁵ Ibid. 384.

⁴ Ibid. 377.

⁶ Burnet, 83.

and the mistake may be attributed to the obstinacy of those who, great in the cabinet and conventicle, thought they must be equally great in war.

Warriston was among the few persons who in the committee of estates refused to accede to the treaty of Charles II. at Breda; an act of stubborn consistency which, joined to others of a like nature, sealed his doom in the royal heart. After the battle of Dunbar, the repeal of the act of classes, which was found necessary as a means of re-constructing the army, again called forth his jaw-breaking powers. He wrote "a most solid letter" on the subject to the meeting held at St. Andrews, July 18, 1651, which appears never to have been read, but which has been preserved by the careful Wodrow,¹ for the benefit of posterity. He wrote several short treatises on *The Sinfulness of Joining Malignants*, assailing their arguments in a very considerate and logical manner. One of these is extant, and lays down its aim as follows:

"The first question concerning the sinfulness of the publick resolutions hath bene handled in a former tractat. The other question remaines, anent y^e sinfulness and unlawfulness of the concurrence of particular persons." The question is proposed in the following terms:—"viz^t, when God's covenanted people intrusts God's covenanted interest to the power of God's anti-covenanted enemies, though upon pretence to fight against ane other anti-covenanted enemy—whether a consciensious covenant can lawfullie concur with such a partie in such a cause, or may lawfullie abstane, and rather give testimonie by suffering against both parties and causes, as sinfull and prejudiciall to God's honour and interest. It is presupposed a dutie to oppose the common enemy. The question is anent the meanes of resisting the unjust invader."

"Three things premittid. 1. The clearing of terms. 2. Some distinctions. 3. Some conjunctions handled."² The postulates are, perhaps, rather too sweeping for general opinion, but, presuming them to be granted, the reasonings of this lay divine are certainly sufficiently logical within their narrow space, and may have appeared as mathematical demonstrations to those who admitted the deep sin of accepting assistance from opponents in religious opinion. This resistance appears, however, to have been of a negative nature, and not to have extended to the full extremity of the remonstrance of the west; at least when called on for an explanation by the committee of estates, he declined owning connection with it: "Warreston did grant that he did see it, was at the voting of it, but refused to give his votte therin. He denyed that he wes accessorie to the contriving of it at first."³

After this period he appears to have been for some time sick of the fierce politics in which he had been so long engaged, and to have retired himself into the bosom of a large family. He is accused by a contemporary—not of much credit—of peculation, in having accepted sums of money for the disposal of offices under him; and the same person in the same page states the improbable circumstance of his having restored the money so gained, on all the offices being abolished by Cromwell, and that he was not affluent, having "conquest no lands but Warriston,⁴ of the avail of 1000 merks Scots a year, where he now lives freed of trouble of state or country."⁵

He was a member of the committee of protestors

who, in 1657, proceeded to London to lay their complaints before the government. Cromwell knew the value of the man he had before him, and persuaded him to try the path of ambition under the new government. Wodrow and others have found it convenient to palliate his departure from the adherence to royalty as an act for which it was necessary to find apologies in strong calls of interest and facility of temper. It will, however, almost require a belief in all the mysteries of divine right to discover why *Warriston* should have adhered to royalty without power, and how the opinions he always professed should have made him prefer a factious support of an absent prince to the service of a powerful leader, his early friend and coadjutor in opposing hereditary loyalty.

On the 9th of July, 1657, he was re-appointed clerk-register, and on the 3d of November in the same year he was named as one of the commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland.⁶ Cromwell created Johnston a peer, and he sat in the protector's upper house with the title of Lord Warriston, occupying a station more brilliant, but not so exalted as those he had previously filled. After the death of Cromwell, Warriston displayed his strong opposition to the return of royalty, by acting as president of the committee of safety under Richard Cromwell. Knowing himself to be marked out for destruction, he fled at the Restoration to France. It is painful, after viewing a life spent with honour and courage in the highest trusts, to trace this great man's life to an end which casts a blot on the times and on the human race. He was charged to appear before the Estates; and having been outlawed in the usual form, on the 10th October, 1661, a reward of 5000 merks was offered for his apprehension. By a fiction of law, the most horrible which a weak government ever invented for protection against powerful subjects—but which, it must be acknowledged, was put in force by Warriston and his confederates against Montrose—an act of forfeiture in absence was passed against him, and he was condemned to death on the 15th of May, 1661. The principal and avowed articles of accusation against him were, his official prosecution of the royalists, and particularly of Gordon of Newton, his connection with the Remonstrance, his sitting in parliament as a peer of England, and his accepting office under Cromwell.

It was necessary that the victim of judicial vengeance should be accused of acts which the law knows as crimes; and acts to which the best protectors of Charles II.'s throne were accessory were urged against this man. For the hidden causes of his prosecution we must, however, look to his ambition, the influence of his worth and talents, and the unbending consistency of his political principles; causes to which Wodrow has added his too ungracious censure of regal vice.

In the meantime Johnston had been lurking in Germany and the Low Countries, from which, unfortunately for himself, he proceeded to France. A confidant termed "Major Johnston" is supposed to have discovered his retreat; and a spy of the name of Alexander Murray, commonly called "Crooked Murray," was employed to hunt him out. This individual, narrowly watching the motions of Lady Warriston, discovered his dwelling in Rouen, and with consent of the council of France he was brought prisoner to England, and lodged in the Tower on the 8th of June, 1663; thence he was brought to Edinburgh, not for the purpose of being tried, but to suffer execution of the sentence passed on him in

¹ Wodrow's *Collection*, Ad. Lib. xxxii. 5, 15.

² *Ibid.* 16. ³ Balf. *An. iv.* 169; *Scots Worthies*, 275.

⁴ A small estate so near Edinburgh as to be now encroached upon by its suburbs.

⁵ Scot of Scotsstarvet's *Stag. State*, 127.

⁶ Haig and Brunton's *Hist. College of Justice*, 308.

absence. When presented to parliament to receive sentence, it was apparent that age, hardship, and danger had done their work effectually on his iron nerves; and the intrepid advocate of the covenant exhibited the mental imbecility of an idiot. His friends accused Dr. Bates of having administered to him deleterious drugs, and weakened him by bleeding; an improbable act, which would have only raised unnecessary indignation against those who already had him sufficiently in their power. The apostate Sharpe and his other enemies are said to have ridiculed the sick lion;¹ but there were at least a few of his opponents not too hardened to pity the wreck of a great intellect before them.

Probably affected by the circumstances of his situation, some of the members showed an anxiety for a little delay; but Lauderdale, who had received imperative instructions regarding him, fiercely opposed the proposition. He was sentenced to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh on the 22d of July, his head being to be severed from his body, and placed beside that of his departed brother in the cause, Guthrie. Of the mournful pageant we extract the following characteristic account from Wodrow:—

"The day of his execution, a high gallows or gibbet was set up at the cross, and a scaffold made by it. About two o'clock he was taken from prison; many of his friends attended him in mourning. When he came out he was full of holy cheerfulness and courage, and in as perfect serenity and composure of mind as ever he was. Upon the scaffold he acknowledged his compliance with the English, and cleared himself of the least share of the king's death. He read his speech with an audible voice, first at the north side and then at the south side of the scaffold: he prayed next, with the greatest liberty, fervour, and sense of his own unworthiness, frequently using the foresaid expression. After he had taken his leave of his friends, he prayed again in a perfect rapture, being now near the end of that sweet work he had been so much employed about through his life, and felt so much sweetness in. Then the napkin being tied upon his head, he tried how it would fit him, and come down and cover his face, and directed to the method how it should be brought down when he gave the sign. When he was got to the top of the ladder, to which he was helped because of bodily weakness, he cried with a loud voice, 'I beseech you all who are the people of God, not to scar [be scared] at sufferings for the interests of Christ, or stumble at anything of this kind falling out in those days; but be encouraged to suffer for him; for I assure you, in

the name of the Lord, he will bear your charges.' This he repeated again with great fervour while the rope was tying about his neck, adding, 'The Lord hath graciously comforted me.' Then he asked the executioner if he was ready to do his office, who answering he was, he bid him do it, and crying out, 'O pray, pray! praise, praise!' was turned over, and died almost without a struggle, with his hands lifted up to heaven."²

The same partial hand has thus drawn his character: "My Lord Warristoun was a man of great learning and eloquence; of very much wisdom, and extraordinary zeal for the public cause of religion and reformation, in which he was a chief actor; but above all, he was extraordinary in piety and devotion, as to which he had scarce any equal in the age he lived in. One who was his intimate acquaintance says, he spent more time, notwithstanding the great throng of public business upon his hand, in prayer, meditation, and close observation of providences, and self-examination, than ever he knew or heard of: and as he was very diligent in making observations on the Lord's way, so he was visited with extraordinary discoveries of the Lord's mind, and very remarkable providences. He wrote a large diary, which yet remains in the hands of his relations; an invaluable treasure of Christian experiences and observations; and, as I am told by one who had the happiness to see some part of it, there is mixed in sometimes matters of fact very little known now, which would bring a great deal of light to the history of Scots affairs in that period wherein he lived."³

But his nephew, Burnet, has, in his usual characteristic manner, drawn a more happy picture of the stubborn statesman and hardy zealot, too vivid to be neglected: "Warristoun was my own uncle; he was a man of great application, could seldom sleep above three hours in the twenty-four: he had studied the law carefully, and had a great quickness of thought, with an extraordinary memory. He went into very high notions of lengthened devotions, in which he continued many hours a-day: he would often pray in his family two hours at a time, and had an unexhausted copiousness that way. What thought soever struck his fancy during these effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer, and was wholly determined by it. He looked on the covenant as the setting Christ on his throne, and so was out of measure zealous in it. He had no regard to the raising himself or his family, though he had thirteen children; but prosperity was to him more than all the world. He had a readiness and vehemence of speaking that made him very considerable in public assemblies; and he had a fruitful invention; so that he was at all times furnished with expedients."

JOHNSTON, DR. ARTHUR, a poet and physician, was born in the year 1587, at Caskieben, the seat of his family, a few miles from Aberdeen. He was the fifth son of George Johnston of that ilk and of Caskieben, the chief of the family of Johnston, by Christian Forbes, daughter of William, seventh Baron Forbes. He appears to have been named after his uncle the Honourable William Forbes of Logie, who was killed at Paris in the year 1574.⁴ This poet, whose chief characteristic was the elegance with which he expressed his own simple feelings as a poet, in the language appropriate to the customs and feelings of a past nation, has left in his *Epigrammata* an address to his native spot; and, although Caskie-

¹ One of these was M'Kenzie, who, with uncharitable and improbable inferences, draws the following graphic picture of the scene:—"He was brought up the street discovered [uncovered]; and being brought into the council-house of Edinburgh, where the chancellor and others waited to examine him, he fell upon his face roaring, and with tears entreated they would pity a poor creature who had forgot all that was in his Bible. This moved all the spectators with a deep melancholy; and the chancellor, reflecting upon the man's former esteem, and the great share he had in all the late revolutions, could not deny some tears to the frailty of silly mankind. At his examination he pretended that he had lost so much blood by the unskilfulness of his surgeons, that he lost his memory with his blood; and I really believe that his courage had indeed been drawn out with it. Within a few days he was brought before the parliament, where he discovered nothing but much weakness, running up and down upon his knees begging mercy. But the parliament ordained his former sentence to be put into execution, and accordingly he was executed at the cross of Edinburgh. At his execution he showed more composure than formerly, which his friends ascribed to God's miraculous kindness for him, but others thought that he had only formerly put on this disguise of madness to escape death in it, and that, finding the mask useless, he had returned, not to his wit, which he had lost, but from his madness, which he had counterfeited."

—Sir G. M'Kenzie's *Annals*, 134.

² Wodrow, i. 385.

³ Wodrow, i. 361. Much search has lately been made for this interesting document, but without success.

⁴ Johnston's *History of the Family of Johnston*, 36.

ben is a piece of very ordinary Scottish scenery, it is surprising how much he has made of it by the mere force of his own early associations. With the minuteness of an enthusiast, he does not omit the circumstance, that the hill of Benochie, a conical elevation about eight miles distant, casts its shadow over Caskieben at the periods of the equinox. As we shall be able, by giving this epigram, to unite a specimen of the happiest original efforts of the author's genius with circumstances personally connected with his history, we beg leave to extract it:—

Æmula Thessaliciæ en hic Jonstonia Tempe,
Hesperus hyperboreo fusa sub axe vides.
Mille per ambages nitidus argenteus undis,
Hic trepidat lætos Urinis inter agros.
Explicit hic seras ingens Bennachius umbras,
Nox ubi libratur lance desique pari.
Gemmifer est amnis, radiat mونس ipsæ lapilli,
Queis nihil Eous purius orbis habet.
Hic pandit natura sinum, nativæque surgens
Purpura felicem sub pede ditat humum.
Aëra per liquidum volucres, in flumine pisces,
Adspicias in pratis luxuriare pascuis.
Hic seges est, hic poma rubent, onerantur aristas
Arva, suas ægre sustinet arbor opes.
Propter aquas arx est, ipsi contermina cœlo,
Auctoris menti non tamen æqua sui.
Imperat hæc arvis et vectigalibus undis,
Et famula stadiis distat ab urbe tribus.
Hæc mihi terra parens: gens has Jonstonia lymphas,
Arvaque per centum missa tuetur avos.
Clara Maronæis evasit Mantua cunius;
Me mea natalis nobilitat humus.

TRANSLATION.

Here, traveller, a vale behold
As fair as Tempe, famed of old,
Beneath the northern sky!
Here Urie, with her silver waves,
Her banks, in verdure smiling, laves,
And winding wimplies by.
Here, towering high, Bennachie spreads
Around on all his evening shades,
When twilight gray comes on:
With sparkling gems the river glows:
As precious stones the mountain shows
As in the East are known.
Here nature spreads a bosom sweet,
And native dyes beneath the feet
Bedeck the joyous ground:
Sport in the liquid air the birds,
And fishes in the stream; the herds
In meadows wanton round.
Here ample barn-yards still are stored
With relics of last autumn's hoard
And firstlings of this year;
There waving fields of yellow corn,
And ruddy apples, that adorn
The bending boughs, appear.
Beside the stream, a castle proud
Rises amid the passing cloud,
And rules a wide domain
(Unequal to its lord's desert):
A village near with lowlier art,
Is built upon the plain.
Here was I born: o'er all the land
Around the Johnstons bear command,
Of high and ancient line:
Mantua acquired a noted name
As Virgil's birth-place; I my fame
Inherit shall from mine.

In a similar spirit he has left an epigram on the small burgh of Inverury, in the neighbourhood of Caskieben, in which he does not omit the circumstance, that the fuel of the inhabitants (vulgo, the peats) comes from the land in which he was born. A similar epigram to another neighbouring burgh, the royal burgh of Kintore, now holding the rank of a very small village, informs us that at the grammar-school of that place he commenced the classical studies which afterwards acquired for him so much eminence:

"Hic ego sum memini musarum factus alumnus,
Et tiro didici verba Latina loqui."

After leaving this humble seat of learning, he is said to have studied at Marischal College in Aberdeen; a circumstance extremely probable, but which seems to have no other direct foundation than the conjecture of Benson, from the vicinity of his paternal estate to that institution, and his having been afterwards elected rector of the university, an honour generally bestowed on illustrious alumni.¹

Johnston, intending to study medicine, a science which it would have been in vain at that period to have attempted in Scotland, proceeded to Rome, and afterwards to Padua, where he seems to have acquired some celebrity for the beauty of his earlier Latin poems, and took the degree of Doctor in Medicine.² He afterwards travelled through Germany, Holland, and Denmark, and finally fixed his abode in France. If he remained for a considerable period at Padua, he must have early finished his curriculum of study at Aberdeen, as he is said by Sir Thomas Urquhart to have been laureated a poet in Paris at the age of twenty-three.

He remained for twenty years in France, a period during which he was twice married, to ladies whose names are unknown, but who bore him thirteen children to transmit his name to posterity. On his return to Britain, about the year 1632, probably at the recommendation of Laud, who was his friend, and had commenced the career of court influence, Johnston was appointed physician to Charles I., a circumstance which must have preceded or immediately followed his arrival, as he styles himself in the first edition of his *Parerga* and *Epigrammata*, published at Aberdeen in 1632, "Medicus Regius." The *Parerga* consists, as its name may designate, of a variety of small pieces of poetry, which cannot be conveniently classed under a more distinct name. A few are satirical, but the lyrical (if they may be said to come correctly under that designation) form the most interesting portion. Johnston seldom indulges in the metaphoric brilliancy which characterized the native writers in the language which he chose to use; but he has a considerable portion of their elegance, while much of the poetry is founded on association and domestic feeling, of which he has some exquisitely beautiful traits, which would have been extremely pleasing had he used his vernacular tongue. He is said to have wished to imitate Virgil; but those who have elevated Buchanan to the title of the "Scottish Virgil," have designated Johnston the "Scottish Ovid;" a characteristic which may apply to the versification of his *Psalm*s, but is far from giving a correct idea of the spirit of his original pieces.

Benson mentions, that Johnston was a litigant in the Court of Session in Edinburgh at the period of his return to Britain; and probably the issue of his suit may account for a rather unceremonious attack in the *Parerga* on advocates and agents, unblushingly addressed "Ad duos rabulas forenses, Advocatum et Procuratorem," of whom, without any respect for the College of Justice, the author says,

"Magna minorque fere, quarum paria altera lires;
Altera dispensas, utraque digna mori," &c.

On approaching the period when Johnston published his translation of the *Psalm*s of David, we cannot help being struck with the circumstances under which he appears to have formed the design. Dr. Eaglesham had, in the year 1620, published a criticism of considerable length, for the purpose of

¹ Benson's "Life" prefixed to Johnston's *Psalm*s, vi.

² "Quod ex carmine manuscripto in Advocatorum Bibliotheca, Edinburgi servato, intelligimus." The circumstance is mentioned in Sir Robert Sibbald's *Bibliographia Scotica*, which though not a "carmen," may be the MS. referred to.

proving that the public voice had erred in the merit it allowed to Buchanan's version of the Psalms, and modestly displaying a translation of Psalm civ., of his own workmanship, between which and the psalms of Buchanan he challenged a comparison.¹ Dr. William Barclay penned a critical answer to this challenge,² and Johnston made a fierce stroke at the offender, in a satirical article in the *Parerga*, which he calls "Consilium Collegii Medici Parisiensis de Mania Hypermori Medicastri," commencing

"Que Buchananæis medicaster crimina misis
Obicit, et quo se jactat inane melos;
Vidimus: et quotquot tractamus Pæonias artes,
Hic vates, uno diximus ore, furit," &c.

Johnston, however, did not consider himself incapacitated to perform a work in which another had failed, and he, probably at that period, formed the resolution of writing a version of the Psalms, which he afterwards produced under the auspices, and with the advice, of his friend Laud, which he published at London and Aberdeen in 1637. No man ever committed a more imprudent act for his own fame; as he was doomed by the nature of his task, not only to equal, but to excel, one of the greatest poets in the world. His fame was not increased by the proceedings of his eccentric countryman Lauder, who many years afterwards endeavoured with a curious pertinacity to raise the fame of Johnston's version far above that of Buchanan. Mr. Auditor Benson, a man better known for his benevolence than his acuteness, was made the trumpet of Johnston's fame. This gentleman published three editions of Johnston's psalms; one of which, printed in 1741, and dedicated to Prince George, afterwards George III., is ornamented with a very fine portrait of the poet by Vertue after Jamesone, and is amply illustrated with notes. The zealous editor received as his reward from the literary world, a couplet in the *Dunciad*, in which, in allusion to his having procured the erection of the monument to the memory of Milton in Westminster Abbey, it is said,

"On two unequal crutches propt he came,
Milton's on this, on that one Johnston's name."

A late writer, considerably versed in classical and biblical criticism—Mr. Tennant—finds, that even after the luxuriant fervidness of Buchanan, there is much to admire in the calm tastefulness and religious feeling of Johnston, and that the work of the latter is not only a more faithful translation, but given in a manner better suited (in his opinion) to the strains of the holy minstrel, than that followed by the fiery genius of Buchanan, when restricted to translation. "He is not," remarks this author, "tempted like Buchanan, by his luxuriance of phraseology, and by the necessity of filling up, by some means or other, metrical stanzas of prescribed and inexorable length, to expatiate from the psalmist's simplicity, and weaken, by circumlocution, what he must needs beat out and expand. His diction is therefore more firm and nervous, and, though not absolutely Hebræan, makes a nearer approach to the unadorned energy of Jewry. Accordingly, all the sublime passages are read with more touching effect in his than in Buchanan's translation: he has many beautiful and even powerful lines, such as can scarce be matched by his more popular competitor; the style of Johnston possessing somewhat of Ovidian ease, accompanied with strength and simplicity, while the tragic pomp and worldly parade of Seneca and Prudentius are more affected by Buchanan."³

Let us conclude this subject with remarking the peculiar circumstance, that while Scotland has produced two Latin versions of the psalms, rivals in excellence, the talent of the whole nation has been unable to produce any English version which can be considered as their equal in point of versification. In 1641 Johnston died at Oxford, where he had gone on a visit to a daughter married to a divine of the Church of England. Besides the works already mentioned, he wrote *Muse Aulica*, addressed to his eminent contemporaries, translated Solomon's Song, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and edited the *Delitæ Poetarum Scotorum*, in which he introduced not a few of his own productions. His works were published at Middleburg, in 1642, by his friend Scott of Scotstarvet. The representatives of his family are Sir William Johnston of Hilton in Aberdeenshire, and Mr. Johnston of Viewfield in the same county.

The brother of the poet was a man of some local celebrity; he was Dr. William Johnston, professor of mathematics in the Marischal College of Aberdeen. "He was," says Wodrow, "a learned and experienced physitian. He wrote on the mathematics. His skill in the Latin was truly Ciceronian."⁴

JOHNSTONE, MRS. CHRISTIAN ISOBEL. This talented literary lady and popular novelist was born in Fifeshire in 1781. When very young she married a Mr. McLeish, whom she was afterwards compelled to divorce. Her second and last husband was Mr. John Johnstone, schoolmaster at Dunfermline, to whom she was married about the year 1812. Having removed to Inverness, where Mr. Johnstone purchased the *Inverness Courier*, of which he also became editor, the literary talents of his wife so effectually aided him, that the paper soon acquired a character superior to that of most of our provincial journals. While residing in Inverness she also wrote *Clan Albyn, a National Tale*, which was published anonymously at Edinburgh in 1815, and obtained great popularity. Sir Walter Scott's novels were already bringing Scotland into vogue, and several writers were throwing themselves into the popular current; but of all the followers of the "Great Unknown," none was received with greater favour than Mrs. Johnstone. Although the memory of *Clan Albyn* is now extinguished in the public mind by the myriads of novels which have succeeded it, the recollections of the vigorous sketches in that work both of Highland and Lowland characters and scenery, and those of the disasters of Sir John Moore's campaign in Spain, are still fresh among many whose lives commenced with the present century. Having sold the *Inverness Courier*, Mrs. Johnstone removed with her husband to Edinburgh, where she was engaged by Mr. Blackwood the publisher to write another novel: in consequence she produced her *Elizabeth de Bruce*, a tale of which the locality and events are partly of Scottish and partly of Irish character. It was published in 1827, but although superior to *Clan Albyn*, it scarcely obtained the same popularity. Either the standard of the author of Waverley was too high, or his imitators too numerous, to insure success in such a kind of competition. It is only justice, however, to Mrs. Johnstone to add, that while the usual impression of a three-volumed novel was 500 copies, the publisher printed 2000 of *Elizabeth de Bruce*, and that of these about 1200 or 1400 copies were sold at the regular price.

¹ Eglisemii Certamen cum Georgio Buchanano pro Dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ. London, 1620.

² Barclaii Judicium de Certamine Eglisemii cum Buchanano pro Dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.

³ *Ed. Lit. Journal*, iii. 259.

⁴ *Catalogues of Scottish Writers*, published by Mr. Maidment, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 114.

Mrs. Johnstone and her husband being now committed to literature, embarked in it with hearty and mutual zeal; the latter opened a printing-office in St. James' Square, and Mr. Blackwood and Mr. Johnstone having purchased the copyright of the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*, the printer and his talented wife became the joint editors of the newspaper. But while their views in politics were those of the liberal party, Mr. Blackwood was heart and soul with the Tories, which made a lasting co-proprietorship impossible; and in consequence of this incompatibility of temper, the union was dissolved, and the *Chronicle* sold. The Johnstones now threw themselves into other literary undertakings, the chief of which was the periodical called *The Schoolmaster*, supposed to have been the earliest series of our cheap literature in Edinburgh, the plan of which was first suggested by Mrs. Johnstone, and afterwards matured by her husband. As it was the first, it was also one of the best, of our Edinburgh cheap and popular literature, as none of its followers can be said to have surpassed the *Schoolmaster*. But it was too good to be highly popular: the importance of its articles and the talent with which they were discussed was "caviare to the multitude," while its cheap price repelled those readers who estimated the value of literature merely by the amount of its cost. On this account it was found necessary to merge the publication into *Johnstone's Magazine*, which was published monthly for a considerable period at eightpence. This new periodical, in which politics were almost wholly avoided, and subjects of literary and social interest chiefly discussed, promised to be successful, when a difficulty occurred: *Tait's Magazine* was also printed at St. James' Square office, and both magazines were issued by the same publisher. A compromise was the consequence, by which *Johnstone's Magazine* was absorbed into that of *Tait*, while the latter, still retaining the name of *Tait's Magazine*, was reduced from its monthly price of half-a-crown to a shilling. It was a satisfactory arrangement to both parties, while the popularity of the periodical in this new form was insured by the appointment of Mrs. Johnstone to be its chief contributor and director. Although she was nominally the editor, her authority was subject to the control of Mr. Tait, who still retained the principal management, and thus she acted the same part for *Tait's Magazine* that Wilson did for *Blackwood's*. After the accession of Mrs. Johnstone to *Tait's Magazine* it was inspired with new life, and rose rapidly in popularity, while this success was owing not so much to the political articles it contained, as to its elaborate, able, and just criticisms, which were written almost exclusively by Mrs. Johnstone. It may be remarked also, that although a just she was a gentle critic, and wherever true merit appeared in the subjects of her review, or the promise of future excellence, she was always careful, with feminine gentleness, to point out the one and encourage the other.

The next separate work published by Mrs. Johnstone after *Clan Albyn* and *Elizabeth de Bruce*, was *Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, including a History of the Buccaneers*. This work, which formed the fifth volume of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, was published in 1831, and in the following year appeared her *Nights of the Round Table*, a punning title, in which were included a series of lively tales and sketches. This she always considered as the best of her works of fiction. But a still more popular work was the *Edinburgh Tales*, chiefly written by herself in the *Schoolmaster*, *Johnstone's Magazine*, and *Tait's Magazine*, and which

were now published with several contributions of other writers in a regular series, in weekly numbers and monthly parts, and which when finished composed three large volumes. These were so popular, that in their weekly and monthly form more than 30,000 copies were sold, while in their collective form they still obtained a considerable sale. Of these tales, by far the best are Mrs. Johnstone's own, while the largest of the series—*Violet Hamilton* and the *Western Exclusives*—are equal to her best productions. Few sketches, indeed, of Glasgow society at the beginning of the present century are at all to be compared with those contained in the *Western Exclusives*. The last and also the most popular of all her works which we have occasion to mention, bore the following well-known title, *The Cook and Housewife's Manual. A Practical System of Modern Domestic Cookery and Family Management*. By Mrs. Margaret Dodds, of the Cleikum Inn, St. Romans. It was written at the earlier period of her life in Inverness, and besides being lively and fanciful in style, with the principal epicures of Scott's *St. Ronan's Well* and other popular novels as the principal speakers and actors, the valuable directions and receipts contained in it made it the oracle of the kitchen, and *Meg Dodds' Cookery* became a household word. This combination indeed of the lively and witty with the wise and the practical, formed the chief attraction of the work; it was the new experiment of investing culinary operations with the charms of novel-writing; and even those who did not care for luxurious dinners were interested in the directions given for concocting them, and the alluring style in which these directions were conveyed. This singular volume was in such great demand, that in 1858 ten editions of it had appeared, and from the sale Mrs. Johnstone derived a regular revenue for the rest of her life.

While her popularity in the literary world was so great, and always increasing, "her manner of life," writes one of her biographers, "was that of a perfect gentlewoman. She might have easily obtained a greater name in the world if she had sought it. She sought it not. Even the good she did was often concealed from those for whom it was done. Many persons now occupy respectable positions in the world who are indebted exclusively to the plans of this gentlewoman—devised without solicitation, and untold when they were successful. . . . Whenever she thought that it was within her power to be useful to those with whom she had in any way become acquainted, however slightly, but so far as induced her to believe that their conduct would support her recommendation, she said nothing on the subject to them, but sought to accomplish her object. If she failed, no hopes had been erected to be cast down again; and if she succeeded, the success was seldom told by herself, and the originator of some change in life was not always known—perhaps in some cases never known—to him whose course of life was changed."

It is only necessary to add, that after 1846 Mrs. Johnstone's connection with *Tait's Magazine* ceased, and that she retired into private life with the competence which her industry had acquired. At length, full of years, honoured by society, and beloved by all who knew her, she died at Edinburgh on Aug. 26, 1857. Her affectionate husband, the director and often the partaker of her literary exertions, followed in a few months after, and over their grave in the Grange Cemetery stands an elegant obelisk with the following inscription: "Mrs. Christian Isobel Johnstone, died 26 August 1857, aged 76. John Johnstone, died 3 November following, aged 78. A memorial of literary excellence and private worth. Erected 1858."

JOHNSTON, GEORGE, M.D. This distinguished naturalist, and attractive writer in natural science, was born in 1798, but of what parentage we have seen no record. He was destined for the medical profession, and apprenticed to Dr. Abercrombie of Edinburgh, who, in his day, was one of the most eminent medical practitioners of Britain. Having gone through the usual medical education and practical training, George Johnston graduated in Edinburgh in 1819, and afterwards settled down in the general practice of his profession at Berwick-upon-Tweed. Having acquired a taste at Edinburgh for the study of natural history, it was so suited to his inquiring mind and refined poetical temperament that he continued to prosecute it till the end of his life; and although occupied with a laborious professional practice, which leaves small leisure or inclination for other pursuits, the works which he published in natural history have sufficed to establish his name among the most distinguished writers in that department.

At the time when Dr. Johnston first settled as a medical practitioner in Berwick-upon-Tweed, little was known of the lower forms of animal life, to which he devoted his attention; and thus, although he stood alone, he occupied a field in which his researches might go on without a rival, and which, by the right of pre-occupation, he could make his own for the time being. And nobly did he justify the advantages of such a starting-point. After he had established himself in Berwick, he proceeded to publish the results of his inquiries in the various natural history journals and the transactions of natural history societies. Thus his principal papers, indicating the wide range of his sympathy with natural objects, his remarkable powers of observation, and his sound and cautious judgment, appeared in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, the *Magazine of Natural History*, the *Annals of Natural History* (of which latterly he was one of the editors), the *Transactions of the Natural History Society of Newcastle*, and the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, of which he was one of the founders. But the work by which he was best known to the scientific world at large, and which perhaps will constitute the most lasting monument of his fame, was his *History of British Zoophytes*. Of this important work we see the original elements in his "Descriptive Catalogue of the Recent Zoophytes found on the Coast of Durham," which appeared in the second volume of the *Transactions of the Natural History Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, and in his "Catalogue of the Zoophytes of Berwickshire," published in the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*. His great original *History of British Zoophytes* was published first in Edinburgh in 1838, and afterwards a second edition of it was issued from the London press in 1847. The work was welcomed as by far the most complete and accurate account of the British forms of these animals we yet possessed; and to enhance its value, it was beautifully illustrated by Mrs. Johnston. But while employed upon the zoophytes, the sponges and corallines did not escape his notice, and in 1842 he published *A History of British Sponges and Lithophytes*. This work, like the previous one, is still the best and most complete in our language on the subject of which it treats; and the effect of both was to raise the reputation not only of the author, but the town in which he dwelt, so that Berwick, only distinguished as yet by its traditions of border warfare, had now become so notable in science, as to be scarcely second to Selborne. The subjects indeed which employed the pen of Dr. Johnston had not the same attractive and popular interest as those on which White of Selborne

had written; but his lively fancy and elegant pleasing style could impart to them a charm which elevated them from their dullness and apparent insignificance into objects of popular importance. Having devoted much of his attention to the mollusca, as appears from many of his papers on the subject, Dr. Johnston published in 1850 his *Introduction to Conchology, or Elements of the Natural History of Molluscan Animals*. This is a delightful literary performance, and full of interesting illustrations of the structure and habits of the shell-fishes of Great Britain.

Hitherto we have viewed this excellent naturalist ranging among zoophytes and lithophytes, crustacea and molluscs, and all the forms of invertebrate life. Wherever he went he observed; his professional visits were made with restless inquiring eye to whatever was interesting in the kingdom of nature; and even while standing upon the sea-shore, every object which the waves deposited upon the sand arrested his attention, and became a subject of study. To him the sea was a populous and living world, instead of a picturesque mass of water. "It is very true," he said, "that I have been a scholar for many years in the book of nature; and I have taught myself to take note of, and pleasure in, those works with which the Creator has crowded and adorned the paths I daily walk; and sure I am that now I can see and appreciate a beauty and excellence where otherwise they would not have impressed me." Such was his declaration in the preface to a new work entitled *Terra Lindisfarnensis*, of the first volume of which, *The Natural History of the Eastern Borders*, Dr. Johnston was the author. The field over which it ranged comprised the whole of Berwickshire, the liberties of Berwick, North Durham, and the immediately adjacent parts of Northumberland and Roxburghshire; and while the specific object of the volume was to describe the "botany" of that district, it was abundantly interspersed with anecdote and folk-lore, legend, poetry, and biography, local objects and scenery to interest every reader. To the active mind of its author, however, such a production was a recreation and relief from more severe studies, to which he returned with redoubled ardour. He had long been investigating the annelida, the true worms of the naturalist, but a greatly neglected branch of British zoology, and had written several papers on British annelides and Irish annelides, which were greatly admired, and had called the attention of naturalists to the subject. Thus encouraged to persevere, he had made preparations for writing a complete work on British annelides, when he was seized with paralysis, and died on the 3d of July, 1855.

The unexpected death of Dr. Johnston was lamented in the scientific world as no ordinary bereavement. To a mind untired in investigation, and which phenomena, however minute, could not escape, he added those powers of eloquence and charms of imagination which adorned whatever he touched, and invested the humblest objects of nature with new interest and beauty. He resembled indeed the lamented Hugh Millar, although in a different field of natural science. It was his observant eye that first detected the new water-weed (*Anacharis alsinastrum*) in the lake at Dunse Castle in 1838, and again in the waters of the Whiteadder in 1841. His interest in science was also manifested not only in his writings, but the societies with which he was connected. He was an active member, if not also the founder, of the Berwickshire Natural History Club, and one of the founders of the Ray Society for the publication of works on natural history, and was one of the

secretaries of the society till his death. With regard to his personal and private character, one of his biographers adds, "He was a man of the most genial and kindly disposition, and greatly beloved in the circle of naturalists by whom he was surrounded, and whom he often met in the Naturalists' Field Club he had established. He was well read in the literature of natural history, and nothing delighted him more than imparting his copious stores of information to others. His correspondence was extensive, and many a living naturalist is indebted to him for encouragement in the prosecution of his earliest labours." Such was the man who contributed so largely to the literature of the natural history of Great Britain, and who, although half-buried in a humble position and obscure border town, obtained so high and so wide a renown in the scientific world.

JOHNSTONE, JAMES, a physician of some eminence, was born at Annan in the year 1730. He was the fourth son of John Johnstone, Esq., of Gala-bank, one of the oldest branches of the family of that name. He received the rudiments of his classical education from Dr. Henry, the well-known author of the *History of Great Britain*. The science of medicine he studied first in Edinburgh and afterwards in Paris; and such was his progress in these studies, that he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine before he had completed his twenty-first year. On this occasion he published a thesis, *De Aeris Facilitate Imperio in Corpore Humano*, which discovered an ability that procured him many valuable friends. On completing his education, Dr. Johnstone commenced practice at Kidderminster, in Worcestershire, where he quickly acquired a great degree of celebrity by the successful manner in which he treated a peculiar epidemic, called, from its remarkable virulence in that locality, the Kidderminster fever. Of this fever, and his mode of treating it, he published an account in 1758, an exceedingly important treatise, from the circumstance of its pointing out the power of minerals and vapours to correct or destroy putrid febrile contagion. This discovery, now so frequently and successfully employed in arresting the progress of infection, and in purifying infected places, though since claimed by others, belongs beyond all doubt to Dr. Johnstone; who pointed out also the simple process by which it was to be effected—viz. by pouring a little vitriolic acid on common salt.

Dr. Johnstone was well known in the learned world by several interesting publications on subjects connected with his profession, and by several important additions which he made to the general stock of medical knowledge. Amongst these was the discovery of a cure for the ganglion of the nerves and of the lymphatic glands.

From Kidderminster he removed to Worcester, where he continued to practise till within a few days of his death, which happened in 1802, in the seventy-third year of his age. His death was much regretted, and it was then considered that the medical science had by that event lost one of its brightest ornaments. Dr. Johnstone acquires no small degree of additional celebrity from his having been the intimate friend of the amiable George Lord Lyttleton, and from his being the author of the affecting account of that nobleman's death inserted by Dr. Johnson in his *Lives of the Poets*.

In a letter which he addressed to the editor of *Doddridge's Letters*, he says—"Lord Bacon reckons it a great deficiency in biography that it is for the most part confined to the actions of kings and princes, and a few persons of high rank, while the memory of men distinguished for worth and goodness in the

lower ranks of life has been only preserved by tradition." The latter character was Dr. Johnstone's, and the deficiency would indeed have been great had his name been omitted in the list of those who have deserved well of their country and of posterity. His general character and conduct are spoken of in terms of high admiration by all his contemporaries and biographers; and the serenity of his death, the cheerful and resigned spirit in which he contemplated and awaited that event, is made a conspicuous feature in the history of his useful but unobtrusive life. His celebrity as a medical practitioner was very great, and his professional skill was fortunately associated with a singular degree of kindness and amenity of manner—qualities to which the Rev. Job Orton, a man himself celebrated for piety and talent, thus bears testimony:—"I left Shrewsbury and came to Kidderminster that I might have the advice of a very able and skillful physician, Dr. Johnstone, who hath always proved himself a faithful and tender friend, to whose care as a physician I, under God, owe my life, and to whose friendship I am indebted for some of the greatest comforts of it."

Several of Dr. Johnstone's physiological inquiries were published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and are to be found in the 54th, 57th, and 60th volumes of that work. They were afterwards enlarged and printed separately.

JOHNSTON, JAMES F. W. This excellent practical chemist, who applied the science of chemistry to agriculture, was born at Paisley in 1796, but in infancy and boyhood, in consequence of the repeated migrations of his father, he first removed to Manchester, and afterwards to Kilmarnock in Ayrshire. During this time his education had been going on; and resolving to devote himself to the clerical profession, he studied at the university of Glasgow, supporting himself in the meantime, like many of his fellow-students, by private teaching. Having finished his courses of philosophy and theology, he became a licentiate of the Church of Scotland; he also opened a school at Durham, and solaced himself with its drudgery while he patiently awaited the uncertain chances of clerical promotion. From this uncertain position, however, he was delivered by a marriage with one of the daughters of the late Thomas Ridley, Esq., of Park End. Possessing by this union a competent income, he abandoned his school, and devoted himself to the study of chemistry, to which he had long felt a preference, and to perfect himself in the science he removed to Sweden, and became the pupil of the celebrated Berzelius. His proficiency was so rapid and remarkable, and his reputation as a chemist so fully established, that before returning to Scotland in 1833, he was appointed to the readership of chemistry and mineralogy in the university of Durham, then newly established, the charge being kept vacant until his return from Sweden. This appointment he retained until his decease, although he made the neighbourhood of Edinburgh his regular home, giving his attendance during term time only at Durham.

During the first year of his readership, Professor Johnston appears to have chiefly confined himself to researches in pure chemistry, and in this period he produced a valuable series of papers on the *Chemistry of the Resins*, and other similar subjects. This, however, was too narrow a range for the practical and expansive mind of the professor, and in 1840 the period arrived when his general reputation was to commence. In that year Liebig laid before the British Association his *Treatise on Chemistry applied to Agriculture and Physiology*, and

Johnston enthusiastically threw his mind into the subject. His proper vocation had been suggested; he devoted himself at once to the study of agricultural chemistry, and soon afterwards he delivered a course of lectures in that department of the science to the Durham County Agricultural Society, which, commencing in 1841, were finished in 1844, and composed when published, during the last year above mentioned, one large octavo volume. During the issue in parts of this publication, which contained the pith and substance of his lectures, the attention not merely of the practical farmers of England, but those of Scotland also, was powerfully attracted to the subject; and while his *Lectures on Agricultural Chemistry and Geology* confirmed his reputation as the chief British authority in this important department, in 1843, when the Agricultural Chemistry Association of Scotland was established, Professor Johnston was elected as the fittest person to hold the office of its chemist. His laboratory in Edinburgh thus became the central point of the agricultural chemistry of his native country, and during the five years in which he held this office his assiduity was unwearied, while his researches, which were of extraordinary extent and immense practical utility, inspired our farmers with a scientific intelligence of their profession to which hitherto they had been almost entirely strangers. As the Agricultural Chemistry Association for Scotland had been established only for five years, being incorporated at the end of that time with the Highland Society, Johnston left Edinburgh, and returned to his permanent charge at Durham.

While thus actively employed in experimenting, the pen of the professor had not been idle; and besides his highly popular lectures, he published a *Catechism of Agricultural Chemistry and Geology*, which was so popular that thirty-three editions have been published in this country alone. Nor was this all, for it has been translated into nearly every language in Europe, and been widely disseminated over the United States of America, where his reputation is as warmly cherished as in Britain, and where his lessons find a fresher and wider field of occupation. Soon after his return to Durham he was invited to deliver lectures on agricultural chemistry in the United States and Canada, with which he complied; and on coming home he published his work entitled *Notes on North America*, which though less professional than his other writings, contains important observations on the agriculture and general social condition of North America, and its vast resources in soil and climate. Besides these entire productions, he wrote several articles which were published in literary and scientific magazines, among the latter of which it is sufficient to mention *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Review*. But the most popular, and perhaps the most useful, of all his works was the *Chemistry of Common Life*, which he commenced only two years before he died. Than this work no scientific publication has been more popular, and while the style is so simple as to attract general readers, and so intelligible as to be understood by the most unlearned, the subject is of such vital importance that all feel interested in it. The last effort of his pen was employed in the production of a kindred work entitled the *Geology of Common Life*, when his career was unexpectedly terminated. He had been upon the Continent for several months, and was about to return to England, when he caught cold, but did not apprehend any serious results. Scarcely, however, had he reached his home in Durham, when symptoms of hemorrhage in the lungs appeared, and he died of a rapid

decline on the 18th of September, 1855, aged fifty-nine years. Such was the end of this scientific Triptolemus, who taught mankind at large how to cultivate the soil to the best advantage, and how to use its produce, and who will continue to be the benefactor of millions who may be ignorant even of his name. His valuable scientific apparatus he generously bequeathed to the Free Church College of Edinburgh.

JOHNSTON, JOHN, a Latin poet and classical scholar of considerable eminence in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Though this individual is one of the ornaments of a very distinguished age of Scottish literature, the date of his birth is not accurately ascertained, but it must have been previous to the year 1570, as in 1587 he began to be known to the world. He styles himself "Aberdonensis;" and as he was a member of the House of Crimond, he was probably born at the family seat near Aberdeen. Dr. Mc'rie, whose minute labours have thrown so much light on the literary history of this period, has, among other facts connected with Johnston (which we shall here carefully recapitulate), discovered the name of his master from the last will of the poet, in which he affectionately leaves to that individual his white cup with the silver foot.¹ The same instrument appoints as one of his executors, "Mr. Robert Johnston of Creimond," probably his brother, a person who appears to have been in 1635 elected provost of Aberdeen.² Johnston studied at King's College in Aberdeen, whence, after the usual custom of the age, he made a studious peregrination among the continental universities, which he continued during a period of eight years. In 1587 we find him at the university of Helmstadt, whence he transmitted a manuscript copy of Buchanan's *Sphæra* to be re-edited by Pincier, along with two epigrams of his own.³ In 1587 he was at the university of Rostock, where he enjoyed the intimacy and correspondence of the elegantly learned but fanciful Justus Lipsius.

Johnston appears to have early embraced the doctrines of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and to have retained them with the characteristic firmness of the body. He was the intimate friend of its accomplished supporter Andrew Melville, whose influence probably procured him the appointment to the professorship of divinity in the new college of St. Andrews, as successor to John Robertson—an advancement which he obtained previously to the year 1594, as he is discovered, under the term "maister in the new college," to have been elected one of the elders of St. Andrews, on the 28th November, 1593. Johnston was a useful assistant to his illustrious friend in the opposition to the harassing efforts of King James to introduce Episcopacy. He must have been included in the interdict of the visitation of the university commission, by which the professors of theology and philosophy, not being pastors of the church, were prohibited from sitting in church-courts, except through an election regulated by the council of the visitation; and in the General Assembly which met at Dundee in 1598, whither both had resorted to oppose the too great tenderness of James for the church, in proposing to admit its representation in parliament, Melville and Johnston were charged to quit the city, with the

¹ Item—I leave to Mr. Robert Merser, Persoun of Banquhorie (Banchory, near Aberdeen), my auld kynd maister, in token of my thankfull dewtie, my quhyt cope with the silver fit. — Mc'rie's *Melville*, i. 357.

² *History of the Family of Johnston*, 29.

³ Mc'rie's *Melville*, i. 331.

usual formality of the pain of rebellion in case of refusal. In 1603 these friends again appear acting in concert, in a correspondence with Du Plessis, on the subject of the synod of Gap in France having censured certain peculiar opinions on the doctrine of justification. "They did not presume to judge of the justice of the synod of Gap, but begged leave to express their fears that strong measures would inflame the minds of the disputants, and that a farther agitation of the question might breed a dissension very injurious to the interests of the evangelical churches. It appeared to them that both parties held the Protestant doctrine of justification, and only differed a little in their mode of explaining it. They therefore, in the name of their brethren, entreated Du Plessis to employ the authority which his piety, prudence, learned writings, and illustrious services in the cause of Christianity had given him in the Gallican church, to bring about an amicable adjustment of the controversy."¹ Without inquiring into the minutiae of the controversy, the knowledge that it was a theological one is sufficient to make us appreciate the advice as exceedingly sound; and we have the satisfaction to know, as a rare instance, that it produced the desired effect.

During the previous year Johnston had published at Amsterdam his first complete poetical work, entitled "*Inscriptiones Historica Regum Scotorum, continuata annorum serie a Fergusio I. ad Jacobum VI. Præfixus est Gathelus, sive de gentis origine, Fragmentum Andree Melvini. Additæ sunt Icones omnium Regum nobilis Familiæ Stuartorum*," 4to; and in 1603 he published at Leyden *Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica Lectissimi*, 4to. Both these productions have been preserved in the *Delitia Poetarum Scotorum*, by the author's relative, Arthur Johnston. The former is a series of epigrammatic addresses to the Scottish monarchs, commencing with Fergus I., and duly passing through the extended list to the reigning monarch James VI.; regarding whom it is worthy of commendatory remark, that the author is more lavish of congratulations on the good fortune which Providence had bestowed on him than on his talents or kingly qualities. The *Heroes* is a tissue of similar epigrams addressed to the heroes who distinguish the reigns of the same line of kings, commencing with Ferchard, the great commander-in-chief of King Reuther. Of course, both works laud the virtues of many men who never drew breath. The merits of Johnston as a poet cannot be said to rise beyond those of the mere epigrammatist: to the classical elegance of his Latinity we believe few objections can be found, but he displays more of the neatness of illustration and precise aptness of association, which may be taught, than of the inborn poetic fire; and his works are perhaps more pleasing in the restrictions of a classical tongue, than they might have been had he allowed himself to range in the freedom of his vernacular language. When treating of those who never existed, or of whom little is known, the absence of all interest from the subject adds to the coldness of the epigram, and leaves room for the mere conceit to stand alone; but in treating of interesting or remarkable events, Johnston could sometimes be lofty, and strike a chord of feeling. We might instance, as favourable specimens, the epigram to the family of the Frasers, massacred by the Clanranald in 1544, and that to Robert the Bruce. In 1609 Johnston published at Leyden, *Consolatio Christiana sub Cruce, et Iambi de Felicitate Hominis Deo reconciliati*, 8vo; in 1611 he published *Iambi Sacri*; and in 1612, *Tetrasticha et Lemmata Sacra*—

Item Cantica Sacra—Item Icones Regum Judeæ et Israelitis. Lugd. Bat.²

Johnston died in the month of October, 1612; the last scene of his life is drawn by James Melville in a letter to his uncle, dated the 25th of November ensuing; of which we cannot avoid giving the terms as translated by Dr. M'Crie. "Your colleague John Johnston closed his life last month. He sent for the members of the university and presbytery, before whom he made a confession of his faith, and professed his sincere attachment to the doctrine and discipline of our church, in which he desired to die. He did not conceal his dislike of the lately-erected tyranny, and his detestation of the pride, temerity, fraud, and whole conduct of the bishops. He pronounced a grave and ample eulogium on your instructions, admonitions, and example; craving pardon of God and you for having offended you in any instance, and for not having borne more meekly with your wholesome and friendly anger. As a memorial he has left you a gilt velvet cap, a gold coin, and one of his best books. His death would have been a most mournful event to the church, university, and all good men, had it not been that he has for several years laboured under an incurable disease, and that the ruin of the church has swallowed up all lesser sorrows, and exhausted our tears."³

We learn that he had married Catharine Melville, of the family of Carribee—but at what period seems not to be known—and he has left behind him epitaphs on her and their two children. It appears that in 1600 he had been solicited to become "second minister" of Haddington. Besides the works already mentioned, there exist, or did exist, by him in MS. in the Advocates' Library, "*Περὶ Στεφανῶν* sive de Coronis Martyrum in Scotia Liber Unus"—"*De Coronis Martyrum in Anglia Libellus alter*"—and "*Peculium Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, et alia quedam Poemata*." He wrote epigrams on the chief towns of Scotland, which have been appropriately inserted in Camden's *Britannia*; and some of his letters are to be found in the correspondence of that eminent antiquary. Andrew Melville says, "*Mr. Johne Davidsons left sum nots behind of our tyme, and so did Mr. Johne Johnston*;" what has become of these we know not.

JOHNSTON, ROBERT, an historian, existed in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. The works of this individual are well known, but he has not achieved personal eminence; and we neither know when he was born, nor the station which he occupied in life. At Amsterdam was printed, in 1655, his *Historia Rerum Britannicarum, ut et multarum Gallicarum, Belgicarum, et Germanicarum, tam politicarum quam ecclesiasticarum, ab anno 1572 ad 1628*.

This work was intended as a continuation of Buchanan; and Bishop Nicholson, no bestower of heedless praise, appears to think that it nearly equals in style the work which it imitated.⁴ Lord Woodhouselee, a less scrupulous critic where a Scotsman was concerned, calls it "A work of great merit, whether we consider the judicious structure of the narrative, the sagacity of the reflections, the acute discernment of characters, or the classical tincture of the style. In those passages of his history," says this writer, "where there is room for a display of eloquence, he is often singularly happy in touching

² Maidment's *Catalogues of Scots Writers*, 14; Sibbald's *Bibliotheca Scotica*, MS. 49. There is some difference in the names, as recorded by these two writers, and never having seen the works themselves, we take what appear to be the more correct titles.

³ M'Crie's *Melville*, ii. 284.

⁴ Nicholson's *Scottish Historical Library*, 121.

¹ M'Crie's *Melville*, ii. 101.

those characteristic circumstances which present the picture strongly to the mind of the reader, without a vain parade of words or artificial refinement of sentiment. We may cite as an example, his description of the death of Mary, Queen of Scots, lib. iv. *sub anno* 1586: and the circumstances attending the death of Essex, with the author's reflections on that event, lib. ix. *sub anno* 1641." The same author farther mentions that Robert Johnston was one of the executors of George Heriot, the founder of the hospital.¹ Johnston, besides this *Historia Rerum Britannicarum*, wrote *The History of Scotland during the Minority of James VI.*, published at London in 1646. Wodrow mentions an *Epitome Historiæ Rerum Britannicarum*, published, according to his account, in 12mo, in 1642, some time previously to the appearance of the larger work.² Sir Robert Sibbald seems to find nothing more remarkable to tell us about Johnston than that he was on intimate terms with Bruce, Baron of Kinloss. "Robertus Jonstonus baroni Killosensi Brusio dum viveret, charus: vir varîæ lectionis, egregiæ eruditionis, limati iudicii." He mentions that Johnston is *said* to have died in 1630, and gives us an epigram on his history from the pen of Joannes Owen.³ There is in the Advocates' Library a ponderous manuscript history of Scotland, by a person of the name of Johnston, and generally understood to be at least partly written by the subject of our memoir. The manuscript has belonged to Lord Fairfax, and at the commencement is the following note in his handwriting:—

"Of the gift of Mr. David Johnston, Burgess of Edinburgh, itt beinge the labour of his late father and grandfather (the first draught). A transcript whereof he reserves to himself (but is not all printed), nor is ther any copy therof, but onely this, beinge for the most part a translation of Bucquhanan, but with very many additions not thought fit to publish. FAIRFAX.—20th October, 1655."

JONES, PAUL (originally JOHN PAUL), a nautical genius of no ordinary character and endowments, was born at Arbigland, in the parish of Kirkbean, and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in the month of July, 1747. He was the reputed son of John Paul, who acted as gardener to Mr. Craik of Arbigland, by his wife, who had been cook to the same gentleman. It was generally believed, however, that Mr. Craik was the real father of this extraordinary adventurer. The education of Paul Jones—to use the name which he assumed in after-life—was in no respect different from that usually given in Scotland to boys of his rank; and it is not recorded that he showed any symptoms, while at school, of that capacity by which he was undoubtedly distinguished in advanced life. From his earliest years he manifested a decided predilection for a seafaring life, and at the age of twelve was apprenticed as a mariner to a Mr. Young, a respectable merchant in Whitehaven, whence he made his first voyage in 1760, in the ship *Friendship* of that port, under the care of a Captain Benson, for the Rappahannoc, Virginia. Living on the shore of the Solway, all the amusements and ideas of young Paul seem to have been from his very cradle maritime. While yet a mere child he hoisted his mimic flag, rendezvoused his tiny fleet, and gave forth his orders to his imaginary captains, with all the consequence of a veteran commander. The town of Dumfries was at this period deeply engaged in American trade, particularly in importing tobacco,

and the Nith being too shallow to float the larger vessels up to the town, their cargoes were discharged at Carsethorn, on the Galloway coast, where the subject of this memoir was a daily observer of their operations, and not unfrequently ventured to challenge the modes of procedure followed by experienced seamen. Here, too, he had early and abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with the colonists engaged in that traffic, whose bold and liberal sentiments seem, at a very early period of his life, to have made the New World, as he afterwards expressed himself, "the country of his fond election." These early impressions were doubtless aided by the circumstance of an elder brother having settled there, and being in the full enjoyment of the peace and the plenty with which, so long as the states were submissive colonies of Great Britain, it was universally admitted the inhabitants were generally blessed. With this brother he made his abode during the time his ship was in the Rappahannoc on his first voyage, and most probably on his subsequent voyages; which could not fail in some degree to have attached him to the country, though he had been devoid of any prepossessions in its favour. The early indications of genius which we have noticed above, were fully supported in his new station. His singular intelligence and propriety of conduct excited the wonder, and, in some degree, the respect of his shipmates, at the same time that they gained him the esteem and the confidence of his employer, who promised to give him the proof of his approbation by appointing him to the command of one of his ships. Unfortunately for both parties untoward circumstances prevented the master from having it in his power to pay this substantial tribute of respect to the merits of his faithful apprentice, whose time having expired, he entered upon the command of a slave-ship, and made several voyages to the coast of Africa in prosecution of that disgraceful traffic. How long he continued in this trade his biographers have not told us; but to his honour they have stated that he felt disgusted with the employment, and at length "confined his services to the command of vessels engaged in a more reputable and legitimate commerce." In the year 1773 the death of his brother in Virginia, without having left any children, called him over to that country to look after the settlement of his affairs, on which occasion, all his transatlantic predilections being revived, he resolved to withdraw from the vicissitudes of a seafaring life, to settle in the colony, and to devote the remainder of his days to the peaceful pursuits of rural industry and philosophic retirement.

There is nothing more curious in the history of the human mind than that satiety and languor which so frequently come over the most active spirits. Cowley often had thoughts of burying himself in the woods of America, where he fancied he would be happy, in seclusion from all intercourse with the busy and bustling portions of society: Cromwell, with all his unconquerable daring and unquenchable activity—and Hampden, one of the brightest, the boldest, and the most disinterested spirits that have adorned any age or country, despairing of the state of political affairs in their native land, sought to escape their uneasy sensations, and to secure religious peace and happiness, by the same expedient. Akin perhaps to these cases was that of Paul Jones, whose mind seems from the first to have been replete with lofty aspirations, fitting him for greatness, while his connections in his own country were of a nature to prevent his ever gratifying them. We can easily conceive this bold and enthusiastic man sensible of the superiority of his powers above those of most

¹ Tytler's *Kames*, b. Ap. i.

² Wodrow's *Catalogues of Scottish Writers*, 14.

³ *Sibbald's Biblioth. Scot.* MS. 221.

other men, but fretting at the cold obstructions which were put before him by the rules and habits of society in his own country, and also perhaps at the notoriety of his ignoble origin; and therefore preferring to lose himself in an American forest, where, if he did not gain any distinction, he would not at least be esteemed as lower than his personal merit warranted. Had the colonies been in a state of tranquillity, Jones would probably have spent the remainder of his days as a simple colonist, or perhaps gone back to sea to escape the monotony of a life but little suited to his faculties. The country, however, was now in a state of high effervescence, which was every day increasing, and which called forth the energies, such as they were, of every individual among them, either on the one side or the other. Great dissatisfaction had for a long period been prevalent respecting the measures of the British government in reference to the colonies, and in the speculations of the colonists with regard to the steps necessary to be taken for counteracting these measures Jones found the tedium of his retirement wonderfully relieved. Open resistance was no sooner proposed than he found that he had mistaken the natural bent of his genius, which was much more turned towards action than solitary speculation; and when congress, in the close of the year 1775, began to equip a naval force to assist in asserting American independence, he stepped boldly forward to offer his service. He was at once appointed to be first lieutenant aboard the *Alfred*, one of the only two ships belonging to the congress; and in that capacity hoisted with his own hands for the first time the flag of independent America. In the course of a few months, by his activity and success, he gained the entire confidence of the marine committee, and from the hands of the president received a captain's commission. In the end of the year 1777 he was sent to France in command of the *Ranger*, a new sloop of war, with despatches containing an account of the victory obtained by the colonists at Saratoga. As a reward for the important services he had already rendered to the Americans, it was ordered that he should be promoted to the command of the *Indian*, a fine frigate built for the congress at Amsterdam, the *Ranger* at the same time acting under his orders; but the American commissioners at Paris, from motives of policy, assigned the *Indian* over to the King of France. Captain Jones, of course, remained in command of the *Ranger*, with which he convoyed a fleet of merchantmen to Quiberon Bay, and there, from the French commandant, received the first salute that had ever been given to the American flag. Highly indignant at the resolution taken by the British government to treat every colonist who supported congress in their aims at independence as traitors, and envious of the exploits of some British seamen on the American coast, Jones soon after entered the Irish Channel, and on the night of the 22d of April came to anchor in the Solway Firth, almost in sight of the trees which sheltered his native cottage. The place must have awakened many strange associations, but they were of no friendly import. With thirty-one volunteers he sailed in two row-boats for the English side of the firth, with intent to burn the shipping (upwards of 200 sail) in the harbour of Whitehaven. This bold and hazardous project he had certainly executed if the receding tide had not retarded his progress so much, that the day began to dawn before he reached the shore; as it was, he could scarcely have failed had he been seconded by his followers. The smaller of the boats he sent to the north of the port, to set fire to the ships, whilst he himself passed southwards to secure

the fort. The morning was cold, and the sentinels, unsuspicious of the approach of an enemy, were in the guard-room; a circumstance of which Jones knew well how to take advantage. Climbing up by the shoulders of one of his men, he crept through one of the embrasures, and was promptly followed by all his company. Making fast the door of the guard-room, he spiked every gun on the fort, thirty-six in number, and, without having hurt a single individual, proceeded to join the party who had it in charge to burn the ships. A false alarm had deterred this party from executing their orders. Jones, however, proceeded to fire the ships within his reach; but the inhabitants were by this time alarmed, and hastening to the protection of the port; and he was compelled with his small party to retreat, after having set fire to three ships, one of which only was totally destroyed. This achievement cannot be denied the praise of singular daring; yet there is something so unnatural in making war upon one's native land, and especially one's native city, improving all the knowledge and the associations of early years for the purposes of destruction, that every generous mind revolts at the idea, and cannot award the praise which, it may be admitted, would otherwise be due to the undertaking. But this attempt was only the first exploit which signalized the 22d of April. Early in the forenoon he landed with a part of his crew at St. Mary's Isle, on the Galloway coast, the beautiful residence of the Earl of Selkirk, whom he hoped to have surprised, and carried off a prisoner to America, that he might serve as a hostage for the security of such of the colonists as should fall into the hands of the British. Happily for his lordship he was not at home, and Jones, as he approached the house, and learned that there were only ladies within it, wished to return to his ship without farther procedure; but his followers had no such hazarded ideas. In venturing upon an undertaking so hazardous, they were influenced by the hope of plunder, which, being now in view, they refused to relinquish. He succeeded, however, so far, that they agreed to offer no violence to any one, that they should not enter the house, and that the officers, having made their demand, should accept of what might be put into their hands without further inquiry. These stipulations were punctually fulfilled; but the inmates of the house were not aware of them, and, terrified for their lives, were glad to redeem them by delivering up the whole family plate, which was carried off in triumph by the sailors, who neither understood nor cared for the discredit which it brought upon their intrepid commander and the cause they served. The circumstance was, as he probably foresaw, improved with great effect to his disadvantage. To heighten the odium of the affair, it was industriously, but most falsely, given out that the father of Jones had been gardener to the Earl of Selkirk, and that it was from this circumstance he had learned all the localities of the estate, which enabled him to commit the robbery without danger either to himself or his marauding crew. Not one of Jones' relations had ever been in the service of Lord Selkirk; and he showed that he had a spirit far above the meanness imputed to him, by buying the whole of the articles from the captors, who claimed them as their right by the usages of war, and, at a subsequent period, restoring them, in their original packages, to the noble owner. In a correspondence which was carried on between Jones and Lady Selkirk relative to the affair, her ladyship most gratefully acknowledged the generosity and the integrity of his character.

But these exploits on shore did not exhaust the

good fortune of Jones. The very next day, in the bay of Carrickfergus, he fell in with the *Drake*, a king's ship of twenty guns, and after a desperate resistance, in which the English captain and his first lieutenant were both killed, made her his prize, with which, and another large ship, he returned to Brest, after an absence of twenty-eight days. In this short period, besides destroying a number of valuable ships, he had thrown the coasts both of Scotland and Ireland into the deepest consternation. This cruise, short as it was, occasioned the British government immense sums of money for the fortification of harbours, and it was the ostensible cause of embodying the Irish volunteers.

Notwithstanding the brilliant success that had attended his exertions, Jones was now subjected to no small degree of mortification. As a token of goodwill to the United States, the French ministry had promised to furnish him with a ship, aboard of which he was to hoist the American flag; but after multiplied applications, and a number of written memorials, the engagement seemed to be forgotten or disregarded. Worn out with the delays and apologies which he was daily receiving, Jones set out for Paris to make his application to the French ministry in person, in consequence of which he obtained the command of the *Duras*, a ship of forty guns, the name of which, in compliment to a saying of Poor Richard, "If you would have your business done, come yourself," he changed to *Le bon homme Richard*. In this vessel, badly manned and poorly furnished, Jones sailed with a little squadron, to which he acted as commodore. This squadron consisted of the *Alliance*, of thirty-six guns, the *Pallas* of thirty-two, the *Serf* of eighteen, the *Vengeance* of twelve, and two privateers, who were promised their share of the prizes that might be made. Having taken a number of prizes, the *Alliance*, the *Serf*, and the privateers deserted him, in order to pursue their own plans singly. The courage and skill of the commodore, however, did not forsake him, and after again alarming the coasts of Ireland, he sailed by the North Sea round to Leith, in the roads of which he appeared with his own ship, the *Richard*, accompanied by the *Pallas* and the *Vengeance*, in the month of September, evidently determined to seize upon the guard-ship and two cutters that lay in the roads, and to lay Leith and perhaps the city of Edinburgh under contribution. The wind, however, which was fair when he made his appearance, shifted during the night, and the next day he continued working up the firth with great labour and slow progress. While he was thus employed, a boat from the shore, sent out by an official character, who mistook his ships for British, informed Jones that he was greatly afraid of a visit from that desperate buccaneer Paul Jones, and begging that he would send him some powder and shot. Highly amused with his mistake, the good-humoured republican sent him a barrel of gunpowder, with a civil answer to quiet his fears, and a modest apology for not including shot in the present he had sent him. In the meantime he relaxed nothing in his exertions to come at the ships of war in the roads, and other two tacks would have laid him alongside of them, when a sudden gale of wind sweeping down the firth sunk one of his prizes, and carried his squadron irresistibly out to sea. The captains of the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* were so much dejected at this accident, that they could not be prevailed upon to renew the attempt. His little squadron shortly after fell in with the homeward-bound Baltic fleet, under convoy of his majesty's ships the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*. A desperate engagement ensued, in which Jones displayed the most

consummate skill, dauntless intrepidity, and perfect presence of mind. The battle was obstinately contested; but the *Countess of Scarborough* was at last obliged to strike to the *Pallas*, and the *Serapis* to the *Bon Homme Richard*, which was so shattered in the action, that next morning, after all hands had left her, she went to the bottom. Though the *Serapis* was nearly in the same condition, Jones hoisted his flag aboard of her, and under jury-masts with some difficulty steered her along with his other prizes into the Texel. He now used all his influence with the French court to have his prisoners exchanged against American prisoners in England, in which he had the pleasure of succeeding to the utmost of his wishes, receiving, in a short time after, a letter from Benjamin Franklin, the American minister at Paris, which informed him, "that he (Franklin) had just completed the noble work which he (Jones) had so nobly begun, by giving liberty to all the Americans that then languished in England." The French ambassador at the Hague was at the same time ordered to communicate to Commodore Jones the high sense which his majesty the King of France entertained of his merits, and the personal esteem he bore for his character, and especially for his disinterested humanity.

Jones now took the command of the *Alliance*, the captain of which had been summoned to Paris to answer for his insubordination in deserting the commodore on the coast of Ireland; but his situation was now perilous in the extreme. Summoned to deliver him up to the vengeance of the English government as a pirate and a rebel, the Dutch were constrained to order him out to sea, where an English squadron was watching to intercept him. From this dilemma he could have been saved by accepting of a commission from the King of France, whose ambassador earnestly pressed him to adopt that alternative; but he thought himself bound in honour to decline the offer, and determined, at whatever hazard, to abide by and support the flag of the country which he had, upon the maturest reflection, adopted. "Fortune favours the brave" is a maxim we see every day exemplified. Jones weighed anchor and escaped through the Straits of Dover, almost under the eyes of the English men-of-war, all of which had strict orders to secure him, and were besides inflamed against him in a high degree from the repeated defeats that British ships had sustained at his hands.

Towards the close of the year 1780 he sailed with important despatches for America in the ship *Ariel*, and by the way, meeting an English ship of twenty guns, engaged her, and with his usual gallantry made her his prize. The King of France had, previously to this, testified his approbation of Jones' services by presenting him with a superb gold-hilted sword; and a letter from the French minister, M. de Sartine, was now transmitted to the President of the United States, requesting liberty "to decorate that brave officer with the cross of the order of military merit." The letter was laid before congress, and, a law acceding to the proposal being passed on the 27th of February, he was formally invested by the Chevalier De la Luzerne, at a public fête given to the members of that body. Congress, in the month of April following, on the report of a committee, passed a vote of thanks to the Chevalier John Paul Jones "for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity with which he had sustained the honour of the American flag, for his bold and successful enterprises to redeem from captivity those citizens of America who had fallen under the power of the enemy, and in general for the good conduct and eminent services by which he had added lustre to his character and to the arms of America."

No farther opportunity for distinguishing himself occurred during the war; but, after its conclusion, congress, as an expression of gratitude, had a gold medal struck with appropriate devices to perpetuate the memory of his valour, and the singular services he had performed for the States.

In the year 1787 the Chevalier Jones, being charged with a mission to the court of Denmark, sailed for that country in the month of November, and passing through Paris on his way, he was strongly solicited by the agents of Russia to take the command of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. This he declined, but he was scarce arrived at Copenhagen when the Empress Catharine sent him, by a special messenger, an urgent invitation to visit St. Petersburg. After what he had performed it would have been strange if the Chevalier Jones had not felt some reluctance to enter into the service of Russia, where every maxim by which he had been guided during his exertions for liberty behoved to be reversed, and where, instead of being directed by the united voice of an intelligent people, he must regulate his conduct by the single will of a despot. It is one of the greatest evils of despotism that the despot, once established, has the means of corrupting and enslaving even the most generous minds. The Chevalier Jones saw many reasons for declining to enter into the service of Catharine; but, flattered by her attention and kind offers, he thought he could not do less than to wait upon and thank her in person for her friendly intentions. For this purpose he set out instantly from Copenhagen, by the way of Sweden, but at Gushelham found the Gulf of Bothnia blocked up by the ice. After making several unsuccessful attempts to reach Finland by the islands, he conceived a plan for effecting his progress by doubling the ice to the southward. With this view he sailed from Gushelham in a boat thirty feet long, followed by a smaller one that might be hauled over the ice, but told none of those who accompanied him what were his intentions. Having set out early in the morning, he had by the evening got nearly opposite Stockholm, when, instead of landing as the boatmen expected, he drew out a pair of pistols and ordered them to proceed in the direction he had previously determined upon. Resistance with a man of the chevalier's character was probably judged by the simple boatmen to be in vain; and following his orders, with a fair wind they expected to reach the coast of Finland by the morning. An impenetrable bar of ice, however, defied all their efforts, nor from the state of the weather was it possible for them to return. Their only resource was to sail for the Gulf of Finland, which they did, steering at night by a pocket-compass, lighted by the lamp of the chevalier's carriage, and in four days, having lost the smaller of their boats, landed at Revel in Livonia. The chevalier hasted from Revel to St. Petersburg, where he met with a most gracious reception, and, unable any longer to hold out against the kind wishes of the empress, entered into her service without any stipulations but that he should not be at any time condemned without being heard. Invested with the rank of rear-admiral, he proceeded without delay to take the command of a fleet stationed at the Liman or mouth of the Dnieper, destined to oppose the Turkish fleet under the Capitan Pacha. He hoisted his flag as commander of this fleet on the 26th of May, 1788, on board the *Vlodimer*, and was supported by a flotilla under the Prince of Nassau, and a number of land troops under Prince Potemkin.

Throughout this campaign, though it produced little that is worthy of the notice of the historian, the Chevalier Jones had many opportunities of displaying his professional skill and the singular intrepidity of his character; but mean jealousy and the malignant caballing of heartless and narrow-minded courtiers denied him the well-earned praise that was due to his services. He was however, on his return to St. Petersburg, as an acknowledgment of his fidelity, invested with the order of St. Anne, and informed that in a short time he would be called to perform a part in services of much greater importance. He had seen enough of the Russians, however, and disgusted with the sordid selfishness and the low sensuality that reigned in the court of Catharine, took leave of her dominions in the month of August, 1789. The remainder of his days he spent partly in Holland and partly in France, devoting his leisure hours to the arrangement of his affairs, and to the preparation of papers which might exhibit his character and his services in their true light to posterity. He also made a large collection of important documents relating to the public transactions in which he had been engaged, which will be at some future day, it is to be hoped, given to enrich the history of the important period in which he lived. He was seized with water in the chest, and died at Paris in the month of July, 1792. As the laws relative to the interment of Calvinists or heretics were not then abolished in France, application was made to the national assembly, which gave free liberty for his being buried with all public honours, and ordered a deputation of their number to attend, one of whom pronounced an elegant eulogium upon his character over his grave. He left among his papers a copious memoir of his life written with his own hand, which his friends, it has been said, had it in contemplation to publish. We cannot doubt but that its publication would add to the history of that important era many valuable notices, and be hailed by the public as a most valuable contribution to the general stock of literature. From the brief sketch of his life which we have given, the reader will be at no loss to appreciate the character of Paul Jones, which, in his own country, has been misrepresented by prejudice. That he was a naval genius of the first order his actions abundantly demonstrated. He was the man who first flung upon the winds the flag of the United States; and he graced it by a succession of victories, all of which were relatively of the most splendid character. Unlike the vaunted achievements of single ships belonging to the same nation in the subsequent war, every one of which possessed a vast superiority of men and of metal, Jones accomplished his purposes with means to all appearance inadequate to the end, his ships being often half-rotten, only half-provided in necessities, and his sailors of the most motley description. In every battle which he fought superior skill and bravery were the evident sources of victory. Nor can the circumstance which has been so often urged against him, that of turning his arms against his native country, detract in the smallest degree from his merit. He was, be it remembered, at the commencement of the war, a regular colonist of America, and was therefore no more liable to this charge than was any other individual out of all the thousands who at first took up arms against Great Britain, and eventually constituted the American republic. Less, however, can be said for his entering the service of Russia, which was discreditable to his generosity and love of freedom.

K.

KAMES, LORD. *See* HOME (HENRY).

KAY, JOHN, long well known in Edinburgh as a miniature-painter and caricaturist, and almost the only artist of the latter kind produced in Scotland, was born in April, 1742, at a place called Gibraltar, near Dalkeith. His father and an uncle named Norman were both stone-masons, and he was himself destined to follow the same profession. Having lost his father, however, in his eighth year, this scheme was given up, and he was placed with some relations of his mother in Leith, who, it appears, treated the poor orphan boy with great cruelty—almost to the hazard of his life. He also was oftener than once, while in this situation, in danger of drowning in Leith harbour.

At the age of thirteen he was placed by his mother with a barber in Dalkeith, whom he served for six years; he then set up in Edinburgh, having first paid about £40 to the society of surgeon-barbers for the freedom of the corporation, and soon after married a young woman, by whom he had eleven children, all of whom long predeceased himself. The trade of a barber was then more lucrative, and consequently more dignified, than latterly. Kay had good employment in dressing the wigs and trimming the heads of a certain number of gentlemen every morning, all of whom paid him a certain annual sum (generally about four guineas) for his trouble. Among his customers was a fine specimen of the old Jacobite country gentleman, Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton, who took a fancy for him, and frequently invited him to the country, to the great injury of his business. Kay had, even in his boyhood when residing in Leith, manifested a turn for sketching familiar objects, such as horses, dogs, ships, &c., using chalk or coal, and tracing his delineations on such pieces of dead wall as presented a large enough ground. Now and then in later life he made some attempts in miniatures and pencil sketches. It may easily be conceived that, finding himself possessed of this talent, and encouraged by a man of rank in developing it, he felt some difficulty in restraining himself to the humble career which destiny seemed to have marked out for him. At Mr. Nisbet's country-seat he for the first time found proper opportunities and proper materials for his favourite study; while any compunctious visitings he might feel as to the danger to which he thus exposed the permanent livelihood of himself and family, were laid to rest by the kindness of his patron, who, in the meantime, sent money to support his domestic establishment in Edinburgh, and promised speedily to obtain for him some permanent provision which should render him independent of business. Unfortunately, in 1782, Mr. Nisbet died, without having executed his kind intention; and Mr. Kay was left in somewhat awkward circumstances, having, as it were, fallen to the ground between certainty and hope. The heir, however, so far repaired the omission of his predecessor as to settle an annuity of £20 upon Kay for life.

He now began effectually to follow out his bent for limning and etching, and, after a few trials, abandoned his trade as a barber. In 1784 he published his first caricature, which represented a half-crazed Jacobite gentleman, named Laird Robertson, who was wont to amuse the citizens of Edinburgh by cutting caricatured resemblances of public characters,

which he fixed on the head of his stick, and whose figure was perfectly known to all the inhabitants. The portrait accordingly excited some attention, and the author was induced to attempt others. The style assumed by Mr. Kay was the stippled or dotted style, and nothing could equal the felicity of the likeness. From that time forward, till he was about eighty years of age, this untutored son of genius pursued his vocation, taking off, one after another, the whole of the public and eccentric persons who appeared in the Scottish capital, and occasionally caricaturing any jocular incident that happened to attract attention. To speak of his portraits as caricatures is doing them signal injustice. They were the most exact and faithful likenesses that could have been represented by any mode of art. He drew the man as he walked the street every day: his gait, his costume, every peculiarity of his appearance, done to a point, and no defect perceptible except the stiffness of the figures. Indeed, he may be said to have rather resembled one of the prosopographuses or apographs of modern times, than a living artist trusting to his eye and hand. Hence, nothing can be more valuable in the way of engraved portraits than his representations of the distinguished men who adorned Edinburgh in the latter part of the eighteenth century—the Blairs, the Smiths, and the Robertsons. It was only in certain instances that his productions could be considered as caricatures, namely, in those combinations by which he meant to burlesque any ridiculous public transaction: and even here his likenesses displayed all his usual correctness. During a considerable part of his career Mr. Kay was a professed miniature painter, and executed some specimens which, for delicacy and finish, would surprise such individuals as have only been accustomed to inspect his published etchings. It is said that his only fault in this capacity was a rigid and unbending adherence to likeness—a total want of the courtly system practised in so eminent a degree by Lawrence and other fashionable painters. Once, it is related, he was “trysted” with an exceedingly ill-looking man, much pimpled, who, to add to the distresses of the artist, came accompanied by a fair nymph to whom he was about to be married. Honest Kay did all he could in favour of this gentleman, so far as omitting the ravages of bacchanalianism would go; but still he could not satisfy his customer, who earnestly appealed to his inamorata as to the injustice which he conceived to be done to him, and the necessity of improving the likeness, for so he termed the flattery which he conceived to be necessary. Quite tired at length with this literally ugly customer, and greatly incensed, the miniaturist exclaimed, with an execration, that he would “paint every plook in the puppy's face: would that please him!” It is needless to remark that in this, as in other instances, Mr. Kay lost by his unbending accuracy of delineation.

During almost the whole of his career as an artist Mr. Kay had a small print-shop in the Parliament Square, the window of which was usually stuck full of his productions. He etched in all nearly nine hundred plates, forming a complete record of the public characters, of every grade and kind, including many distinguished strangers, who made a figure in Edinburgh for nearly half a century. It may be safely affirmed that no city in the empire can boast

of so curious a chronicle. From the first to the last there is a remarkable similarity in his style. After forty years' experience he was just as deficient in grouping, and other acquired gifts in the art, as when he first began to use the graver. It would almost appear as if nature had designed him for that peculiar style alone in which he so much excelled all other men, and had denied him every common effect of his art, which other men generally attain with ease.

In a profile of himself, executed about the year 1785, Mr. Kay appears with a handsome aquiline countenance, of much delicacy and ingenuity of expression. In his latter days, when the writer of this notice first saw him, he was a slender but straight old man, of middle size, and usually dressed in a garb of antique cut; of simple habits, and quiet unassuming manners. His head was of a singular structure, presenting a very remarkable protuberance in the forehead, where phrenologists, we believe, place the organs of observation: in Kay, the profile of this feature formed the arc of a perfect circle, beginning under the hair, and terminating at the root of the nose. According to the information of his widow (a second spouse, whom he married in 1787), he cared for and could settle at no employment except that of etching likenesses. He would suddenly quit his lucrative employment in miniature-drawing in order to commit some freak of his fancy to copper, from which perhaps no profit was to be hoped for. It was the conviction of this lady, that if he had devoted himself to the more productive art he would soon have acquired a competency.

Mr. Kay died in Edinburgh, some time in the year 1830. His wife survived him till 1835. After her death the copperplates of his works were purchased by Mr. Hugh Paton, Edinburgh, who republished them in two quarto volumes, with biographical sketches, under the title of *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits*. The work forms a collection altogether unique, and possesses great general as well as local interest, even in a generation comparatively unacquainted with the subjects of the prints.

KEILL, JAMES, a physician and philosopher of eminence, the younger brother of the celebrated person whose memoir follows this in alphabetical order, was born in Scotland on the 27th of March, 1673. He received his early education in Edinburgh, afterwards studying the sciences and languages at Leyden and other continental universities. On his return to Britain he applied himself assiduously to the acquisition of a knowledge of anatomy, studying the science practically by constant attendance at the dissecting rooms. Having accustomed himself to deliver his opinions on anatomy privately to his friends, he at last undertook public tuition, and delivered with considerable applause lectures on anatomy at Oxford and Cambridge, by the latter of which universities he was presented with the degree of Doctor of Medicine. In 1698 he translated from the French, Lemery's *Course of Chemistry*, and soon after published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, "An Account of the Death and Dissection of John Bayles of Northampton, reputed to have been one hundred and thirty years old."¹ To No. 361 of the same journal he gave "De Viribus Cordis Epistola." In 1708 he published *An Account of Animal Secretion, the Quantity of Blood in the Human Body, and Muscular Motion*. On the subject of animal secretion, and the manner in which the fluids of the animal body are separated from the blood, he undertakes to show:

1. How they are formed in the blood before they

come to the place appointed for secretion; 2. In what manner they are separated from the blood by the glands. Upon the former head he shows, "that the blood consists of a simple fluid, in which swim corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and endued with different degrees of attractive force. Hence he concludes, that of such particles as the blood consists of must the fluids be composed which are drawn from it. This he proceeds to show to be not only possible, but actually so in several secretions. From this principle, that the blood consists of corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and endued with various degrees of attractive power, &c., he attempts to show the force of the air upon the blood in breathing, in order to demonstrate that by the pressure of the air the cohesion of the globules of the blood is dissolved. After this he shows how the union of the attractive particles is hindered near the heart, and that the particles which unite first, after the blood is thrown out of the great artery, must be such as have the strongest attractive force; and that such as have the least, must unite last; and all the intermediate ones according to their respective attractive power."² Besides this work, Keill published *Anatomy of the Human Body*, for the use of his pupils; and in 1717, *Essays on Several Parts of the Human Economy*. He appears to have given up public tuition, and some time previously to the publication of his last work to have established himself as a practising physician at Northampton, where he gained considerable fortune and reputation, and remained till his death, which took place in July 16, 1719, from a cancer in his mouth. He was buried in the church of St. Giles, where his brother John, to whom he left his property, erected a handsome monument to his memory.

KEILL, JOHN, an eminent mathematician and a natural philosopher, the elder brother of the preceding, was born in Edinburgh on the 1st of December, 1671.³ He received the rudiments of education in the schools of his native city, and remained at the Edinburgh university until he was enabled to take the degree of Master of Arts. He early displayed a genius and predilection for mathematics, and had the good fortune to study the science, along with the Newtonian system of philosophy, under Dr. Gregory. When, in the year 1694, Gregory went to try his fortune in England, Keill followed him, and contrived along with him to find admission to Oxford, where he held one of the Scottish exhibitions in Balliol College. Keill made his first appearance before the scientific world in his *Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth, together with some Remarks on Mr. Whiston's New Theory of the Earth*, published at Oxford in the year 1698. Any "theory of the earth," or account of its formation and state, in anticipation of the discovery of facts to support it, always formed a fruitful subject of debate; but Burnet's *Theory* afforded more ample field for censure than any other which pretended to support from the enlightened doctrines of modern philosophy. The grand outlines of his theory were of themselves sufficiently imaginative, and their effect was increased by the curious speculations with which he filled up the minor details of his edifice. He supposes the earth to have been originally a heterogeneous mass of fluid matter, of which the heavier portions fell to the centre, forming there a dense body, surrounded and coated by lighter bodies, while the water—the lightest of all the heterogeneous mass—remained on the outside of the whole. The air and other celest-

¹ *Phil. Trans.* xxv. 2, 247.

² Martin's *Biographia Philosophica*, 460.

³ *Ibid.* 457.

tial fluids floated round this body: while between it and the water was gradually formed a coat of unctuous or oily matter, higher than water. Upon this unctuous coat certain impure particles which had at first been mingled with the air descended, and floating about covered the surface, forming a shell over the water, which became the crust of the earth. This crust was level and uniform, without hill or vale; so it remained for about sixteen centuries, until the heat of the sun having cracked it in divers places, the water rushed forth, causing the general deluge. This water found, however, a means of partially subsiding betwixt the broken masses of the crust, thus leaving the globe in the state of ocean, hill, and valley.

Keill, who, besides being a man of accurate science, was a person of clear good sense and critical acumen, saw clearly the evil done to science by the admission of suppositions which have a fully greater chance of being wrong than of being right, while the richness of the doctor's imagination, and the poetic beauty of his language and illustration, did not protect his principles from a subjection to the strict rules of logic. Keill's book is full of the clear argumentation of a man who is rather formed to correct and check the discoveries of others, than to allow his invention to stray so far as to make any of his own. He occasionally condescends to use demonstration, while, well knowing that there may be positions against which the gravity of an argument is misapplied, he makes very frequent use of sarcasm, a power of which he is an accomplished and apt handler. Most of the vigour of the attack is derived from the manner in which the different parts of the theory are found inconsistent with each other, without any very extensive reference to other authority. "After this fashion," says Keill, after giving an outline of Burnet's first formation of the earth, "has the theorist formed his antediluvian habitable world, which doth not much differ from the Cartesian method of making the earth: only Des Cartes, being somewhat wiser than the theorist, would not allow the outward crust, within whose bowels the waters were shut up, to be a habitable earth, knowing well that neither man nor beast could live long without water. But he made the crust first be broken, and the waters flow out, before he placed any inhabitants on it. Another small difference betwixt the two hypotheses is, that Monsieur Des Cartes never thought of making the exterior orb of oily liquids, which the theorist asserts to be absolutely necessary towards the formation of the crust; for if it were not, says he, for the oily liquor which swims upon the surface of the abyss, the particles of earth which fell through the air had sunk to the bottom, and had never formed the exterior orb of earth. But notwithstanding this, I believe it may be easily made evident (though neither of these systems is true), that the theorist's hypothesis is the worse of the two, which I will prove from his own concessions: for he has already owned that the oily liquor is much lighter than the watery orb. He has mentioned also that the terrestrial particles when falling from the air, if the orb were only water, would sink to the bottom; and therefore these particles must be heavier than water. From thence I think it does necessarily follow, that these terrestrial particles must also be heavier than the oily fluid, which is lighter than water, and therefore they will more easily descend through it than they did through water, it being well known that there are several bodies which will swim in water, but sink in oil."¹

Proceeding on such positions Keill destroys what

has been raised by his adversary, wisely substituting nothing in its stead, except what experiment and demonstration support; the general aim of the principles he espouses being that, excepting in so far as we know by experiment the operation of nature, we must take the cosmogony of the earth, either literally as we find it laid down in holy writ, or, admitting our inability to penetrate into its secrets, be content with what is afforded us by experience, demonstration, and rational or certain deduction. Whiston, in his *New Theory of the Earth, from its Original to the Consummation of all Things*, maintained that the Mosaic account of the creation did not give a philosophical account of the formation of the universe, but that it was merely intended, in the most simple and intelligible manner, to give a history of the formation of the globe we inhabit; that before being brought into existence as an inhabited world, it had been a comet, which being subject to perpetual reverses from heat to cold, became by the alternate congealing and melting of its surface, covered with a coat of heterogeneous matter or a chaos, within which the solid nucleus formed a great burning globe.

This great mass of matter, as the eccentricities of its orbit decreased, became more nearly circular, and the materials ranging themselves according to their gravities, assumed at the period of the "creation" the forms of earth, water, and air. If this theory does not possess any recommendation to our belief superior to that claimed by Burnet, its author had at least the art to found a greater number of his conclusions on experiments, and to deduce others in a less imaginative manner. Keill treats this adversary with more respect than he affords to Burnet, seldom proving his positions "impossible," and generally contenting himself with being sceptical; he allows that the author "has made greater discoveries, and proceeded on more philosophical principles, than all the theorists before him have done."

Keill's small work is often referred to as an authority by geologists and natural philosophers; it contains many experimental calculations, among which is that estimate of the depth of the sea on which Breislak in later times founded his celebrated calculation, that there never could have been a sufficient quantity of water in and about our globe to have kept the matter of it at any time in solution. It was considered by many that Keill had used the venerable Dr. Burnet, much his elder in years, a scholar, and a man esteemed for his private virtues, with too much asperity and unbecoming sarcasm. It appears that the respective theorists answered the attack, although in what manner we have been unable to discover.

In 1699 Keill published a rejoinder, entitled *An Examination of the Reflections on the Theory of the Earth, together with a Defence of the Remarks on Mr. Whiston's New Theory*. The defence of the *Theory* appears by no means to have infused into Keill a greater spirit of politeness. He proceeds with the impatience of a man of sense and knowledge interrupted, terminating with an advice to Burnet to study "numbers and magnitude, astronomy and statics, that," he continues, "he may be the better able to understand the force of my arguments against his *Theory*, after which I doubt not but that he will easily perceive its errors, and have the ingenuity to acknowledge them. But till then, all farther disputation between him and me must needs be vain and frivolous, since true reasoning on natural philosophy depends on such principles as are demonstrated in those sciences, the knowledge of which he has not yet attained."² To his other opponent, Whiston,

¹ *Examination*, 37, 38.

² *Examination of the Reflections*, 160.

Keill has in this work, probably owing to the manner in which he was answered, forgot his former courtesy, treating him with no more deference than he has used toward Burnet.

In 1700 Dr. Thomas Millington, Sedleian professor of natural philosophy in Oxford, on his appointment as physician in ordinary to the king, substituted Keill as his assistant to read his public lectures; and the term for enjoying the Scottish exhibition at Baliol College then expiring, he accepted an invitation from Dr. Aldrich, dean of Christ's Church, to reside there. As his master Gregory was the first who introduced the Newtonian philosophy to the universities, Keill himself possesses the reputation of having been the first to demonstrate its principles on experiment; a task he is said to have performed through machinery of his own invention, but of what description, or to what extent he proceeded in his proofs, we are not informed.

In 1701 Keill published his *Introductio ad Veram Physicam*, a useful and popular treatise on the Newtonian philosophy. It is considered as an excellent introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia*, and has frequently been reprinted in England, and in a French translation. About the year 1708 Keill was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society, and after his admission he published in the *Philosophical Transactions* a pretty lengthy paper, "in which the laws of attraction and other principles of physic are shown."¹ At this period the scientific world became disturbed by the dispute, which had assumed the aspect of a national question, whether Leibnitz formed his idea of the doctrine of fluxions from some unpublished discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, and which of these two great men could properly be considered the inventor of that sublime addition to the power of the human intellect. In the *Acta Eruditorum*, published at Leipsic, it was maintained that Leibnitz was the sole inventor, all right on the part of Newton being denied. To this Keill answered in a paper which he communicated to the Royal Society, defending his friend without much regard to the accusations which he brought against his opponent.

In 1711 Leibnitz complained to the Royal Society that Keill had accused him of obtaining and publishing his knowledge in a manner not reputable to a philosopher, or even exactly consistent with honesty; he appealed to Sir Isaac himself as a witness of his integrity, and required that Keill should publicly disavow the offensive construction which might be applicable to his words. The Royal Society being appealed to as philosophical judges in the matter, appointed a committee to examine the papers and documents connected with the dispute, who did not find it difficult to produce a report rather unfavourable to the continental philosopher, bearing "that Mr. Leibnitz was in London in 1673, and kept a correspondence with Mr. Collins, by means of Mr. Oldenburgh, till September, 1676, when he returned from Paris to Hanover by way of London and Amsterdam; that it did not appear that M. Leibnitz knew anything of the differential calculus before his letter of the 21st June, 1677, which was a year after a copy of a letter wrote by Sir Isaac Newton, in the year 1672, had been sent to Paris to be communicated to him, and about four years after Mr. Collins began to communicate that letter to his correspondents; wherein the method of fluxions was sufficiently explained to let a man of his sagacity into the whole matter; and that Sir I. Newton had even invented his method before the year 1669, and of consequence fifteen years

before Mr. Leibnitz had given anything on the subject in the Leipsic Acts;" from which train of circumstances they concluded that Keill was justified in his imputations. The censure of the society, and the papers connected with it, were published apart from the *Transactions*, in 1712, under the title *Commercium Epistolicum de Analyti Promota*. For some time the philosopher appears not to have answered this array against him, until the Abbe Conti, in the year 1716, addressed him, calling on him, if he did not choose to answer Keill, at least to vindicate himself from the non-admission of his claim on the part of Newton;² and he just commenced the work of vindication at a period when death prevented him from completing it.

In the year 1709 Keill was appointed treasurer to the Palatines, and in performance of his duties attended them in their passage to New England. On his return, in 1710, he was appointed successor to Dr. Caswell, Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford. At this period he again entered the field of controversy, in support of his friend Sir Isaac Newton, whose philosophy had been attacked on the foundation of Des Cartes's theory of a plenum; and he published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1713 a communication to the society on the rarity of matter and the tenuity of its composition.³ In this controversy he was, however, interrupted by his appointment to the situation of decipherer to the queen, and he was soon afterwards presented with the degree of Doctor of Medicine by the university of Oxford. About this period we find him gratefully remembered by that unfortunate scholar Simon Oakley, for having permitted him the use of the Savilian study.⁴

Keill, in the year 1717, took to himself a wife. The name of the lady who made him the happiest of men has not been preserved; but it is said he married her "for her singular accomplishments." In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739 we find a curious Horatian ode addressed to Keill by the celebrated Anthony Alsop; its period of publication is some years after the death of both the parties, and there is no comment alluding to the date of its composition; but the circumstances mentioned show it to be a congratulatory epistle to Keill on his marriage. The ode is extremely spirited and not destitute of elegance; but whether from other motives, or the anxiety of the author to reach the familiar vivacity of the Roman lyric, he has treated his grave subject in a manner which would not now be considered very worthy of a divine, or to convey a pleasing compliment to a venerable professor. The subject was one of some delicacy to Alsop, who was then enduring a species of banishment, the consequence of a verdict obtained against him for breach of a contract of marriage; and whether from this circumstance, or his classical feelings, he has dwelt on the habits of his friend in a manner which would hardly fail to draw "damages" from a modern jury. In 1718 Keill published *Introductio ad Veram Astronomiam, seu Lectiones Astronomicæ*, a work which was reprinted in the year 1721, at which period, at the request of the Duchess of Chandos, he published a translation of this work in English, with emendations, under the title of *An Introduction to the True Astronomy; or, Astronomical Lectures read in the Astronomical School of the University of Oxford*.

² Published in the *Phil. Trans.* xxx. 924.

³ "Theorematum quædam infinitæ materiæ divisibilitatem spectantia, quæ ejusdem raritatem et tenuem compositionem demonstrant, quorum quædam plurius in physica tolluntur difficultates."—*Phil. Trans.* xxviii. 82.

⁴ Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*.

¹ "Epistola ad clar. Vir. Gulielmum Cockburn, Medicinæ Doctorem in qua Leges Attractionis Aliaque Physicæ Principia traduntur."—*Phil. Trans.* xxvi. 97.

The year in which he accomplished these literary labours was the last of his life; during the summer of 1721 he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died in the month of September, in the fiftieth year of his age. Besides the works we have mentioned, he published in 1715 an edition of Commandinus' *Euclid*, with additions.

KEITH, GEORGE, fifth Earl Marischal, founder of the Marischal College of Aberdeen. The period of this nobleman's birth is unknown; his father was William Lord Keith (eldest son of the fourth Earl Marischal), a person known in history as having been taken prisoner into England in 1558, and released for a ransom of £2000. This individual married Elizabeth Hay, daughter to the Earl of Errol, by whom, at his death in 1580, he left, besides the subject of our memoir, three sons and four daughters.¹ George succeeded his grandfather in the year 1581, and we find him towards the end of the year following doing his duty in parliament.² We are led to understand, that, previously to his succeeding to the title, he had spent some time among the seats of learning on the Continent. As with most men who have been remarkable in advanced life, it was recollected of him after his death, that in youth he showed an extreme desire for knowledge and a facility in its acquisition. We are informed that he studied at the King's College of Aberdeen,³ and that at the age of eighteen he was an adept in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and in the studies of antiquities, history, and literature; when, discontented with the scope allowed in his own country, he resolved to study in France.⁴ On this journey it is said that he was courteously received by the Landgrave of Hesse (the chief among the descendants of that celebrated tribe of "Catti," from which the fabulous historians have traced the family of Keith), along with the other noble youths of the age. While he was accumulating knowledge, he did not forget the opportunities afforded him in France of perfecting himself in the knowledge of arms and the feats of athletic jugglery then in vogue. After some time Keith left France, preferring a residence in Geneva, with the illustrious Theodore Beza, by whom he was instructed in divinity, history, and the art of speaking. During his residence there an accident of a melancholy nature happened. His younger brother, William, who had accompanied him on his journey, and had, apparently with high promise of future eminence, shared in his studies, was killed in a tumult during an excursion into the country. His eminent master, along with Gaultier and Andrew Melville, have celebrated the memory and talents of this young man. Beza, in the dedication of his *Icones Virorum Doctrina et Pietate Illustrum* to King James, mentions with much satisfaction the circumstance of having been intrusted with the education of pupils so illustrious. After the death of his brother Keith left Geneva, and visited the courts of Europe, where his rank and great wealth admitted his making a considerable figure. It is said that even in this employment, presumed to be full of gaiety, he was a grave and accurate student: that he indulged in the splendour of courts more for the purpose of acquiring historical

knowledge than of pursuing pleasure, and that he travelled less for the purpose of recreation and variety, than for the acquisition of correct knowledge of the various countries of the world, having seldom seen a country of which he did not show his acquaintance by embodying his knowledge in a map.⁵ He returned to his native country after an absence of seven years. The Scottish peer who in the sixteenth century founded a university and encouraged learning must have been a man whose penetration and grasp of mind were very different from those of his colleagues in rank, yet he appears not to have been totally exempt from the barbarous habits and feelings of the day.

On the 8th of June, 1585, we find him obtaining a remission under the great seal, for "art and part" of the slaughter of his relative William Keith, apparent of Ludquhaim;⁶ and in 1595 he is charged to appear before the king and council as a person entertaining a deadly feud with the laird of Meldrum.⁷ Soon after his accession to the earldom the celebrated Raid of Ruthven took place, a political movement as to which it is difficult to discover his view, but with which his connection seems to have somewhat displeased the king. He was apparently not present at the "raid," nor does he appear to have approached so hot a political atmosphere until the king's escape from Falkland to St. Andrews, whither he repaired apparently as a neutral person; but he is represented as having retired to his own home in disgust, on the king changing the lenient measure he had at first proposed towards the rebels.⁸ The earl was a member of that parliament which, on the 19th of October, 1582, approved the acts of the conspirators, holding their proceedings as legal, and protecting their persons from punishment, by an act which was afterwards expunged from the statute-book.⁹ It is not without surprise, that, after such a measure, we find him acting as chancellor of the assize of peers, which, with considerable partiality in its proceedings, found the Earl of Gowrie guilty of treason on account of his share in the Raid of Ruthven.¹⁰ It can scarcely be doubted, that in these proceedings he was guilty of inconsistency: it is not likely that any one attended a parliament held under the auspices of the conspirators for the purpose of voting against them, and it was not customary for the crown to choose assizers who would acquit, while his having acted as chancellor leaves no doubt that he voted for a verdict of guilty! Charity can only palliate this tergiversation on the circumstance, that Gowrie had, in the interval between these events, been guilty of additional acts of disobedience.

After the singular proceedings on the part of James towards the court of Denmark in attempting a negotiation of marriage with the eldest daughter of Frederick II., which terminated in that monarch (not presuming the King of Scotland to be serious in his proposals) marrying his daughter to the Duke of Brunswick; the lover, disappointed of one daughter, was resolved to try more consistent plans for obtaining the other, and James proposed to send Lord Altry, uncle to the Earl Marischal, to Denmark, to make serious proposals to Frederick's second daughter, Anne. The disposition of the council of Scotland was such as prompted Altry, an old and infirm statesman, averse to engaging in the excitement of politics, to decline the high office, and his nephew, the Earl Marischal, showed a desire to

¹ Douglas' *Peerage*, 193.

² *Act. Parl.* iii. 326.

³ Middleton's *Account of the King's College of Aberdeen and of the Great Men there*, MS. Bib. Ad. M. 6, 15.

⁴ "Oratio Funeris, in obitum maximi virorum Georgii Marischalli comitis, D. Keith et Altre, &c., Academiæ Marischallanæ Aberdoniæ fundatoris, et Mecenatis munificentissimi; scripta et pronunciata a Gulielmo Ogstono, philosophiæ moraliæ ibidem professore."—*Aber. Raban*, 1623, 4to, p. 11.

⁵ *Oratio Funeris*, ut sup.

⁶ Douglas' *Peerage*, i. 193.

⁷ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. 353.

⁸ Melville's *Memoirs*, 270-274.

⁹ *Act. Parl.* iii. 326.

¹⁰ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. 116.

officiate in his stead. "Now the Earl Marischal," says Sir James Melville in his cautious manner, "was desirous to supply the place of his uncle, my lord of Altrý: and his majesty was content that he should be sent thither. Whereupon I took occasion to represent to his majesty that the said earl was very well qualified for that employment, and that he would go the better contented if he might have in commission with him some of his own friends and acquaintance. His majesty answered that it was his part to choose his own ambassadors; that the Earl Marischal should have the first place as a nobleman, but," continues Sir James with his usual complacency, "that he would repose the chief handling with the regent and council of Denmark upon me."¹ It is probable that the great wealth of the earl, who was then the richest nobleman in Scotland, was a cogent reason for appointing him to superintend an expensive expedition. It was the policy of Queen Elizabeth to object to the proposed alliance, and the privy-council of Scotland showed a disposition to accede to her wishes. In the meantime the tradesmen of Edinburgh, instigated, it is said, by the secret interference of James, took the matter into their hands, threatening the privy-council, and denouncing vengeance against Thirlestane, the chancellor, whom they looked upon as the chief agent of Elizabeth. James had made his resolution, and the earl was finally despatched to Denmark, along with the constable of Dundee, and Lord Andrew Keith, whom he had requested permission to take as an associate. Owing to the vacillating policy of James, "his power to conclude was so limited, and his commission so slender, that he was compelled to send back again my Lord Dingwall, either for a license to come home or for a sufficient power to conclude."² Dingwall found the king at Aberdeen, who, as the chancellor and most part of the council were absent, was now in a situation to give more ample powers. The storm which interrupted the voyage of the princess is well known as an amusing portion of Scottish history; in the meantime the chancellor, who was the deadly enemy of the Earl Marischal, had, from his opposition to the measure, sunk in the favour of James, and did not recover his former estimation without suffering the expense of procuring the handsome fast-sailing vessel, in which the monarch made that voyage to Denmark which has been considered so unaccountably inconsistent with his general character. We shall give, in the words of Sir James Melville, an account of the very characteristic squabbles which took place between the two rival peers at the court of Copenhagen. "The company who were with his majesty put him to great trouble to agree their continual janglings, strife, pride, and partialities. The Earl Marischal, by reason that he was an ancient earl, and had been first employed in this honourable commission, thought to have the first place next unto his majesty so long as he was there. The chancellor, by reason of his office, would needs have the pre-eminence. There were also contentions between him and the justice-clerk. The constable of Dundee and my Lord Dingwall could not agree about place. George Hume did quietly shoot out William Keith from his office of master of the wardrobe. At length they were all divided into two factions; the one for the Earl Marischal, the other for the chancellor, who was the stronger, because the king took his part; so that the chancellor triumphed."³ The munificence and great wealth of the earl prompted him to bear, in the first instance, the expense of the mission; he could not have done

a service more acceptable to his sovereign, and it appears to have finally reinstated him in favour. In 1592 the earl received a parliamentary ratification of his acts as concerned the mission, and was at the same time empowered to recover from a forfeited estate the expense he had incurred, stated as amounting to 3156 merks.⁴ Up to the commencement of the eighteenth century the debt was, however, unrecovered,⁵ and it is not probable that after that period it was ever paid.

In 1583 the earl was one of the commissioners appointed to superintend the "new erection" or alteration in management of the King's College of Aberdeen; and it is probable that the duties in which he was then engaged prompted him ten years afterwards to perform that act of enlightened munificence, which has perpetuated his name as the founder of Marischal College. The charter of the university was granted by the earl on the 2d April, 1593; it was approved of by the General Assembly of Dundee on the 24th of the same month, after having been submitted to the examination of a committee, and was ratified by parliament on the 21st of July following. The college was endowed to maintain a principal, three regent-professors, and six bursars. By the foundation the languages and sciences appointed to be taught were Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac, natural history, geometry, geography, chronology, and astronomy. In opposition to the principle previously pursued, by which each professor conducted a class of students through all the branches of knowledge taught in any university, the subjects taught in Marischal College were divided among separate masters, each of whom adhered to his peculiar branch—an excellent regulation, afterwards departed from, but resumed in the middle of the eighteenth century.⁶ Without descending to the particular benefits of this institution, the circumstance that many eminent names are connected with Marischal College, and that its small endowments have cultivated intellects which might have long lain unproductive, are sufficient of themselves to speak to the honour of its noble founder. There are 114 bursaries connected with the college, of the annual value of £1150. About seventy of these are open to competition. Two of them are of the annual value of £30 each, and are adjudged for excellence in mathematics to students who have studied that science for two sessions, and are held for two years. The bursaries range in value from £3 to £15 annually—the smallest paying the full fee of the possessor for the four years during which he remains at the university, and the larger frequently forming for a time the chief support of one or two individuals who would otherwise remain uneducated. They are carefully protected as the rewards of talent and labour, and held by those who gain them as their right, independently of the authority of the officials of the university. The ancient buildings of the university having fallen into decay, the foundation of a splendid new building in the Gothic style from designs by Mr. Archibald Simpson, architect, was laid with masonic honours by the Duke of Richmond, chancellor of the university, on the 18th of October, 1837. The builder's contract amounted to £21,420, of which sum £15,000, with interest thereon from 1826, was granted by government, the remainder

⁴ *Act. Parl.* iii. 541.

⁵ *A Short Relation of the Origin of the Keiths in Scotland*, with a list of the predecessors of the present Earl Marischal of that kingdom, being an abstract of the history of that noble family, anno Domini, 1690. Aberdeen, x die Aprilis, An. Dom. 1700.

⁶ For a farther account of this matter, see the memoir of ALEXANDER GERARD in this collection.

¹ Melville's *Memoirs*, 257.

² *Ibid.* 358.

³ *Ibid.* 363.

being raised by private subscription. The new buildings were completed in 1842. Several new chairs have been instituted. The average number of students for the succeeding twenty years was—in arts, 190; in divinity, 120; in law, 35; in medicine, 84.

Within the same year that Marischal College was founded, we find its patron engaged in other works of public utility. He granted a charter to Peterhead. And by the act 1593, c. 48, we find him empowered to exact a toll of twenty pence for every last of goods entering or leaving a harbour he had attached to that town.¹ At the same period the secret transactions with the court of Spain, of which some of the northern peers were suspected, and the discovery of those mysterious documents known by the name of "the Spanish blanks," created alarm in the nation and consternation at court; and by the same act of 1593 the Earl Marischal, as a trusty statesman, was empowered to act the part of king's commissioner in the shires of Kincardine, Aberdeen, and Banff, and to inquire into the conduct of the Earls of Errol, Huntly, Angus, and others.² A trust of still higher order was reposed in the earl in June 6th, 1609, when, by commission under the great seal, he was appointed lord high-commissioner to the parliament of Scotland.

In the year 1622, in the old age of a well-spent life, the earl felt his last illness come upon him, and he retired to his fortress of Dunnottar, where he is said to have borne his sickness with patience and religious resignation. Dr. Dun, one of the professors of his college, attended him as physician, and the disease for a time yielded to medicine, but finally relapsed.³ The latter days of this great and useful man do not appear to have been permitted to pass in domestic peace, and his death-bed was disturbed by the desertion and crime of an unfeeling wife. The circumstance to which we refer is one of a very singular nature; and as it is impossible at this period to trace all the motives from which it originated, we shall state it, almost verbatim, as it occurs in the criminal record, avoiding antiquated orthography. "On the 3d of March, 1624, Dame Margaret Ogilvie, countess-dowager of Marischal, along with her then husband, Sir Alexander Strauchane of Thornetoun, knight, and Robert Strauchan, doctor in physic, were accused before the high court of justiciary, of the ignoble crimes of masterful theft and stouthrief, in having stolen from the place of Benholm, belonging to the earl, certain jewels, silver plate, household stuff, gold, silver, and title-deeds, in October, 1622, a little before the said earl's decease." On the same day James Keith of Benholme was cited to answer for a similar crime, committed at the same time, and in the same place. The two cases are evidently connected together, and the minute in the latter provides us with the following inventory of articles stolen, which is an evidence of the magnificence and wealth of the earl, and an extraordinary feature in the transaction. Of Portugal ducats, and other species of foreign gold, to the avail of £26,000 or thereby; thirty-six dozen gold buttons; a rich jewel set with diamonds, which the deceased earl received as a gift when he was ambassador in Denmark, worth 6000 merks; the queen of Denmark's picture in gold, set about with rich diamonds, estimated at 5000 merks; a jasper stone for stemming of blood, estimated at 500 French crowns; a chain of "equall perle," wherein were 400 pearls great

and small; two chains of gold, of twenty-four ounce weight; another jewel of diamonds set in gold, worth 3000 merks; a great pair of bracelets, all set with diamonds, price thereof 500 crowns; the other pair of gold bracelets at £600 the pair; a turquois ring worth ten French crowns; a diamond set in a ring, worth twenty-eight French crowns, with a number of other small rings set with diamonds and other rich stones in gold, worth 300 French crowns; also 16,000 merks of silver and gold ready coined, which was within a green coffer; together with the whole tapestry, silver-work, bedding, goods, gear, and plenishing within the said place. The case, as regarded the countess and Sir Alexander and Dr. Strauchane, was postponed by a royal warrant to the 2d of July, from thence to the 27th of July, and from thence to the 8th of December, of which date no entry appearing, the lord-advocate seems to have been prevailed with to give up the pursuit; Keith of Benholme, who seems to have occupied, or been steward of, the house so strangely dilapidated, was outlawed for not appearing.⁴

The earl died at five o'clock on the morning of the 5th day of April, 1623, and a monument with a poetical inscription was erected to his memory. The funeral oration, so frequently referred to, was read at Marischal College, on the 30th of June, 1623, by Ogston, the professor of moral philosophy; it compares his death to an earthquake and sundry other prodigies of nature—heaps too great a load of virtues on his shoulders for mankind to bear with comfort, and in detailing the perfections of the dead Mæcenas, the author does not neglect those of the living Solomon. A book of *Tears* was also published to his memory, chiefly composed by Massy and Alexander Wedderburn.⁵ The lady already so equivocally mentioned was his second wife, a daughter of James, sixth Lord Ogilvie: he had previously married Margaret, daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Hume,⁶ and by both he had several children.

KEITH, the HONOURABLE JAMES, commonly called Marshal Keith, the younger son of William, ninth Earl Marischal, and Lady Mary Drummond, daughter to the Earl of Perth, was born in the year 1696. His aptness for learning seems to have been very considerable, since he acquired in after-life a reputation for letters scarcely inferior to his military renown; a circumstance which was possibly in no small degree owing to his having had the good fortune to receive the rudiments of his education from the celebrated Bishop Keith, who was allied to his family by consanguinity, and who officiated as tutor to himself and his elder brother, the tenth Earl Marischal.

Mr. Keith was originally designed for the law, and with the view of making it his profession he was sent to Edinburgh to complete his studies. It was soon discovered, however, that he entertained a much stronger predilection for the camp than the bar;—he seems indeed to have been very early attached to the military profession. His language, when the subject happened at any time to be alluded to, was always full of martial enthusiasm, even while yet a mere stripling. "I have begun to study the law," he said, "in compliance with the desires of the Countess of Marischal (his mother), but commend me, gentlemen, to stand before the mouth of

⁴ Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, iii. 562.

⁵ "Laetitia Academiae Marischallanae sub optimo Mæcenas et Fundatoris sui, munificentissimi, nobilissimi et illustrissimi, Georgii Comitis Marischalli, Domini de Keith et Altæ, &c."—*Aberd. Raban*, 1623.

⁶ Douglas's *Peerage*.

¹ *Act. Parl.* iv. 35.

² *Act. Parl.* iv. 44. Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, i. 283.

³ *Oratio Funeraria*, ut sup.

a cannon for a few minutes; this either makes a man in an instant, or he dies gloriously in the field of battle." Such was the spirit in which the young soldier entered on his career of fame.

The Earl Marischal, elder brother of the subject of this memoir, was one of those Tory noblemen who signed the proclamation of George I. The party being disappointed in their hopes of office under the new dynasty, he returned in a state of high irritation to Scotland, and at York met his brother James, who was on his way to London for the purpose of asking a commission in the army. The two young men returned home together, burning with resentment, and on the commencement of the insurrection of 1715 they were incited at once by their own feelings, and by the advice of their mother, who was a Catholic, to declare for the Pretender. The meeting held by the Earl of Mar (who was their cousin), under the semblance of a hunting match, was attended by the two brothers, and they continued throughout the remainder of the campaign to act a bold and conspicuous part under that unfortunate leader. The immediate subject of this memoir is said to have manifested a degree of resolution and conduct which attracted much attention, and inspired hopes of his future fortune. On the final dispersion of the rebel army at Ruthven in Badenoch, they had no resource but to make the best of their way to a foreign land, where they might be safe from the consequences of their enterprise. They proceeded, in company with many other Lowland gentlemen, to the Western Isles, where they designed to wait till a vessel could be procured to convey them to France. While in the isles, where they were detained nearly a month, the fugitives were frequently alarmed by reports of their retreat having been discovered, and that an armament had been despatched in quest of them; and on one occasion they were informed that three frigates, with two battalions of foot on board, were within ten miles of them. They, however, were not molested. On the 20th of April a ship, which had been despatched from France for the purpose, arrived at the island on which they were concealed. Losing no time, they, along with about a hundred companions in misfortune, embarked on board of this vessel, and arrived in safety at St. Paul de Leon in Brittany, on the 12th of May, 1716. On their arrival at this port the greater part of them proceeded immediately to wait upon the Pretender, who was then at Avignon; the others, amongst whom was Keith, went straight to Paris, where the latter had at that time several relations residing. On reaching Paris Keith waited upon the queen-mother, by whom he was most graciously received, and who, amongst other flattering things, said, that she had heard of his good services in her son's cause, and that neither of them should ever forget it. Keith now proposed to the queen-mother to visit the king, by which he meant the Pretender, and asked her permission to do so. She, however, dissuaded him from taking this step, saying that he was yet but young, and had better remain in Paris and recommence his studies, and concluded by proposing to bear the charge of his future education. Notwithstanding this flattering reception, a whole month elapsed before Keith heard anything further from the queen-mother, and, in the meantime, he was reduced to great straits for want of money, living principally by selling horse-furniture, which military officers were at this period in the habit of carrying about with them, and which, being sometimes richly ornamented with silver, was a very valuable article. There were many friends of himself and his family in Paris, who would readily have afforded him any

pecuniary assistance he might have required, but, as he himself says in a MS. memoir of his life, written with his own hand, to which we have access, "I was then either so bashful, or so vain, that I would not own the want I was in." His wants, however, of this kind were soon amply provided for, and from various unlooked-for sources. The queen-mother at length sent him 1000 livres, and much about the same time a Parisian banker waited upon him, and informed him that he had instructions from Scotland to supply him with money, and an order from King James to pay him 200 crowns a year, with an apology for the smallness of the sum, as it was all that his (the king's) circumstances enabled him to do. Relieved now from his pecuniary difficulties, he betook himself to study, to which he devoted the whole of the remaining part of the year 1716, and a great part of the following year. Previous to this, and while pursuing his studies, he received a commission as colonel of horse in the service of the King of Sweden, who entertained a design of making a descent on Scotland in favour of King James. The project, however, was discovered long before it could be carried into execution, and thus both the intended invasion and Keith's commission fell to the ground. Another opportunity, although equally fruitless in its results, presented itself to the young soldier, now in his twentieth year, of pushing his fortune with his sword. This was the appearance in Paris of Peter I. Emperor of Russia. Keith made every effort to obtain admission into the service of that potentate, but without effect, he himself supposes on account of his not having employed the proper means. In the following year, 1718, learning that there was an intention on the part of Spain, similar to that which had been entertained by the King of Sweden, viz. to attempt the restoration of King James by invading Scotland—Keith and his brother the Earl Marischal set out for Madrid, with the view of offering their services in the proposed expedition. These were readily accepted, and the two brothers, after repeated interviews with Cardinal Alberoni, then prime minister of Spain, were furnished with instructions regarding the intended descent, and with means to carry that part of it which was intrusted to them into execution. By previous appointment Keith and his brother the Earl Marischal were met at Havre de Grace, the point at which they had fixed to embark for Scotland, by several of the Scottish leaders in the rising of 1715, who were still lurking about France. All of them having been advised of the undertaking, were furnished with commissions from the King of Spain, to apply equally to the Spanish forces which were to be sent after them, and to those which they should raise in the country.

The co-operation in this enterprise which they were led to expect was the landing in England of the Duke of Ormond with an army, which it was proposed should immediately take place. Two frigates, with Spanish troops on board, were also to follow them within a day or two, to land with them in Scotland, and enable them to commence their operations in that kingdom. On the 19th of March the expatriated chiefs embarked on board a small vessel of about twenty-five tons, and after encountering some stormy weather and running great risk from some English ships of war which they fell in with, they reached the island of Lewis on the 4th of April. They were soon afterwards joined by the two frigates, and a debarkation on the mainland was immediately determined upon. In the expectation of being joined by large bodies of Highlanders, they proposed to march forward to Inverness, from which they hoped to drive out the small force by which it was garrisoned.

The whole enterprise, however, hurried on to a disastrous conclusion. The Duke of Ormond's fleet was dispersed; the Highlanders refused to embark in the desperate undertaking; a very few only joining the invaders, and these showing little enthusiasm in the cause; and to complete their ruin, they were attacked and defeated by a body of troops which had been despatched to arrest their progress. They were, however, not so completely routed but that they were enabled to retire in partial order to the summit of some high grounds in the vicinity of the scene of action. Here a council of war was held during the night, in which it was resolved that the Spaniards should on the next day surrender themselves prisoners of war, that the Highlanders should disperse, and that the officers should each seek his safety in the best way he could.

Thus Keith found himself placed in exactly the same desperate circumstances in which he was after the rising of 1715—an outlawed fugitive, without means and without a home. After lurking some months in the Highlands, during the greater part of which, to add to his misfortunes, he was in bad health, he found his way to Peterhead, where he embarked for Holland, whither his brother had gone before him. Being here joined by the latter, they both proceeded to the Hague, and some time afterwards to Madrid. Here Keith's pecuniary difficulties became as pressing and infinitely more desperate than they were in Paris on his arrival there in 1715. "I was now," he says, "as the French have it, *au pie de la lettre sur le pavé*. I knew nobody and was known to none, and had not my good fortune brought Rear-admiral Cammock to Madrid, whom I had known formerly in Paris, I don't know what would have become of me; he immediately offered me his house and his table, both which I was glad to accept of." Thus shifting, together with the aid of some arrears of pay which he received from the King of Spain, he remained the greater part of the year 1720, and with the exception of some short absences, all the year 1721, at Madrid. He then removed to Paris, where he lived for the next three or four years, receiving the pay of a Spanish colonel, but without being attached to any regiment. At the end of this period Keith again returned to Spain, and was employed in active service up to the year 1728. Thinking himself, however, rather overlooked, he in this year addressed a letter to the king, soliciting his patronage, and requesting that he might be appointed to the command of the first Irish regiment which should become vacant. The answer of his majesty to this application was, that so soon as he knew that he was a Roman Catholic he should not only have what he asked, but that his future fortunes should be cared for. Finding all hopes of promotion in the Spanish service thus cut off on account of his religious belief, Keith solicited a recommendation from his Spanish majesty to the court of Russia, where he now determined to try his fortunes. The recommendation which he sought was at once granted and forwarded to the Emperor of Russia, who soon after intimated to him his admission into his service as a major-general. On Keith's leaving Madrid for Moscow the King of Spain presented him with a *douceur* of 1000 crowns, and soon after his arrival in Russia he was promoted to the command of a regiment of guards, an appointment of great trust, and which had hitherto been bestowed on none but especial favourites of the sovereign. He was further named one of three inspectors of army details, and awarded as his department the frontier of Asia, with the country on both sides of the Volga and Don, together with part of the frontier of Poland. About this time

one of his early instructors, a Mr. Morton, hearing of his good fortune, wrote to him a letter of congratulation on his prosperity. The general's reply partook of his nature; it was kind and unaffected, "I am a true Scotsman indeed," he said amongst other obliging things, "wise behind the hand; for had I been more careful to imbibe the excellent instructions I received under your inspection, I had still made a better figure in the world." Hitherto the general, though he had proven himself at once a zealous and an able officer in the discharge of his military duties, had had no opportunity of exhibiting his talents for active warfare. Such an opportunity, however, at length offered. On the death of the King of Poland, that unhappy kingdom was entered by a Russian army to overawe, or rather control, the election of a new king. On this occasion the general was despatched into Poland with six battalions of foot, 600 dragoons, and 4000 Cossacks. While on this service he was ordered by the commander-in-chief, Prince Schah-olskoi, to ravage the country. With a feeling of humanity and in a spirit of honour which reflects much credit on his character both as a soldier and a man, he endeavoured to evade the painful and, as he felt it, dishonourable duty. Finding that no dictates of humanity would weigh with the commander-in-chief, he tried the effects of interested considerations; representing to him, that if the system of devastation was continued, not only would the inhabitants, but the Russian army also, be reduced to a state of absolute starvation. This had the desired effect. The general was immediately ordered to desist from further spoliation. During the whole of this war the general conducted himself with a degree of judgment and gallantry, and in short, discovered throughout such a possession of the best and most valuable qualities of the soldier, as now ranked him indisputably amongst the first captains of the age. He was severely wounded in the knee in this service at Ocrakow. The injury was of so serious a nature that the Russian surgeons recommended that the wounded limb should be amputated, and the general at once gave his consent to the operation being performed. But his brother, who had gone to visit him on this occasion, would not listen to the proposal. "I hope," he said, "James has yet more to do with that leg, and I will not part with it so easily, at least not until I have the best advice in Europe." In the spirit of brotherly affection which these expressions bespeak, he immediately removed the general to Paris, to procure the advice of the surgical skill of that city, and the result was highly favourable. The French surgeons, doing what those of Russia had neglected, laid open the general's knee, and extracted some pieces of cloth which had been driven into the wound by the shot, and had all along prevented that cure which was now soon effected.

The military fame of General Keith was now spread over all Europe, and had attracted in a particular manner the notice of the warlike Frederick of Prussia, who lost no time in inviting him into his service, offering him the rank of a field-marshal and the governorship of Berlin, with ample means to support the dignity of these situations. These offers were too tempting to be refused. The general accepted them, and immediately proceeded to the Prussian court. His affable manners and military genius soon won him the personal esteem of his new master, who not only admitted but invited him to the most familiar intercourse, travelled with him throughout his own dominions and those of the neighbouring states, and acknowledged him as an adviser in matters of military business, and as his

companion in his hours of relaxation. For some time after his arrival in Prussia the marshal enjoyed a respite from military service, Frederick happening then to be, we cannot say at peace, but not at actual war with any of the European powers. This leisure he devoted to literary pursuits, entering into and maintaining a correspondence with some of the most eminent politicians and philosophers of the day, all of whom bear testimony to the great talent and ability with which he discussed the various subjects on which he wrote, and not the smallest portion of their praise was bestowed upon the elegance and felicity of language which his correspondence exhibited.

Frederick's, however, was not a service in which much repose of this kind could be expected. He, of whom it is said, that he looked upon peace only as a preparation for war, was not likely either to remain long idle himself, or to permit such a man as Marshal Keith to be so. The outrageous conduct of Frederick in repeated instances had long given great umbrage to many of the European powers, but none of them had dared to come to open hostilities with him. At length, however, they fell upon the plan of combining their efforts for the chastisement of the warlike monarch, whom none of them would venture to face singly.

Austria, Russia, Germany, and France all took the field against the Prussian monarch. During the vicissitudes and operations which ensued, in attacking at one time, and resisting at another, the various efforts of his numerous enemies, Frederick intrusted the most important tasks, next to those which he himself assumed, to Marshal Keith, whose military talents and sound judgment he found during the arduous struggle which followed had not been overrated. When summoned by the Prince of Saxe-Hildburg to surrender Leipsic, which Frederick had left him to defend with 8000 men, the gallant soldier, then upwards of sixty years of age, replied to the messenger, "Let your master know that I am by birth a Scotsman, by inclination as well as duty a Prussian, and shall defend the town in such a manner that neither the country which gave me birth, nor that which has adopted me, shall be ashamed of me. The king, my master, has ordered me to defend it to the last extremity, and he shall be obeyed." Early on the following morning the marshal summoned the magistrates of the town together, told them of the communication which he had from the enemy, and advised them to wait upon the prince, and beg of him, for their own sakes and that of the inhabitants in general, to refrain from proceeding to extremities against the city; "for," said he, with a tact which showed the consummate soldier, "if he proceeds in this resolution, I will myself begin to set fire to the suburbs, and if that be not sufficient to oblige the enemy to desist from his enterprise, I will go further, and not spare even the city itself;" and with many expressions of reluctance to have recourse to such dreadful measures, to which he said necessity alone could compel him, he dismissed the terrified citizens, who instantly despatched a deputation to wait upon the prince. All, however, they could obtain from the latter was a modification of the terms of the original summons. Another was sent, in which the Prussians were offered the liberty of marching out of the town without molestation. This summons Marshal Keith rejected with the same determination as the former, to the great provocation of the prince, who, in his resentment at the tone of defiance assumed by the Prussian commander, declared that if the latter carried his threat into execution regarding the burning of the town, he would lay Berlin or

Potsdam in ashes. The extremities which were thus threatened on both sides were, however, prevented by the approach of the Prussian monarch, who arrived in the neighbourhood of Leipsic with a large force, and averted the destruction of the city by bringing on the celebrated battle of Rosbach, in which he was completely victorious. Soon after this Marshal Keith marched into Bohemia with an army, and laid that kingdom under contribution, having previously dislodged the Austrians from the mountains of Saxony, where they had been strongly posted. The brilliant career, however, of this soldier of fortune was now about to close for ever; the death which became him awaited him, and was close at hand.

Frederick had taken up a position in the village of Hochkirchen, which he was particularly desirous of retaining, and which the enemy were equally desirous of possessing. The consequence was, that this point was attacked during the night following its first occupation. On the first alarm of the enemy's motions, Marshal Keith mounted his horse, and hastily collecting what troops were in his immediate neighbourhood, marched towards the village. On arriving there he found it already in the hands of the enemy. Charging, however, at the head of his troops, he drove them from the position. Fresh bodies of the enemy came up, and the marshal was in turn forced to retire. Again he returned to the combat, leading on his men, and cheering them as he advanced; and again he cleared the village of the enemy. Determined on possession of the position, the latter once more returned with increased numbers, until latterly the whole flower of the Austrian army were concentrated on this sanguinary spot, defended by a handful of Prussians. At eight o'clock in the morning, and while the combat was yet at the hottest, although it had now lasted several hours, the marshal received a severe and dangerous wound. He refused, however, to quit the field, but continued to conduct the desperate encounter with unabated enthusiasm and gallantry. At nine o'clock, an hour after he had received his first wound, a second shot passed through his breast, and instantly stretched him lifeless on the ground. His body was stripped by the Austrians, who had now driven the Prussians from the field, and was thus left exposed until it was recognized by Count Lasci, who had been one of his pupils in the art of war. That nobleman immediately gave orders for its interment; but this having been done with little reverence, it was shortly afterwards taken up by the curate of Hochkirchen, and again committed to the earth with every mark of decency and respect. The remains of the marshal were, by the special orders of the king, finally removed to Berlin, and buried there with all the honours which a nation and a great monarch could pay to splendid talent and great moral worth.

If anything were wanting to complete the illustrious character of this great man, it is to be found in the circumstance of his death having been nearly as much lamented by the Austrians, then the enemies of Prussia, as by the Prussians themselves. His humanity was ever on the alert to protect even those against whom he fought from any unnecessary violence, and the Austrians had, in a thousand instances, been indebted to this ennobling trait in a character admirably calculated in all its parts to gain the esteem and admiration of mankind. Marshal Keith died in the sixty-third year of his age. He was never married, but to whatever chance this was owing, it does not appear to have proceeded from any want of susceptibility, for, while in Paris in 1718, on being first urged by some of his friends to offer his services to the court of Spain, which he was then informed

meditated some designs on Sicily, he says, "But I was then too much in love to think of quitting Paris, and, although my friends forced me to take some steps towards it, yet I managed it so slowly, that I set out only in the end of that year; and had not my mistress and I quarrelled, and that other affairs came to concern me more than the conquest of Sicily did, it's probable I had lost many years of my time to very little purpose—so much was I taken up with my passion." Of the final result of this attachment we are not informed; but it does not appear that he ever formed another.

Some years after his death, a monument was erected in the churchyard of Hochkirchen to the memory of the marshal, by his relative Sir Robert Murray Keith. It bore the following inscription, composed by the celebrated Metastasio:

Jacobo Keith,
Guilielmi Comitiss Marescelli Hered.
Regni Scotiæ,
Et Mariss Drummond, Filio,
Frederici Borussia Regis
Summo Exercitus Prefecto;
Vir.
Antiquis Moribus et Militari Virtute claro,
Qui,
Dum in prælio sum præsul hinc,
Inclinatam suorum aciem
Mente, Manu, Voce, et Exemplo
Restituebat,
Pugnans ut Heros decet,
Occubuit,
Anno 1758, Mense Oct.

The Earl Marischal, elder brother of Marshal Keith, also deserves some notice in the present work, as an enlightened and distinguished man. Attainted for his share in the insurrection of 1715, his fate continued for some time identified with that of his younger brother; till, in 1750, he was appointed by Frederick II. of Prussia as ambassador extraordinary to the court of France. He afterwards served the same sovereign as ambassador to the court of Spain, and in this capacity had an opportunity of reconciling himself to his native court. Having discovered the secret of the family compact, by which the different princes of the house of Bourbon had bound themselves to assist each other, he communicated that important intelligence through Mr. Pitt to the British government, to whom it was of the highest importance. The consequence was a pardon extended by the king to Earl Marischal, and an act of parliament to enable him to inherit property in Great Britain.

After this happy event he proceeded to London, and was introduced to the king (George II.), who received him very graciously. It afterwards was discovered that, by this movement, he escaped a very considerable danger, for within thirty-six hours of his departure from Madrid, notice was received by that court of the communication he had made. The reconciliation of the earl to the house of Brunswick appears to have given great offence to the relics of the Jacobite party, who, it is needless to mention, still retained all their pristine antipathy to that family. Among the papers of Bishop Forbes of Leith is an anecdote to the following effect: "It had been a constant practice in the parish of Langside in Aberdeenshire, to have bonfires, and even to ring the parish bell, on the 2d of April, o.s., the birthday of Earl Marischal. On Thursday the 12th February, being a general fast throughout Scotland, when the bellman was ringing the first bell, the news came to Langside containing the accounts of the Earl Marischal having taken the oaths at London; and at that very instant the said bell rent from the top downwards, and then across near the mouth, and that soon after the bell had begun to ring.

"A gentleman," continues this curious memorial, "walking in his garden, about a quarter of a mile from the church of Langside, asked a man passing by, what the matter was with the bell in stopping so suddenly. The answer being that she was rent, 'Well,' said the gentleman, 'do you know what the bell says by that?—even, the deil a cheep mair sall I speak for you, Earl Marischal!'"¹

The earl resided in Britain for several years, purchased back some of his family property, and intended finally to settle for the remainder of his life in Scotland. The King of Prussia, however, pressed him so warmly to return to his dominions—saying, in one of his letters, "If I had a fleet, I would come and carry you off by force,"—that he once more became an exile from his native land. He spent the rest of his life in Prussia, on the most intimate terms of friendship with its extraordinary monarch, and the enjoyment of every pleasure that a cultivated mind and a virtuous course of life can secure for mortals. Frederick had discovered that the earl was sincerely attached to his person, and he therefore bestowed upon him in return more of his own friendship than was ever experienced by any other individual. The earl was also the friend and correspondent of Hume and other literary men of his own country, besides the European literati in general. He died at Potsdam, May 28, 1778, in the eighty-sixth year of his age—two days before Voltaire, who had nearly attained the same age, expired at Paris. An *Éloge de My-lord Marischal*, by the celebrated D'Alembert, was published at Berlin in 1779.

KEITH, ROBERT, commonly called Bishop Keith, an eminent scholar and antiquary, was born at Uras in Kincardineshire, February 7, 1681. He was named Robert after the Viscount of Arbutnot, who had been suckled by his mother. His father, Alexander Keith, having died while he was only two years of age, the care of his education devolved upon his mother, a most exemplary woman, who spared no pains and no expense within the reach of a very limited income, to inculcate those lessons of virtue and religion, and that knowledge of letters, which afterwards procured her son so much honourable distinction.

The bishop seems to have entertained, during his whole life, a deep sense of the obligations under which he lay to this amiable parent, and to have taken great pleasure in expressing it. Though in but indifferent circumstances in the early period of his life, he was yet closely related to one of the most ancient and noble families in the kingdom, being lineally descended from Alexander, the youngest son of William, third Earl Marischal.

When he had attained the age of seven years his mother removed with him to Aberdeen, where he obtained the earlier part of his education. In 1703 he procured the situation of tutor to the young Lord Keith and his brother, and in this employment he remained till 1710, when he was admitted to the order of deacons in the Scottish Episcopal Church, by Haliburton, (titular) Bishop of Aberdeen; and in November following became domestic chaplain to Charles Earl of Errol, and his mother the countess. Two years after, he accompanied his lordship to the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle, and had thus an opportunity of visiting some of the most celebrated towns and cities on the Continent. Leaving the earl at Aix-la-Chapelle, he returned to England and landed at Dover, where he was compelled to remain for

¹ The worthy bishop gives this anecdote as one related at his table by the celebrated Mr. John Skinner, Episcopal minister at Langside.

several months in consequence of a severe illness, brought on by exposure during a violent storm which he had encountered in crossing the Channel. On recovering sufficiently to enable him to undergo the fatigue of travelling, he set out for Edinburgh, where he arrived in February, 1713. He was shortly after this invited by a congregation of Scottish Episcopalians in that city to become their minister, and was accordingly raised to the priesthood by Bishop Haliburton, on the 26th May, in the year just named. His talents and learning had already attracted some notice, and had procured for him a considerable degree of influence in the church to which he belonged, and of which he was always a steady, zealous, but rational supporter; for although firmly attached to the faith in which he was educated, he was yet extremely liberal and tolerant in his religious sentiments. In June, 1727, he was raised to the episcopate, and was consecrated in Edinburgh by Bishops Miller, Rattray, and Gadderar. He was, at the same time, intrusted with the superintendence of the district of Caithness, Orkney, and the Isles, and in 1733 was preferred to that of Fife.

For upwards of twenty years after this period Bishop Keith continued to exercise his duties in Edinburgh, filling a respectable, if not a dignified, place in society, and employing his leisure, it would appear, chiefly in the compilation of those historical works which have transmitted his name to posterity. In a manuscript memoir by Mr. Murray of Broughton, secretary to Prince Charles Stuart—which the present writer has perused—it is clearly signified that, previous to the insurrection of 1745, the bishop corresponded on subjects relating to his depressed and suffering communion with the court of the Pretender, and that the latter personage, as the supposed head of a supposed church, gave the *congé d'élire* necessary for the election of individuals to exercise the episcopal office.

The first historical work published by the bishop appeared in 1734, in a folio form, under the title of a "*History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, from the Beginning of the Reformation in the Reign of James V. to the Retreat of Queen Mary into England." Though tinged here and there with high-church prejudices, the original narrative is a useful and, upon the whole, a candid record of a very controverted part of our history: while the state documents quoted in the body of the work and at its close have proved of incalculable service to every later writer upon the same subject. The list of subscribers prefixed to this work is highly curious, as being an almost complete muster-roll of the Jacobite nobility and gentry of the period: among the rest is the famous Rob Roy. In 1755 the bishop published his well-known *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, which has also been a mine of valuable knowledge to later writers. The latter years of this venerable person appear to have been spent at a villa called Bonnyhaugh, on the banks of the Water of Leith, which belonged to himself. Here he died on the 20th of January, 1757, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was buried in the Canongate Churchyard, a few feet from the wall on the western side, where a plain tombstone, inscribed simply with his name, has since been erected.

Besides his eminent qualifications as an historian and antiquary, the subject of this notice possessed those of an acute and painstaking genealogist, a study to which he was probably directed by the high value which he always attached to the dignity of his own descent, and which he was at much pains to establish. An instance of his tenacity in this particular, and of his peculiar talent for genealogical research, was ex-

hibited in a dispute into which he entered with Mr. Keith of Ravelstone, on the subject of the comparative proximity of their several families to the house of the Earls Marischal. On that occasion he printed a "Vindication of Mr. Robert Keith, and of his young grand-nephew Alexander Keith, from the unfriendly representation of Mr. Alexander Keith, jun., of Ravelstone." In this vindication he not only succeeded in establishing his superior claims to the particular honour in dispute, but showed that he was also related to the Dukes of Douglas and Hamilton. His reason for being at so much pains in vindicating the nobility of his descent is thus spoken of in the document above alluded to: "For although he himself (he speaks in the third person), now in the close of the seventieth year of his age, and having only one daughter, might be pretty indifferent about anything of this nature, yet he suspects his young grand-nephews (for there are no less than three of them, Alexander, Robert, and John), when they came of age, might reproach the memory of their uncle, and justly perhaps, for his not endeavouring to set their birth at right against so flagrant an attack, seeing the one was capable, and the others might not have the same means of knowing, or the same abilities to perform it." The good bishop seems to have been no hoarder of money, for at his death he left only £450, while his colleague and assistant died worth £3000.

KEITH, SIR ROBERT MURRAY, K.B. In this distinguished personage we have presented before us the rare character of a high-minded, honourable, upright diplomatist. But, what is perhaps equally rare, he was a *Scottish* diplomatist. That our country, which has produced so many distinguished men, should have left such a profitable walk almost unoccupied, and that a people so accustomed to veil their feelings, so habituated to self-command, and so shrewd and penetrating, should yet be able to produce so few names illustrious for diplomatic talent, is one of those inexplicable anomalies that stand out so strongly in the national character, to the great perplexity of ethnical psychologists. It classes with the fact that the Scot, who at any moment is ready to die for his country, is equally prompt to quit it, and in no great hurry to return to it.

That branch of the Keiths to which the subject of this memoir belonged was descended from the Keiths of Craig, in Kincardineshire. He was the eldest son of General Sir Robert Keith, who for some time was ambassador at the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg; his mother was a daughter of Sir William Cunningham, of Caprington; his sister, Mrs. Anne Murray Keith, the intimate and esteemed friend of Sir Walter Scott, was beautifully delineated by the great novelist, under the name of Mrs. Bethune Balfour, in the *Chronicles of the Canongate*. Robert was born on the 20th of September, 1730. His father being much abroad, employed in his public duties, and his mother having died when he had only reached the early age of eleven, the youth was thus left in a great measure to his own management; but even already the maternal care had cultivated that high moral sense and delicacy of feeling which his character afterwards exhibited; while his father's letters prepared him for those diplomatic employments by which he was to secure for himself an honoured name in the political world. The education of Robert Murray Keith was for some time conducted at the high-school of Edinburgh, and this he turned to good account in after years, by using Latin, which he could do fluently, both by speech and writing, in various parts of Europe, when

his communications could not be so fitly expressed in ordinary language. At the age of sixteen he was removed to an academy in London; and as the military profession was at this time his choice, he studied riding the great horse, fencing, French, fortification, music, and drawing. All this was enough for an accomplished soldier, but to these he added a thorough knowledge of modern languages, at that time too much neglected in education; so that besides French, he had a complete command of Dutch, German, and Italian—a circle which he afterwards widened so greatly, that among his studies he was able to specify his “ten tongues” as part of his daily employment.

On completing his education, Robert Murray Keith received a commission in a Highland regiment employed in the Dutch service, and known by the name of the Scotch-Dutch, where he continued till the age of twenty-two, and had attained the rank of captain when the regiment was disbanded. He then entered the service of one of the German states, but found it the roughest of all military schools, on account of the hardships and privations that attended it. Among the other necessities of life, the article of fuel was dealt out with such a sparing hand, that he was obliged, in the depth of winter, to keep constant watch over it—a necessity that brought upon him the habit of sleep-walking. With all this, the chance of military glory as a recompense was somewhat uncertain, for he was attached as adjutant-general and secretary to Lord George Sackville, who commanded the English contingent of the allied army under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. Sackville found it necessary to resign; but Keith, through the influence of his father, was soon appointed to serve in a new Highland corps, raised for the war in Germany, with the rank of major-commandant. He was now one of the leaders of a body of men from whom much was expected, and who by no means disappointed the expectation. Although these Celts were raw undisciplined lads, fresh from their native hills, they were marched into the fire only the third day after their arrival; and under Keith they attacked a village sword in hand, and drove out of it a regiment of veteran dragoons with great slaughter. In consequence of their gallant behaviour more Highlanders were sent to Germany, and well did they justify the wise policy of Chatham in employing them, as well as the declaration of the Prince of Brunswick, that “they did wonders.” Such was the case throughout the campaign of 1760, and at the battle of Fellinghausen, in July, 1761. On this occasion the claymore was more than a match for the bayonets of the choicest troops of France, whom the Highlanders defeated with great loss; while their kindness to the wounded and prisoners after the battle, if possible, surpassed their valour in the field. In fact, the celebrated but diminutive Marshal Broglie, who commanded against them, and contrasted their prowess with their light, short, spare figures, declared, when the fight was over, that “he once wished he were a man six feet high, but now he was reconciled to his size, since he had seen the wonders performed by the little mountaineers.”

Soon after Keith's military career terminated, for the Highland corps was disbanded in 1763. After a year spent in Paris, where his manners and accomplishments made him a universal favourite, he returned to London, and was promoted to the rank of colonel. Four years were spent in the metropolis, when, in 1769, Colonel Murray Keith, whose high civil capacities and aptitude for business had been discerned by Mr. Pitt, was appointed British envoy

to the court of Saxony. To Dresden he accordingly repaired, where he appears to have had little occupation besides that of keeping open the friendly relationship between that country and Great Britain, and playing a conciliatory part with all the gay assemblies in which Dresden abounded. His letters at this period give an amusing sketch of the nature of his duties, and the manner in which they were performed:—“I'll give you a little sketch of my way of living.—Morning, *eight o'clock*: Dish of coffee, half a basin of tea, *billets-doux*, embroiderers, toymen, and tailors. *Ten*: Business of Europe, with a little music now and then, *pour égayer les affaires*. *Twelve*: *Devoirs* at one or other of the courts (for we have three or four), from thence to fine ladies, toilettes, and tender things. *Two*: dine in public—three courses and a dessert; venture upon half a glass of *pure wine*, to exhilarate the spirits without hurting the complexion. *Four*: Rendezvous, sly visits, declarations, *éclaircissemens*, &c. &c. *Six*: Politics, philosophy, and whist. *Seven*: Opera, *appartement*, or private party; a world of business, jealousies, fears, poutings, &c. After settling all these jarring interests, play a single rubber of whist, *en attendant le souper*. *Ten*: Pick the wing of a partridge, *propos galans*, scandal, and *petits chansons*. Crown the feast with a bumper of Burgundy from the fairest hand, and at *twelve* steal away mysteriously *home to bed*.” “And is this the way a kingdom may be ruled?” exclaims the disappointed reader. But why not, if peace instead of war is to be the order of the day? From this drolling sketch it will be evident that Colonel Keith always kept his head cool for action, whatever might occur, and that, too, in a country where dissipation and deep drinking, even in courtly halls, made the latter half of the day little better than a nullity.

If Keith secretly felt that he occupied an unworthy position, from having so little to do, he was soon cured of this uneasiness by being transferred to the court of Denmark. At Copenhagen the whole scene was changed. There foreign influence was jealously watched, and foreign diplomatists held at a wary distance. The gay parties, in which public measures could be openly and frankly discussed, were discountenanced; and so completely was the society of the court broken into circles, that even at the theatre they were obliged to confine themselves to their separate places. “Those who sit two boxes from me,” he writes, “might as well be in Norway, for any manner of communication I can have with them. It is really ridiculous to see how the world is parcelled out here into no less than nine classes, six of whom I must never encounter without horror.” All this, however, he endured and surmounted with his usual tact, and performed the duties of his mission to the satisfaction of his own court, but without exciting the suspicion of the Danish government. It was much, indeed, that a heart so open and a disposition so buoyant should have maintained this tranquillity in such a freezing atmosphere; and therefore, while he waited for orders, and fulfilled them punctually when sent, he thus expressed his private feelings:—“In the meantime I heartily consign that old harridan Etiquette, with all her trumpery, to the lowest underling of all possible devils.”

A fatal necessity soon occurred for Keith to give all these jealous court restrictions to the winds, and hurl defiance at the very throne of Denmark. To understand this, the most important event of his life, we must premise that the Danish sovereign, Christian VII., had for his queen, Matilda, sister of George III. But Christian, unfortunately, was a strange compound of idiot and madman, such as

Europe had scarcely seen even in the worst days of the Roman empire. In the course of his travels he had picked up a certain physician, Struensee, whom he ennobled and appointed to the first place in the government; and so implicitly did he put trust in his favourite, that every measure, whether of court or kingdom, was wholly regulated by the parvenu Count Struensee. It is easy to imagine with what feelings both nobles and people regarded his elevation; but as if their united dislike had been insufficient for the ruin of the luckless stranger, Christian himself aggravated their hatred of the man of his choice by the incredible fooleries in which it was his pleasure to indulge. Among these, one of his royal pastimes was to go down on all fours, and play the part of a horse!—and not content to top his part by gambolling and neighing, he must needs also complete the resemblance by receiving a due portion of the kicks and cuffs too often bestowed upon the nobler animal which he aspired to imitate. Count Brandt, the friend of Struensee, who was compelled to play the part of the surly groom on this occasion, by being threatened with the punishment of a traitor if he disobeyed, was afterwards beheaded for his compliance. Such was the husband of Matilda! But this was not the utmost of her calamity; for an ambitious and unprincipled queen-mother was also dominant in the court of Copenhagen; one who had studiously perverted poor Christian both in mind and body from infancy, that she might pave the way for the succession of her son, Prince Frederick, and was now bent upon the ruin of Matilda, as one by whom her aims were likely to be defeated. It was by this *Até* that the court was set against the young and beautiful queen, and her husband, who really loved her, withdrawn from her society; and when Matilda, thus forsaken, was obliged in self-defence to form a coalition with the powerful minister, it was foully insinuated that their meetings were for the purpose of adulterous intercourse. She was thus traduced, that she might be the more easily and effectually destroyed. Even the high talents which Struensee undoubtedly possessed, and his superior accomplishments and manners, were quoted to confirm the accusation. To seize the queen and minister was now the aim of their enemies; but although several schemes were laid for the purpose, they were always defeated by accident. At length a masked ball was given one night at the palace; and amidst the rest and security that usually follow a revel, the conspirators entered the king's bed-chamber, and by frightening him with the report of a conspiracy against his life, obtained from him an order for the instant arrest of the queen, Count Struensee, and their followers. Struensee and Brandt were seized in their beds, and hurried off to the citadel of Copenhagen; Matilda, in her night-dress, was apprehended in her own bed-chamber, and after an agonizing struggle to gain access to the king, which was prevented by the guards with their crossed muskets, was incarcerated in the fortress of Cronenburg. On the following morning the streets of Copenhagen rang with huzzas of mob loyalty, and in the evening they were lighted with an illumination. The people were taught that the queen was not only an adulteress, but had attempted to poison her husband; and while the churches were filled with thanksgiving for the preservation of such a valuable sovereign, it was easy for the senate, without waiting the ceremony of trial, to declare her guilty of both charges.

It was now the season for Colonel Keith to despise etiquette, and dare the utmost. Hitherto he had seen and lamented the situation of his sovereign's sister; but the jealousy with which the proceedings

of the court were guarded had prevented his interference, and the astounding explosion had taken him, as it did every one else but the queen-mother and her agents, at unawares. Alone, amidst an excited and infuriated capital, he forced his way into the council where the fate of the queen was at issue, and denounced war against Denmark if a single hair of her head was touched. The British fleet was to be immediately summoned to Copenhagen, and the bombardment of the capital commenced. It was an act worthy of the proudest days of Rome, when her ambassador drew a line upon the sand, and commanded the king of Egypt not to cross it until he had decided whether he would have peace or war. After having delivered this stern declaration before the council, upon whom it fell like a thunderbolt, Keith despatched a messenger to his own court with an account of the proceedings, and a request for further orders, and till these should arrive he locked up himself and his household, and remained for four weeks in a state of quarantine, or rather of siege and defiance. At the end of that time the expected packet arrived, and on eagerly opening it the insignia of the order of the Bath fell at his feet. It had been inclosed by the king's own hands, to mark his sense of Sir Robert's heroic conduct, and was accompanied with a command to invest himself forthwith, and appear at the Danish court. It was thus seen that the ambassador's menace was no idle threat, but would be made good, if need were, by a British armament. Brandt and his patron Struensee were indeed tried as traitors, and executed with revolting cruelty, having first their right hands cut off, and afterwards their heads. But against Matilda they dared not proceed to the extremities they intended. After being confined two months in a fortress, she was sent to the castle of Zell, in Hanover, where she died before her day, the broken-hearted victim of infamous accusations.

After this tragic event Sir Robert was weary of Copenhagen. During nearly a twelvemonth that he had resided there he had never experienced anything like kindness, and this reserve would soon, in all likelihood, have been changed into downright rudeness. For was Danish pride likely to forget how he had braved it at its height? Fortunately he was not subjected to the experiment; for in November, 1772, he was appointed to hold at Vienna the situation of British ambassador, the same office which his father had held nearly twenty years before at the court of Maria Theresa. Vienna appears to have been more to Sir Robert's taste than Copenhagen, but it was only because it was the least of two evils, for, in other respects, the Austrian capital appears to have been a huge compound of frivolity and dulness. The following is his sketch of it:—"The ephemeral fly, which is born in the morning to die at night, might hold up the conversation of one-half of our most brilliant aides. The play, the dance, your horse, my coach, a pretty embroidery, or a well-fancied lining, these are the favourite topics; upon every one of which I am a numskull of the first water. I never play at cards; *ergo*, I am not only a stupid fellow, but a useless one." Cards, indeed, he held in utter detestation, and could not be persuaded to touch them, either in jest or earnest; and yet the Viennese were such a gambling, card-playing people, that a diplomatist could have little chance among them unless he countenanced them in their folly. Sir Robert, in this case, hit upon the following compromise, on the ingenuity of which he valued himself not a little: "A lady who is generally remarkably lucky at cards, but who had lately a bad run of about a week, complained t'other day loudly of her misfor-

tunes, and said she must soon relinquish cards, her favourite amusement. I immediately thought I might strike an advantageous bargain with this dear creature, and satisfy all mankind. I therefore agreed to attack Dame Fortune with my money and her fingers; and now she plays her three parties every day in my name, and at my risk; and I am now one of the prettiest card-players in Vienna—*by proxy!*” All this was dull enough at the best; but one of his official duties was to endure it with a contented countenance, and appear happy with everything around him. His chief consolation consisted in epistolary correspondence with his friends at home, and while he freely imparted to them those lively communications in which his duties of political secrecy were not compromised, he was urgent for a full requital. Amidst these interchanges, also, the thought of his own country, of which he had seen so little, was always uppermost, and he was anxious for its improvement; so that amidst his diplomatic cares he would attend to the welfare of Scottish plantations as zealously as if he had been a retired country gentleman. Upon this head, among many other topics, he thus writes to his only sister, the Margaret Bethune Baliol of Sir Walter Scott: “And now pray, my dear Anne, let me appoint you my substitute with G—— (his bailiff in Tweeddale), to din into his ears ‘*Trees, trees, trees,*’ every time you meet him. I have not a twig of his planting at the hall, and I own I expected a forest. This is no joking matter; I would rather be master of a handsome plantation and *hedgerous*, than a mine of gold; so you know you can and will pursue it. You shall be the ranger of the new forest in Tweeddale, and your husband, when you get one, shall be lord-warden of the marches.” Want of trees at this time did indeed constitute the nakedness and the shame of Scotland; and though exertions had for some time been going on to repair the deficiency, all that had as yet been done was little better than Adam’s fig-leaf. It is pleasing to contrast with this the gay costume of foliage with which our country is clothed in the present day.

After having ably discharged his duties of envoy at Vienna, Sir Robert was a second time appointed to the office. The sky of Europe was already lowering with the coming French revolution, so that the utmost political foresight and circumspection was necessary; and here he showed himself a statesman fitted for the crisis. In his duties he was grievously hampered by the remissness of the home government, that left his despatches unanswered; and in 1788 we find him writing to the Marquis of Caermarthen, then secretary of state, upon the subject, with an honesty somewhat rare in diplomatic correspondence, and with a strict stern disinterestedness which few of our envoys would venture to use towards their official superiors. Fifty-three letters he had already written to the secretary’s office, without receiving an answer to any of them. After an indignant remonstrance at such neglect, he adds: “A complete change of system, in regard to German politics, has become not only expedient, but indispensably necessary. But that it should have taken place in the king’s councils without any secretary of state’s having ever given me the most distant intimation of such a decision, is what I cannot comprehend. I am bold to say (and I should not deserve the honour of serving the king as his minister at the first court of Germany if I refrained from saying it *loudly*), that such concealment is disgraceful to me in the position in which the king has placed me, and likewise prejudicial to his service.” The conclusion to this remonstrance was inevitable:—unless the injury

was “immediately repaired by confidential information and instructions,” he must tender his resignation of an office for which he was thus declared unfit. The integrity and decision of the justly offended statesman were too well known to be trifled with, and his appeal was followed with due acknowledgment.

The political career of Sir Robert Murray Keith was closed with the pacification of Austria, Russia, and Turkey, previous to the excesses of the French revolution—a pacification which his labours tended greatly to accomplish. He died at Hammersmith, near London, in 1795, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

KEITH-ELPHINSTONE, GEORGE (Viscount Keith, K.B., Admiral of the Red, &c.), a distinguished naval officer, was the fifth son of Charles, tenth Lord Elphinstone, by the Lady Clementina Fleming, only child of John, sixth Earl of Wigton, and niece and heir-of-line to the last Earl Marischal. His lordship was born on the 12th January, 1746, at Elphinstone in East Lothian, the ancient but now dismantled seat of the family of Elphinstone.

Mr. Elphinstone was early taught, by his remoteness from the chance of family inheritance, to trust to his own exertions for the advancement of his fortune; and having from his earliest years shown a predilection for the navy, he was at sixteen ranked as a midshipman in the *Gosport*, commanded by Captain Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent. The peace of 1763 soon put an end to his immediate hopes of naval glory—though not before he had experienced much advantage from the tuition of his eminent commander. He subsequently served in the *Junco*, *Lively*, and *Emerald* frigates, and, entering on board an Indiaman, commanded by his elder brother, the Honourable W. Elphinstone, made a voyage to China, where, however, he suffered considerably from the climate. Notwithstanding this latter circumstance, he did not scruple to make a voyage to the East Indies in 1767, under Commodore Sir John Lindsay, by whom he was promoted to a lieutenancy.

In 1772 he was advanced to the rank of commander in the *Scorpion* of fourteen guns. In the spring of 1775 he was made post-captain on board the *Marlborough*, seventy-four guns, and soon after he obtained, first, the command of the *Pearl*, and then of the *Perseus* frigate. In the *Perseus*, which was remarkable as the first ship in the British navy that was sheathed with copper, he made a conspicuous figure during the early years of the contest with America as an active and intrepid officer on the coast of that country, under Lord Howe and Admiral Arbuthnot. He was likewise often engaged in the services, in this unhappy war, where sea and land forces were united—in particular, at the reduction of Charleston, he conducted himself with such gallantry in the command of a detachment of seamen as to gain frequent and most honourable mention in the official despatches of General Sir Henry Clinton. The experience which he thus acquired was of great service to him long afterwards, when he had a more prominent and distinguished part to perform.

In 1780, having returned to England with despatches from Admiral Arbuthnot, he was on his arrival appointed to the command of the *Warwick* of fifty guns. In the general election which took place this year, he was chosen member of parliament for Dumbartonshire, where his family possessed some influence; and he was one of those who met at the St. Alban’s Tavern to attempt a reconciliation between Fox and Pitt and the Duke of Portland, with

the view of forming what was called "a broad-bottomed administration." This attempt, as is well known, proved unsuccessful. In the following year, as he was cruising down the Channel in his ship the *Warwick*, he encountered the *Rotterdam*, a Dutch ship of war, bearing fifty guns and 300 men. The manner in which he attacked this vessel and compelled her to strike—more especially as the engagement happened immediately after the *Iris*, a ship of equal force, had been baffled in the attempt—gained Captain Elphinstone much public notice. Soon after he went out to the coast of America, where he served during the remainder of that disastrous war. While on this station, he, in company with other three British vessels of war, captured the French frigate *L'Aigle* of forty guns (twenty-four pounders on the main deck), and a crew of 600 men, commanded by Count de la Touche. Unfortunately for the captors, the enemy's captain escaped to shore with the greater part of a large quantity of specie which was on board the frigate. Two small casks and two boxes, however, of this valuable commodity fell into the hands of the victors. Along with the captain, there also escaped several officers of high rank, and amongst them the commander-in-chief of the French army in America. During his service on the American coast Captain Elphinstone had the honour to receive on board his ship as midshipman, Prince William Henry, afterwards King William IV.; a distinction the more flattering, that the choice of the ship and officer was made by his royal highness himself. At the close of the war, when the subject of our memoir returned to Britain, the Prince of Wales appointed him for life to be secretary and chamberlain of the principality of Wales.

In April, 1787, Captain Elphinstone married Jane, daughter of William Mercer, Esq. of Aldie, in the county of Perth, a lady of large property, by whom he had a daughter, afterwards Viscountess Keith, and wife of Count Flahault, aide-de-camp to the Emperor Napoleon. In 1786 Captain Elphinstone was chosen to represent the shire of Stirling. The breaking out of the French war in 1793 opened a new field for his enterprise and activity, and soon after the occurrence of that event he was appointed to the *Robust* of seventy-four guns, and sailed under the command of Lord Hood to the Mediterranean. The object for which the latter had been sent to these seas was to endeavour to effect a co-operation with the royalists in the south of France. In this his lordship so far succeeded, that the sections of Toulon immediately proclaimed Louis XVII., under a promise of protection from the British fleet, and Marseilles was only prevented from taking a similar step by the approach of a republican army. Before taking possession of Toulon, which was part of the arrangement made with the French royalists by Lord Hood, it was deemed proper to secure the forts which commanded the ships in the roads, and for this duty 1500 men were landed under Captain Keith, who, after effecting this service, was directed to assume the command of the whole as governor of Fort Malgue. In a few days afterwards General Carteaux appeared at the head of a detachment of the republican army on the heights near Toulon. Captain Elphinstone, placing himself at the head of a small body of British and Spanish soldiers, instantly marched out to attack him, and after a gallant contest completely routed the enemy, and captured his artillery, ammunition, horses, and two stand of colours.

In the October following Captain Elphinstone, with Lord Mulgrave and Rear-admiral Gravina, at the head of a combined force of British, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, obtained another complete victory

over a detachment of the French army, consisting of nearly 2000 men, at the heights of Pharon. In this engagement the enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was about 1500 men, while on the part of the allied force it amounted only to eight killed, seventy-two wounded, two missing, and forty-eight prisoners.

These successes, however, were insufficient to secure the British in possession of Toulon. The whole force of the republicans became directed to their expulsion; and finding the place no longer tenable, it was determined, though not without much reluctance, to abandon it. In pursuance of this resolution, the whole of the combined troops, to the number of 8000 men, together with several thousand royalists, were embarked on board the British ships early in the morning of the 8th December, without the loss of a single man. This important service was superintended by Captains Elphinstone, Hallinel, and Matthews; and it was principally owing to the care, attention, and vigorous exertions of these officers, and more especially of the first, that it was so well and speedily accomplished. Captain Elphinstone's efficient services on this and some of the immediately preceding occasions procured him high encomiums from both Lord Hood and Lieutenant-general Dundas. On his return to England, which was in the year 1794, he was invested with the knighthood of the Bath, having been previously promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and in July the same year was made rear-admiral of the white, and in this capacity hoisted his flag on board the *Barfleur* of ninety-eight guns, and in the year following, having shifted his flag to the *Monarch*, he sailed with a small squadron for the Cape of Good Hope, then in the possession of the Dutch.

A war being about to commence between Great Britain and the Batavian republic, the object of Admiral Elphinstone was to reduce the settlements at the Cape—a service which he effectually accomplished, besides capturing a squadron which had been sent out for its defence. On the completion of this important undertaking he returned to England, now advanced to the rank of vice-admiral; and the cabinet was so highly gratified with the great service he had rendered his country by securing to it so valuable a colony as that of the Cape, that they conferred upon him yet further honours.

In 1797 he was created an Irish peer by the title of Baron Keith of Stonehaven-Marischal, and shortly after assumed the command of a detachment of the Channel fleet. In this year also he was presented by the directors of the East India Company with a splendid sword, valued at 500 guineas, as an acknowledgment of his eminent services. In 1798 Lord Keith hoisted his flag on board the *Foudroyant*, and sailed for the Mediterranean as second in command under the Earl St. Vincent, who was already there with a large fleet.

Early in the beginning of the following year he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the red, and on the occasion of a temporary indisposition of Earl St. Vincent, assumed the entire command of the fleet. Here he continued employed in blockading the Spanish fleet till May, 1799, when he went in pursuit of the Brest fleet. His search, however, being unsuccessful, he returned to England. In November he again sailed for the Mediterranean to take the command of the fleet there, and which was now wholly resigned to him in consequence of the increasing illness of the Earl St. Vincent. While in this command Lord Keith performed a series of important services. By the judicious arrangement of his ships and the co-operation of Lord Nelson he

succeeded in capturing two large French ships proceeding to La Valetta with troops and stores. He blockaded the ports of Toulon, Marseilles, Nice, and the coast of the Riviera; and, co-operating with the Austrians who were besieging Genoa, he so effectually cut off all supplies from the French garrison in that place by the activity of his blockade, that they were compelled to surrender. In the following September the island of Malta was captured by a detachment of his fleet. The British cabinet having determined to make a descent on Spain, Lord Keith and Sir Ralph Abercromby entered the bay of Cadiz with a large fleet, having on board about 18,000 troops. Circumstances, however, occurred, which the admiral and general conceived warranted them in not attempting the proposed landing, and they accordingly withdrew without making any descent.

The greatest and most brilliant of all Lord Keith's services, however, was yet to be performed; this was the celebrated landing of Aboukir, one of the most splendid affairs in the annals of war; and it was in a great measure owing to the promptitude and skill of the admiral alone, that this critical and perilous enterprise was so triumphantly accomplished. For this important service Lord Keith received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and on the 5th December, 1801, he was created a baron of the United Kingdom, by the title of Baron Keith of Barheath, county of Dumbarton. He had been previously advanced to the rank of admiral of the blue. In the fulness of the country's gratitude for his services he was also presented by the corporation of London with the freedom of the city in a gold box, together with a sword of the value of 100 guineas, and was invested by the Grand Signor with the order of the Crescent, which he had established to perpetuate the memory of the services rendered to the Ottoman empire by the British.

In 1803 Lord Keith was appointed commander-in-chief of all his majesty's ships in the North Sea. In 1805 he was further advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the white, and in 1812 succeeded Sir Charles Cotton as commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet. While on this station it was his lot to be the means of capturing the person of Napoleon Bonaparte on his flight from France after the battle of Waterloo. The disposition which Lord Keith made of his ships on this occasion was such, that the distinguished fugitive, after being taken by Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, acknowledged escape to have been impossible. His treatment of his prisoner was as noble, delicate, and humane, as the arrangements for seizing him had been dexterous. He acted throughout the whole affair with so much good sense and right feeling, that he at once gained the esteem and gratitude of Napoleon, and the approbation of the government which he represented.

In 1814 Lord Keith had been created a viscount; and at the conclusion of the war by the exile of Napoleon to St. Helena, he retired to enjoy his well-earned honours in the bosom of his family and the society of his former friends. Latterly he resided constantly on his estate of Tulliallan, where he erected a mansion-house suited to his rank and fortune. There he also expended large sums in works of permanent utility, and united with constant acts of voluntary bounty the encouragement of industrious pursuit and useful occupation, those sure sources of comfort to a surrounding population. The strength of his natural understanding enabled him to derive the utmost benefit from all that he had occasion to see or to contemplate. A most tenacious memory and great readiness enabled him to bring all his informa-

tion effectually into action when the occasion called for it. Such powers, united to a fertility of mind which is rarely excelled, rendered him a most distinguished character in all that regarded his profession. In social intercourse his kindly nature was constantly predominant: he was entirely free of affectation in conversation, and he dealt out the facts and anecdotes with which his memory was stored in a most interesting and amusing manner. Lord Keith was invariably influenced by the kindest feelings for all who were connected with him, and, without solicitation on their part, he was uniformly alive to whatever could promote their interest. But this did not limit the extent of his usefulness to others; on the contrary, being always open to approach, he was zealous in forwarding to the utmost of his power the objects of deserving men. Accordingly, it may be safely said of him that he could reckon as great a number of meritorious officers of all ranks and descriptions, who had been placed in their proper stations by his efforts, as any man of his rank who served during the same distinguished period of our naval history.

His first lady having died in 1789, Lord Keith married, in January, 1808, the eldest daughter of Henry Thrale, Esq., M.P. for Southwark; of which union the issue was one child, a daughter. In 1822 Lord Keith was permitted by the king to accept the last additional honour he was to receive on earth, in the shape of a grand cross of the royal Sardinian order of St. Maurice and St. Lazare. He died at Tulliallan House on the 10th of March, 1823, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

KELLIE, EARL OF. See **ERSKINE** (THOMAS ALEXANDER).

KEMP, GEORGE MEIKLE.—This architect, whose great work, the Scott Monument, one of the noblest ornaments of Edinburgh, has secured the admiration of Europe and the approbation of the highest judges of architectural excellence in every country, was the son of a lowly shepherd, who pursued his occupation on the southern slope of the Pentland Hills. Such a scenery, where nothing but nature predominated, in the form of bare brown mountains and dashing waterfalls, was the least of all adapted to create a perception of the beautiful in art; so that, had not Kemp been born an architect, he would probably have been to the end of his days a shepherd or a mechanic. But at the age of ten years, having been sent with a message to Roslin, only six miles distant, he then, and for the first time, beheld the creative power of man, in the remains of the ancient castle of Roslin, and above all, in its exquisite gem, the chapel. The delight he experienced at this new revelation, and the earnestness with which he gazed at each portion of the work, not only confirmed his choice of life, but abode with him as vivid remembrances to the end of his days. The present, however, had to be cared for in the meantime; and young Kemp, as soon as he was fit for work, became apprentice to a joiner near Eddlestone; and when his term of service had expired, he went to Galashiels, where he was employed nearly a twelvemonth in the workshop of a millwright. The last-mentioned locality brought him into the neighbourhood of those districts where some of the richest specimens of ancient cathedral architecture which our island contains are all but grouped together, and thus he had many an opportunity of inspecting the remains of the abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, and Jedburgh. After having fully studied these inspiring lessons, until Kemp, the humble millwright, had become heart and soul an architect, he went to England, where he

worked a short time as a joiner, but omitting no opportunity of pursuing his natural vocation by studying the remains of Gothic architecture. A specimen of his zeal in this way was his walking fifty miles to York, to inspect its cathedral, and afterwards returning on foot. From Lancashire he removed to Glasgow, where he lived some time as a journeyman at his craft, and as a student within the massive shadows of the cathedral. Mr. Kemp came to Edinburgh in 1816 or 1817, and remained in the employment of the same party, as a joiner, until May, 1824, when he went to London. During this period he displayed the same bent of mind, as he was in the constant habit of making excursions into the country, even to remote districts, to examine some object of interest. A Roman camp, a fragment of Norman or early Gothic architecture, a battle-field, or the birthplace of some poet or warrior, all alike interested him. In pursuit of some such object he would often leave his work for days together. He was fortunately an excellent pedestrian, and could walk forty miles a day with ease; for in those days the facilities of railway travelling did not exist. Kemp was an ardent admirer of our older poets. Chaucer, Sir David Lindsay, and Drummond were his favourites; Burns he could almost repeat by heart; and he wrote occasional verses himself. Nor did he entirely neglect his musical powers. He was fond of the violin, and could bring out his favourite Scotch airs on that instrument with taste and feeling. Kemp, therefore, while following his humble calling, was recognized by his immediate friends as a man of genius; and during the whole period of his residence in Edinburgh, he was on terms of closest intimacy with the family of his employer, with whom, on all festive occasions, he was a welcome guest.

Having learned all that Britain could teach him in the science of Gothic architecture, Mr. Kemp resolved to carry his researches into a more ample field. His design was to travel over Europe, inspecting its ancient remains of architecture, wherever they were to be found, and supporting himself, during his stay in the neighbourhood of each, by working at his ordinary trade. It was the spirit of the ancient builders, who roamed in companies from land to land, and whose footsteps a thousand years have not erased—men who were content to merge their individual names into the band of which they were a part, and into the art which they so devotedly and disinterestedly loved; and who cared not, if their works only survived to future ages, whether posterity should retain or throw aside the memory of those by whom such permanent sanctuaries for peace and contemplation were created in the midst of universal strife and havoc. It must have been such men as Kemp who were the leaders and master-spirits of such bands. In 1824 he commenced his tour, which extended from Boulogne to Abbeville, to Beauvais and Paris, halting at each place for some weeks, and studying their architectural remains during every hour of leisure in his handicraft employment. In such a city as Paris his pecuniary difficulties might have been increased but for the demand of English workmen in France for mill machinery; and as Kemp was skilful in this department, he obtained full and profitable employment, so that he could confront the expenses of living in the capital, and study at leisure the details of Notre-Dame, and other less noted structures. After two years' travel of this kind in England and France, Kemp, on returning to Edinburgh, commenced business as a joiner, but was unsuccessful—and could he well be otherwise, when his heart was neither in the wood-yard nor at the planing-board?

His hand, indeed, was more conversant at this time with the pencil than with axe or saw; and he was busy in the study of drawing and perspective, in which he soon became a proficient without the aid of a master. Having been unsuccessful in business as a master-joiner, Kemp returned to his former station as journeyman, to which he added the employment of an architectural draughtsman; and such was now the superior beauty and correctness of his drawings, that they soon found purchasers. One of the commissions of this kind he received was from Mr. Burn, the eminent architect, by whom he was employed to copy some of the working-drawings for the palace proposed to be built at Dalkeith as the future mansion for the princely house of Buccleuch. Instead, however, of proceeding with the drawings, he set about modelling a section of the building in wood, and with such success, and so greatly to the satisfaction of the architect, Mr. Burn, that it resulted in a commission to do the whole edifice in the same style. On receiving this commission he commenced the model with characteristic enthusiasm, and his own modest apartments soon becoming too small for the work, the architect's ample drawing-room was, for the time being, converted into a workshop, and in it this remarkable specimen of zeal, ingenuity, and neat-handedness, was brought to a satisfactory conclusion, after occupying Kemp and an assistant for two whole years. After the miniature palace was finished, it was transferred to the vestibule of the ducal residence at Dalkeith, of which it forms an attractive ornament.

Amongst the engagements into which the occupation of draughtsman brought him, was that of furnishing drawings for a work illustrative of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Scotland, similar to Britton's *Cathedral Antiquities*, projected by Mr. James Johnston, engraver, Edinburgh. For this his intimate knowledge of architectural detail eminently qualified him; and he accordingly, during the years 1832 and 1833, executed a number of drawings of singular correctness and beauty, besides a large series of preparative sketches, embracing Elgin, Pluscardine, Kinloss, Melrose, Roslin, and other of our ecclesiastical remains. During the progress of these drawings Mr. Kemp and the publishers of the present work became acquainted. After Mr. Johnston's premature death, the drawings made for him came into their possession, and Mr. Kemp subsequently completed, at their expense, the measurements and drawings of the Glasgow Cathedral, during the years 1834-35. While he was making these drawings, the project of repairing and completing this beautiful specimen of early pointed architecture was put forth by Mr. M'Lellan, in Glasgow. This led Kemp to prepare a design for the restoration and completion of the building. Fully to exhibit the character of this design, and to demonstrate his ability to construct it if employed to do so, he, in the years 1837, 1838, and 1839, at much sacrifice and labour, prepared a model of the entire cathedral, in which so perfectly did the new portions harmonize with the old, that it would have puzzled any architect not conversant with the building as it really stood, to tell what part was old, and what were Mr. Kemp's additions. Unhappily, the design would have cost more money to execute than there was at that time any expectation of obtaining from government or otherwise; and it remains only an evidence of Mr. Kemp's persevering patience, skill in handicraft, and architectural genius.

Thus matured in taste, talent, and skill, by an apprenticeship that was unique in the history of modern architecture, it was now full time that the

knowledge of Mr. Kemp's abilities should be extended beyond the circle of his admiring friends, into the world at large. Nothing less, indeed, than a great national work was adequate to such a genius; but what chance was there that an aproned, hard-handed mechanic would be intrusted with such a commission, especially when so many learned Vitruvius were in the field? Happily enough, however, the chance did come. The more than national, the universal desire to erect a monument to Sir Walter Scott in the fair metropolis of that country for which he had done so much, and the proposals that were issued for plans of the work, excited an unwonted stir of artistic emulation; it was an opportunity by which the fortunate candidate might link himself to the undying fame of the great poet and novelist. Fifty-four plans sent to the head-quarters of the committee of subscribers in Edinburgh were the fruits of this competition, of which plans there were twenty-two Gothic structures, eleven statues combined with architectural accompaniments, fourteen Grecian temples, five pillars, one obelisk, and one fountain. Amidst such a profusion the committee made no decisive choice; but, in terms of their agreement, they selected the best three for the prize of £50 a piece, and laid themselves open for fresh competition. Of the three designs thus distinguished above the rest, two were by eminent English architects, and the third by some individual who as yet had no name of his own, or was shy of bringing it into notice, for he signed himself John Morvo. Who was this John Morvo? It was no other than Kemp himself, who had thus come timidly forward, and secured a safe retreat in case of failure. In five days he had drawn the plan, during which period he had suspended his work on the model of the Glasgow Cathedral, with which he was at this period occupied, and as soon as it was done he resumed his labour, apparently thinking no farther of a trial in which the chances were so hopelessly against him. In this mood he trudged home from Linlithgow on the evening of the day of decision, and on crossing his threshold was met by his wife with news of the three lucky candidates, which she had learned from an acquaintance, and whose names she repeated. What a happy moment it must have been for both when the real John Morvo was revealed!

As the lists were now opened for a second trial, Kemp, animated by his late success, was ready to resume it with double ardour. His first plan had been a tall Gothic tower or spire, whose original conception and details he had adapted from Melrose Abbey, a structure the lines of which had been for years impressed upon his memory, and of which, also, three drawings that he had executed in 1830 first brought him into notice as an architect in the highest sense of the term. Adopting his earlier design as the groundwork, he now produced such an improvement upon it as secured for it the choice of the whole committee, with the exception of only two dissenting voices—one on the plea that Kemp was unknown, and the other that his plan was a plagiarism. The declaration, however, of the committee, that the "design was an imposing structure of 135 feet in height, of beautiful proportions, in strict conformity with the purity in taste and style of Melrose Abbey, from which it is in its details derived," and the attestation of Mr. Burn, who expressed to the committee "his great admiration of the elegance of Mr. Kemp's design, its purity as a Gothic composition, and more particularly the constructive skill exhibited throughout in the combination of the graceful features of that style of architecture, in such a manner as to satisfy any professional man of the

correctness of its principle, and the perfect solidity which it would possess when built"—these testimonies sufficed, in the first instance, to show that Mr. Kemp's plan was a congenial inspiration, not a plagiarism, and that, if he was still unknown to the world, he ought to be so no longer. But who would now think of adducing such frivolous objections, with the testimony of the whole world against him? The Scott Monument has been visited from every land; engravings of it are diffused over the wide earth; and as long as it stands in its majestic and imposing beauty, the pilgrims of future centuries, who gaze upon it in silent admiration, will connect the name of its builder with the thought of him whom it commemorates.

Mr. Kemp had thus passed, by a single stride, from the condition of a humble mechanic to the highest rank in architectural talent and distinction; and having won such an elevation while life was still in its prime, a long perspective of professional achievements, and the rank and profit by which they would be accompanied, was naturally anticipated for him by his friends, and perhaps by himself also. The building, too, which he had planned, was rapidly rising from base to summit, while at each step the public eye detected some new beauty, and waited impatiently for the completion. But here the life of the artist was brought to a sudden and most disastrous termination. He had been absent from home, employed in matters connected with the structure; and on the evening of the 6th of March, 1844, was returning to his dwelling at Morningside, through Fountainbridge, when, in consequence of the darkness of the night, he had diverged from the direct road, and fallen into the canal-basin at the opening. His body was found in the water several days afterwards, and the whole city, that had now learned to appreciate his excellence, bewailed the mournful event as a public calamity. It was intended to deposit his remains in the vault under the Scott Monument, as their fitting resting-place; but at the last hour this purpose was altered, and the interment took place in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard; while every street through which the funeral passed was crowded with spectators. Such was the end of this promising architect, when his first great work, at that time nearly completed, surpassed the latest and best of those of his contemporaries, and gave promise that architecture would no longer be classed among the *artes ferdite* in Scotland. Mr. Kemp was married, in September, 1832, to Miss Elizabeth Bonnar, sister to the eminent artist Mr. William Bonnar. He left four children, two boys and two girls. His eldest son, a student of architecture, died in December, 1853, at the age of twenty. He was a youth of rare promise and amiable manners, inheriting all his father's genius and enthusiasm for art.

KEMP, KENNETH G. Of this talented scientific experimenter and lecturer, our notice must necessarily be brief, in consequence of his premature departure while his high fame was yet in progress. He was born in 1807; and as soon as he was able to make choice of a particular path in intellectual life, he selected that of chemistry, into which he threw himself with all the ardour of a devotee, or even of a martyr—this last expression being fully needed to express the daring investigations into which he directed his studies, and the equally dangerous experiments by which he arrived at new and important results in chemical science. Not the least of these were his experiments on the theory of combustion and the liquefaction of the gases, with which

he delighted the British Association at their meetings in Edinburgh in 1836. It was not surprising, also, that in such pursuits his inquisitive energetic mind should have made not only discoveries on several chemical compounds, but have recommended the science itself, as yet too generally neglected in Scotland, to the attention of his countrymen—more especially when he had obtained the situation of lecturer on practical chemistry in the university of Edinburgh. Besides his researches into the compounds of substances and the evolution of gases, Mr. Kemp studied deeply the mysteries of electricity and magnetism, and was so fortunate as to be the discoverer of the use of zinc plates in galvanic batteries, by which that invisible power of galvanism can be controlled at pleasure, and directed to the most useful purposes. "Let us never forget to whom we owe this discovery, which, of itself, enables galvanic batteries to be used in the arts. Ages to come will perhaps have to thank the inventor, whom we are too apt to forget—yet still the obligation from the public to Mr. Kemp is the same." This testimony, from an eminent writer, who could well appreciate the subject, will, we trust, have its weight in identifying the discovery with its originator. Another which Mr. Kemp was the first to make—at least the first in Scotland—was the solidifying of carbonic acid gas.

Thus, even at an early period of life, Mr. Kemp had attained to high scientific distinction, and made the abstruse researches of chemistry a subject of popular interest in Scotland, while his example had stimulated those kindred intellects by whom further progress in the science was certain to be secured. Although this was much, still more was anticipated, when his career was cut short by a disease of the heart, under which he had laboured for years, and which perhaps the peculiar nature of his studies among strange substances and deleterious atmospheres had tended silently to aggravate. He died in Edinburgh, on the 30th of December, 1843, at the early age of thirty-six.

KENNEDY, GRACE. This amiable and talented authoress, who shunned fame as earnestly as others seek it, but who nevertheless acquired the highest reputation in her own humble department of literature, was the fourth daughter of Robert Kennedy, Esq. of Pinmore, Ayrshire, and Robina, daughter of John Vans Agnew, Esq. of Barnbaroch, in the county of Wigton. She was born in the family mansion of Pinmore, near Girvan, in 1782, but at an early age was removed with her parents to Edinburgh, where the rest of her life was chiefly spent. Her childhood and youth were periods of silent intellectual progress, in which there was nothing to attract the eye or arrest attention; chiefly consisting of general reading and the acquirement of languages, while of female accomplishments she had an average share. For music indeed she had no predilection, and never studied it, but this defect was compensated by her talent for drawing, in which her ability was attested by the sketches prefixed to her works, which were designed by her own pencil. Amidst the pursuits, however, of a shy and retiring but very active mind, religion was the great object of her solicitude, and this she studied not only as the chief theme of intellectual interest, but of her best affections, and the guide of her whole inner and external life. She was thus unconsciously in training for the department of authorship in which she was to take so conspicuous a part, and her writings were but the transcripts of her habitual thoughts and emotions embodied in interesting narratives.

The entrance of Grace Kennedy into literary life was consistent with her personal character. She felt within herself the consciousness of a power as yet untried, while her desire to promote the best interests of society suggested its direction and use. During the intervals of home occupations, or the demands of social intercourse, her chief recreation had been to convert her place of retirement, whether in town or country, into a study; and there, with a scrap of paper and a pencil, and with a book for a desk, she was wont to write down her thoughts as they arose, and reserve them for future use. All this too was done so quietly and unobtrusively, that even the members of her family were ignorant of these stolen hours of study; and when her first works issued from the press, they were astonished to find that this new anonymous author of whom every one spoke was no other than their own sister. Although her pen had been employed for years, her first publication did not make its appearance until 1821, when she was now thirty-nine years old. It was called *The Decision; or Religion must be All, or is Nothing*; and while works of this nature had hitherto been confined to scenes of humble life, and were exclusively written for the instruction of the poor, Miss Kennedy, in *The Decision*, had selected that higher and more educated class of society to which she herself belonged, and with which she was best acquainted. Her reasons for such a selection she thus stated in a letter to her publisher: "It has often struck me, that amongst the great variety of excellent little works published of late years for the purpose of attracting the attention and regard of young people to the subject of religion, scarcely any have been addressed to the youth of the higher classes. At least I know of very few indeed. It is true, works suited to the poor are equally calculated to teach truth to the rich, when written in the correct and beautiful style that many of them are; but the characters described, and the attendant circumstances, are generally taken from the lower ranks and habits of life, and young people of a higher class too soon learn from those whose opinions they naturally adopt, to consider religion as an excellent thing for the poor, without, at the same time, feeling that they are equally interested in the truths it teaches. I have attempted," she adds, "to make the accompanying little work such as a religious friend might present to a young person of a better class, with a hope that it might bring the necessity of personal religion home to the conscience. I am sensible that I have mingled a good deal that is perhaps trifling in the conversations; but feared, from what I have observed in young people, that they otherwise would have appeared stiff and unnatural."

This publication having proved eminently successful, Miss Kennedy was encouraged to bring out in the following year a work of a similar character, under the title of *Profession is not Principle; or, the Name of Christian is not Christianity*. This was closely followed in the same year by a smaller work devoted to the "short and simple annals of the poor," entitled, "*Jessie Allan, or the Lame Girl, a Story founded on Facts*." This religious sketch or tale contained the history of a young woman whose real name was Nanny Henderson, with whose personal character and history the authoress had become conversant. In December, 1823, appeared the most popular of her works, under the title of *Father Clement*, which, in the form of a well-told and interesting tale, embodies the chief points at issue between Protestantism and Popery, and shows the insufficiency of the latter to satisfy the cravings of a sensitive inquiring mind, dissatisfied with its present

weakness, and anxious about its future safety. *Father Clement* at once became deservedly popular with every class of readers, and the number of editions through which it subsequently passed showed the permanent hold it had established upon the public favour. On the ensuing spring Miss Kennedy published her religious tale called *Anna Ross*, of equal interest but less pretension, being a "story for children." Two tracts from her pen followed soon after, the first being *Andrew Campbell's Visit to his Irish Cousins*, and the second *The Word of God and the Word of Man*, a work addressed to Irish Roman Catholics. At the end of the following year appeared her largest production, *Dunallan: or, Know what you Judge*. Although so late in its appearance it should have been the first of her publications, having been written several years before the rest; but its equivocal form, which somewhat partook of the appearance of a novel, was such an offence in the eyes of the strictly religious, as might have sufficed to extinguish her authorship at the outset. Even as it was, it was condemned by many who had piously abstained from reading it, notwithstanding its admonitory title, *Know what you Judge*. The last work of Miss Kennedy had for its title, *Philip Colville, a Covenanters Story*, and was a vindication of the aspersed children of the covenant, against whom the ancient odium was revived in double heat by Sir Walter Scott's *Old Mortality*. The authoress boldly entered upon her self-imposed task by selecting the murder of Archbishop Sharpe as the principal event, and some of the agents of the deed as the chief heroes of the tale.

Such is the list of the writings of Grace Kennedy during the short space of little more than three years over which her authorship extended, and which, since her death, have been published in six goodly volumes. Independently, however, of the industry which they indicate, their literary merits are of no small amount, so that they deservedly held their place as the most popular writings of their class, although at the time such religious works for the young employed not a few talented writers, and were produced in great abundance. The incidents they relate are happily devised and full of interest; the characters, besides being natural, are admirably delineated; the dialogues in which they express their sentiments are given in natural every-day phrase, instead of stilted declamation; while their religious teaching, instead of being obtruded, arises spontaneously from the actors of the scene, or the incidents described. Such are their excellencies, not usually to be found in that species of literature which may be termed the religious novel, and the works of Grace Kennedy show how well she was qualified to obtain distinction in the more ambitious departments of intellectual competition. But to the young her whole powers and aims were devoted, independently of literary fame, and it would be difficult to estimate the number of youthful minds whom she thus trained for a maturity of excellence and distinction. And still her labours were conducted so unobtrusively, that her name remained unknown till the last year of her life even to her publisher, while his bookshelves were laden with her productions, and his shop with their purchasers, while every tongue was ready with the question, "Who is the author of *Father Clement*?" It was only when laid upon her death-bed, and a short time previous to her departure, that she absolved her family from their promise of secrecy in regard to her works—declaring that the truths which she had endeavoured to urge upon others, she now found sufficient to support her own soul, and that she thought if this were known

it might tend to their being of more use to those who read them. After a severe and tedious illness, she died on the 28th of February, 1825. Her venerable pastor, Dr. Jones, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who unexpectedly made her death the subject of a funeral sermon, after describing with deep emotion the many noble and amiable qualities by which her life was distinguished, thus spoke of her last moments: "Fifty years and more I have been honoured by being permitted to attend the dying beds of Christians, and many a calm, and many an instructive, and many a peaceful, and many a joyful, and many a dignified, and many a triumphant death have I seen—but never have I seen one more placid, more edifying, or more glorious than that of Grace Kennedy. Full of faith and the Holy Ghost, nothing silly or frivolous could fall from her; all her words were words of wisdom, and all her actions were great and good. On much better grounds than he did, we may say with Addison, 'Come, see how a Christian can die!' Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like hers!"

KENNEDY, JAMES, Bishop of St. Andrews, was the younger of the two sons of James Kennedy of Dunure, and his wife, the Countess of Angus, daughter of Robert III. King of Scotland. He was born about the year 1405 or 1406. The earlier part of his education he received at home, under the eye of his mother, and was afterwards, agreeably to the practice of the times, sent abroad to complete it. Being early destined to the church, the only road to preferment at that period, and the only profession worthy his dignified descent, he devoted himself to the study particularly of theology and the canon law; but besides his acquirements in these departments of knowledge, he made a singular proficiency in the languages and other branches of learning, and was altogether looked upon as by far the most accomplished prelate of his day.

On his entering into holy orders, he was preferred (1437) by his uncle James I. to the see of Dunkeld. The good bishop was no sooner installed in his office than he set assiduously to work to reform abuses in the church, and to compel his vicars and parsons to a faithful discharge of their duties. He enjoined them to remain in their parishes, and to instruct their parishioners in the knowledge of religion, to preach to them regularly, and to visit, comfort, and encourage the sick. He himself visited all the churches within his diocese four times every year, preaching in each of them as he went along. On these occasions he never failed to inquire of the people if they were duly instructed by their pastors; if they had no complaints against them; whether their poor were properly cared for; and if their youth were brought up in the fear of God. Such were the pious labours of this excellent man at the outset of his career, and he never deviated from them during the whole of a long and active after-life. Finding his own authority insufficient to enable him to accomplish all the good he was desirous of doing, in reforming the abuses which had crept into the church, he went over to Florence to procure additional powers for this purpose from the pope, Eugenius IV. On this occasion his holiness, as a mark of his esteem for the worthy prelate, bestowed upon him the *commendam* of the abbacy of Leone.

On the death of Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, an event which happened on 6th April, 1440, Kennedy was chosen as his successor in that see; and to this new and more important charge he brought all that activity and anxiety to do good which had distinguished him at Dunkeld. He con-

tinued his efforts to reform the manners and practice of the clergy, and in 1446 set out on a second journey to Italy, to consult with and obtain the co-operation of the pope in his work of reformation. On this occasion he was accompanied by a train of thirty persons; for though moderate in all his enjoyments, he was yet of an exceedingly liberal disposition, and a scrupulous maintainer of the dignity of his sacred office. His dislike of turbulence, his constant efforts to reconcile differences where they existed, and to discountenance oppression, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the house of Douglas; and in revenge of the part he took in restraining the power of that ambitious family, his lands were plundered by the Earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvie of Inverarrie, at the instigation of the Earl of Douglas, who had farther instructed them to seize if possible the person of the bishop, and to put him in irons. This fate he only avoided by confining himself to his castle. He was, however, eventually the means of reducing the power of the Douglasses within limits more consistent with the peace and safety of the kingdom. James II., almost driven from his throne by the increasing insolence of the chief of that house, went in despair to St. Andrews to seek the counsel of its able bishop. On the prince and prelate meeting, the former informed him that Douglas was mustering a large army either to dethrone him or drive him from the country; that he knew no means of resisting him, and was utterly at a loss what steps to take in this emergency. "Sir," replied the bishop, "I entreat your grace to partake, in the meantime, of some refreshment, and while ye do so I will pass into my chamber and pray to God for you and the commonwealth of this realm." When the king had finished his repast the bishop came forth, and taking him by the hand led him into the apartment in which he himself had been praying, and there they both knelt down and besought the guidance and assistance of Him who directs all things. When they had concluded their devotions, the bishop proceeded to point out to the king such a mode of procedure as he deemed the most suitable to the circumstances. He advised the monarch immediately to issue proclamations calling upon his subjects in the north to muster around his standard, which he afterwards erected at St. Andrews, and offer pardon to all who, having previously attached themselves to the Earl of Douglas, would now abandon his cause and aid that of the king. The consequence was that James soon found himself at the head of 40,000 men. The final muster took place at Stirling, and a battle, which was to decide whether a Douglas or a Stuart was to be King of Scotland, appeared to be at hand; for the former with an equal force was at that moment encamped on the south side of the Carron. But while in the very act of advancing, Douglas detected the effects of the amnesty proclaimed by James by the advice of the bishop. A spirit of disaffection and indications of wavering appeared in his ranks. Alarmed by these symptoms he marched his army back to their encampment, hoping to restore their confidence, but the result was very different, for on the following morning there were not a hundred men remaining of all Douglas' host. Finding himself thus deserted, the earl fled; and in this manner fell the overgrown power of the house of Douglas—a circumstance mainly, if not entirely, attributable to the wisdom and energy of the Bishop of St. Andrews.

On the death of James II. Bishop Kennedy was intrusted with the charge and education of his son, afterwards James III., then about seven years of age. His known wisdom, prudence, and integrity, pointed

him out as the fittest person for this important duty, and on the same ground there was added to it a large share in the management of public affairs during the regency of the queen-mother. He had acquired an authority in the kingdom by the mere influence of his character, which few had ever attained, and he was thus enabled to accomplish more amongst a rude people than would have been effected by mere power or rank. The consequence was, that unusual quietness and prosperity pervaded the whole kingdom during his administration. He enjoyed the confidence of all parties, and was no less esteemed for his probity, humanity, and wisdom, than admired for the splendour of his abilities; and so universal was the satisfaction which his government afforded, that the chief management of public affairs was still left in his hands even after the death of the queen-mother, and remained with him until his own death, which took place on the 10th May, 1466.

Bishop Kennedy was not less remarkable for his munificence than for his other splendid qualities. He founded the college at St. Andrews called St. Salvador's, in honour of our Saviour, and endowed it with a fund for the maintenance of a provost, four regents, and eight poor scholars or bursars, at an expense of about £10,000. He built a ship, which was afterwards known by the name of the *Bishop's Barge*, at a similar cost; and his tomb is said to have been equally expensive with the two former. In 1444 he was appointed chancellor of the kingdom, but this office he resigned a few weeks afterwards, as he found that it interfered with those projects for doing good in his clerical capacity, which he had resolved to follow out from the beginning of his career. He was, by his own desire, interred in the collegiate church of St. Andrews, where his tomb is still shown, along with several silver maces which were found in it some years ago.

KENNEDY, GENERAL SIR JAMES SHAW, K. C. B. This gallant soldier and skilful military tactician was born in 1788. His name was originally James Shaw, that of Kennedy being added at a subsequent period. After being educated at the Royal Military College, he entered the army at Hythe as ensign in the 43d regiment, went through the course of drill and discipline put into practice by Sir John Moore, and was present at the siege of Copenhagen and battle of Kioge in 1807. Under that distinguished commander, also, he accompanied the 43d in 1808 in the advance from Corunna to Sahagun; and during the retreat and afterwards, was attacked by violent fever, followed by long illness, from which he never fully recovered.

In 1809 James Shaw accompanied the 43d to Lisbon, and was present with his regiment at the battle of Talavera. It was on this occasion that the 43d, 52d, and 95th regiments, under General Robert Crawford, reached the British camp, after performing the incredible march of sixty-two English miles in twenty-six hours, in the hottest season of the year, and although each soldier carried from fifty to sixty pounds weight of arms and luggage. At Talavera Shaw became adjutant of his regiment, and at Campo-Mayor he was appointed aide-de-camp to Major-general Robert Crawford. Under this daring and impetuous commander, to whom danger seemed the main charm of a military life, Shaw was present in the numerous affairs that took place on the Agueda and around Ciudad-Rodrigo, and took part in that most interesting charge of cavalry which occurred near to Villa del Puercio. On this occasion a square of French infantry, consisting of about 200 men commanded by Captain Gouache, had formed in such a

peculiar position, that Shaw was commissioned to ride up close to the face of it, and ascertain its exact position before the attack commenced. He accordingly looked at and over the square, but though so close at hand, not a shot was fired at him—the enemy were too intent upon keeping their ranks compact and steady to discompose their order by bringing down one man. To Shaw it seemed a golden opportunity of deciding the long-pending question, whether well-formed and steady infantry can be broken by a charge of cavalry. The square was first attacked by a troop of the King's German Hussars and a troop of the 16th Light Dragoons, and afterwards by a squadron of the 14th Light Dragoons; but, in both cases, the attacks failed, and their assailants were beaten off, with the loss of their colonel and thirty-two troopers, while the French did not lose a man.

When Ney advanced towards Almeida on the Coa, and General Crawford rashly resolved, with little more than 5000 British and Portuguese, to abide the onset of 30,000 French, Shaw received a wound in the left elbow-joint, which, owing to exfoliations of the bone, was long in healing, so that he was secluded for a considerable period from active service. When the Duke of Wellington undertook the siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo, in January, 1812, Shaw, now cured of his wound, was with General Crawford as aide-de-camp, and carried the duke's summons to the governor of the town for its surrender. He also accompanied General Crawford when the light division advanced to the storming of the place. On this occasion Crawford, with that recklessness of danger which had always characterized him, and which seemed to be justified by his numerous escapes, separated himself from the advancing column, to about sixty yards on its left, and planting himself on the very crest of the glacis, issued his orders in the loudest tones. He was thus a mark which the enemy could not miss, except by a miracle, and he fell desperately wounded. Shaw, who alone was with him on this occasion, raised and removed his dying commander from the spot, and received his last instructions. His chief desire in his last moments was, that Shaw should tell his wife "he was quite sure that they would meet in heaven."

The death of Crawford having freed him of his duties as aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Shaw rejoined the 43d regiment, and was present at the siege and assault of Badajos in 1812. The attack was to be made upon the town from different quarters simultaneously, and was so well planned that it was hoped it would prove irresistible; but, from some of these casualties which are so frequent in war, the unity of the effort was prevented, and the enemy put upon their guard. On this account the whole was reduced to a trial of desperate fighting, in which the British had to contend not only with a determined foe, but a fortress doubly and trebly fortified, so that to press on was almost with the certainty to perish. But the assailants, animated with the thirst of revenge and plunder in addition to their native courage, surged on through a tempest of fire and steel that met them at every ditch, gate, and ravelin. They only went onward to fall in heaps, while the enemy taunted their victims as they fell, with, *Why they did not come into Badajos?* "In this dreadful situation," writes the historian of the Peninsular war, "while the dead were lying in heaps, and others continually falling, the wounded crawling about to get some shelter from the merciless shower above, and withal a sickening stench from the burned flesh of the slain, Captain Nicholas of the engineers was observed by Lieutenant Shaw of the 43d, making incredible efforts to

force his way with a few men into the Santa Maria. Collecting fifty soldiers, of all regiments, he joined him, and, passing a deep cut along the foot of the breach, these two young officers, at the head of their band, rushed up the slope of the ruins; but ere they gained two-thirds of the ascent a concentrated fire of musketry and grape dashed nearly the whole dead to the earth. Nicholas was mortally wounded, and the intrepid Shaw stood alone." This was a situation which might have confounded the courage of the bravest, but even at this moment the coolness and considerateness of Shaw remained unshaken; and while thus standing alone, he deliberately pulled out his watch, repeated the hour aloud, and declared that the breach could not be carried that night. This instance of intrepid coolness Captain Nicholas saw, while lying mortally wounded, and afterwards reported before he died. The lieutenant's prediction was correct; the attack on the breach of the Santa Maria bastion was not repeated that night; and, collecting the remains of his followers, and a few chance stragglers from other regiments, Shaw withdrew them to a ruined ravelin which afforded them some shelter from the enemy's fire, and there resolved to continue until the morning, in the correct belief that the occupation of the position was of importance, should the assault on Badajos be repeated on the following day. But they had not long been on the ravelin when the alarm was raised that the French were making a sortie into the ditch, which compelled the handful of British to a hasty retreat.

These, however, were not the whole of Lieutenant Shaw's exploits in the siege of Badajos. Two or three days before the assault was given, an order was issued that the light division was to form for the assault, for which purpose it was stationed after dark, and in the greatest silence, on the left of the Rivellas, with the head of the column near to the quarry, and pointing to the bastion of Trinidad. The head of the column was not to pass the point at which it would be exposed to the enemy's shot; but to ascertain this point would be extremely difficult in the darkness, and impossible by daylight. It was honourable to Lieutenant Shaw that he was chosen to solve the difficulty; and to make it as safe as possible, Colonel M'Leod and another officer posted themselves on the height of St. Michael, to signalize him of any movements of the French from Badajos, or the fort of Pardaleras. The cool, courageous, and scientific manner in which this dangerous midnight exploration was effected, will be best told in Shaw's own language from his autobiography:—"Commencing at a well-ascertained point on the left of the Rivellas—which point could not be mistaken even in the night—I took regular paces—counting my paces—and proceeded directly towards the bastion of Trinidad, until I got very near to the covered way of that bastion, and saw that no further advance could be made by a column without exposure to the fire both of the bastion and of the Pardaleras. M'Leod now made the signal, indicating that the French had sent out a party from the Pardaleras to intercept my return. By returning at the same measured and slow pace at which I had advanced I accomplished two things, viz. measuring again the distance, and imposing on the French detachment; for they evidently were intimidated, from supposing that I was supported. This successful measurement of the required distance for the column to stand upon in safety was of much importance on the night of the assault. By it the column of the light division was placed in the position from which it proceeded to the assault."

After the capture of Badajos Lieutenant Shaw

continued with the 43d during the advance to Salamanca in 1812, the taking of the forts there, the operations on to the Douro, and the retreat to Salamanca. He also did his duty in the memorable battle of Salamanca, where the Duke of Wellington, to use a French officer's expression, "defeated 40,000 men in forty minutes." He then accompanied the army in its advance to Madrid, the reduction of the Retiro, and until after the retreat from Madrid had commenced. During this retreat he became aide-de-camp to General Baron Alten, commanding the light division, and was with him in that capacity in the retreat to Salamanca, and afterwards to Rodrigo, and in the affairs that took place in the retreat. After the retreat of the army to Portugal at the close of 1812, the state of Shaw's health required a return to England on sick-leave, and his return was succeeded by a long and severe fever, the effects of which, and some partial relapses, made his health ever after delicate and precarious, and unfit for severe field-service. But his genius for the higher military operations on which success in war so greatly depends, only shone out the more brightly, and won for him that rank and distinction not always accorded to mere soldierly courage and activity.

Having only partially recovered from these repeated attacks of fever, Shaw rejoined the army, and in 1815, on Napoleon's return from Elba to France, was attached in Belgium to the third division of the Anglo-allied army, which was commanded by General Baron Alten. In this division Shaw held the office of deputy assistant quartermaster-general. Scarcely, however, had the army been a quarter of an hour on the field of Quatre Bras, when the assistant quartermaster-general was wounded, in consequence of which Shaw succeeded to the whole charge of his department for the third division during the momentous days of the 16th, 17th, and 18th of June. This division having been severely engaged on the 16th, had on the following day to be withdrawn under circumstances of peculiar danger, in consequence of the advance of the army under Napoleon from the field of Ligny; and preparatory to this critical process, Shaw was ordered to reconnoitre the country from near Piermont, where the division was stationed, to the Dyle, and fix upon its line of retreat, and the point at which it should pass the Dyle, so as to leave the passage at Genappe free for the other portions of the army. This trying duty of the quartermaster-general was ably performed, as was shown by the operations of which it formed the guide. The third division retired upon the line which Shaw had mapped out for it, in the face of Napoleon's army, with which they actually came into contact, although not more than 6000 strong—crossed a considerable river—and at length reached in safety the great road leading from Genappe to Waterloo. This successful retreat is thus described by the quartermaster himself in his autobiography:—"Every possible precaution was taken to withdraw a great portion of the division before the enemy perceived that it was moving in retreat, and the three brigades were so arranged that they kept in echelons on the line of retreat, each brigade forming on ground favourable for repelling an attack, and so that each brigade should retire in succession; thus the enemy constantly found, as he advanced, brigade after brigade regularly formed for action. Although the enemy closely followed the division, he never attempted any regular attack upon it."

When the great conflict of Waterloo followed, the subject of our memoir performed an important part in that eventful drama. On the 18th of June, when the formation of the French army indicated the de-

sign of an attack on the British position, the Prince of Orange and General Baron Alten were anxious to know how the third division should be formed in order of battle, and referred the question to the Duke of Wellington, who joined them during the discussion. "Form in the usual way," replied the duke, and rode on. This answer did not satisfy the anxious officers, who knew that the division would be particularly exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery, and the attacks of their numerous and efficient cavalry; and after Wellington had passed onward, the discussion was renewed, but without any result. At length Shaw interposed, and begged that he might be allowed to form the division, to which Baron Alten assented. Aware of the terrible charges of cavalry to which the division would be exposed, and that its formation ought to be such as to give it facilities of rapid formation for resisting cavalry, and equal facilities for the reformation of the line, the quartermaster-general formed the front line into five oblongs, and the second line into four, placed as nearly as possible in exchequer, so that the oblongs of the second line should close up the openings of the first. The propriety of this arrangement was admirably manifested in the engagement: as soon as the French cavalry advanced to charge, the third division readily threw itself into the prescribed oblongs, and the terrible onset, that, in ordinary circumstances, would have sufficed to trample down resistance, or sweep their opponents off the field, was met, broken, and driven back with fatal recoil. In the action Shaw himself had one horse killed and another wounded, and for a short time was disabled by a shot, which, first breaking to pieces the strong steel handle of his sword, struck him on the side. Baron Alten also was wounded, and compelled to quit the field. But these were such trivial disasters compared with the great victory, that the wounded heroes felt no room for regret. Nor was General Alten unmindful of the merits of his quartermaster-general; and in his report on the following day to the Duke of Wellington, he acknowledged them in these words:—"The services of Captain Shaw, deputy assistant quartermaster-general, who was senior of the department in the absence of Major Jessop, from a wound, were indispensable to me for executing the disposition of the troops for the attack." On the following day, also, he thus expressed himself upon the same subject in a letter to the duke: "Captain Shaw, deputy assistant quartermaster-general, whose services previous to and during the action were most important to me, is an officer who should be brought forward and placed in situations where his military talents can be best employed." This, however, was not all. After the victory of Waterloo, and the triumphant entrance of the allies into Paris, Baron Alten thus recommended Shaw, who had been promoted to a majority, to General Sir George Murray, who was appointed chief of the staff to the allied army of occupation:—

"As I perceive by the general orders of the 3d inst., that Major Shaw of the 43d regiment, assistant quartermaster-general to the third division, will be discontinued on the staff from the 25th inst., I beg leave to inform you that his grace the Duke of Wellington was good enough to appoint that officer on the staff in May last, and to the third division, then under my command, in consequence of my recommendation, which I grounded on a long acquaintance I had with Major Shaw in the Peninsula, where he served on my staff, and gave me an opportunity to know his value as a staff-officer. Since his late appointment in this country, and particularly during the actions of the 16th and 18th of June last, where he was in

charge of the department with the division, he has again so much confirmed the high opinion I always entertained of his gallantry, zeal, and abilities, that I feel it due to him to bring it to your knowledge, and to say that, should you at any period have an opening in the quartermaster-general's department, and are disposed to fix your choice on him, I can with every confidence recommend him as an acquisition."

On the formation of the allied army of occupation in France, the condition that Calais should be open for this portion of the British troops in its communications with England was inadvertently omitted. The Duke of Wellington obtained the consent of the French government that this error should be rectified, and that Major Shaw on the part of his grace should settle at Calais, with a colonel on the part of France, as to how this town should be partially occupied by a British detachment until the army of occupation was withdrawn. The negotiation to that effect was conducted by Shaw so ably and effectively, that the Duke of Wellington expressed his approbation, and declared that but for this settlement, he should have been obliged to change the establishment from Calais to Ostend. The arrangements for the embarkation of the army of observation fell upon the major and Captain Hill of the navy. Five thousand Russian troops were previously to be embarked, and for his services on this occasion Major Shaw received the thanks of the Emperor Alexander, and the present of a diamond ring, through Count Woronzow. After the army of occupation had been broken up in France, he was also promoted to the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel upon the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington.

The active services of Colonel Shaw in the field being now terminated by the establishment of a lasting peace, he returned to his native country, and in 1820 espoused Mary, daughter of David Kennedy, Esq., in consequence of which marriage he added the latter name to his own. In 1826 he was appointed assistant adjutant-general of the northern district of Ireland, and near the close of 1826 he was removed to Manchester in the same capacity, where he remained till 1836. That long period was one of considerable excitement among the workpeople of the potteries and manufactories of Lancashire, and to suppress these fell entirely upon Colonel Shaw Kennedy, as the general officers who commanded the northern districts had their head-quarters in Yorkshire, and seldom entered Lancashire. In describing his situation under such trying circumstances, the colonel says, "I leave others to judge what degree of difficulty and delicacy there is in the management of so wide a district, with so great a population, when it is much disturbed. The prompt supply of troops as they may be properly wanted; their proper distribution; the preparation of temporary barracks; the arrangements to be arrived at with the magistrates in their respective districts; and, above all, the personal command of the troops when opposing riots, are presumed here to present no trifling difficulties, if they are so managed as to prevent loss of property, and maintain the supremacy of the law and the complete authority of the magistrates, and yet so as to avoid the necessity of absolute collision and bloodshed." Coming to the conclusion, he adds, "These objects, I presume to state, were thoroughly accomplished during the whole period of my being on the staff in the northern district, not only for Manchester, but for the whole of the surrounding district;—for the whole of Lancashire and the district of the potteries." How well they were performed was indicated by the official thanks of the military

authorities, and those at the home-office, at his departure; and by a handsome address and a testimonial of a service of plate from the town of Manchester.

After holding office for about nine years at Manchester as assistant adjutant-general, Colonel Shaw Kennedy was offered the appointment of first commissioner of the metropolitan police force, then about to be formed by Sir Robert Peel, secretary of state for the home department; but, being unwilling to leave his own profession, he declined the offer. But his talents being now recognized in the suppression of civil commotions, he was desired by government to take the situation of inspector-general of the Irish constabulary force when it was consolidated into a civil army of 8000 men, and as this situation was more of a military character than the other, he undertook the office. Among the other regulations by which this large force was organized for its peculiar duties, Colonel Kennedy wrote out for its express use a system of drill and field exercise, which was so effectually carried out, that the Irish police was fit to form the advance or rear guard of an army, or to have formed in a solid order of battle. Having brought the body into this efficient state, he resigned his command, after he had held it for two years.

During the great Chartist demonstration in London in 1848, government, being anxious about the state of Liverpool, resolved to send there a body of troops under the command of a general officer, and Kennedy, having two years previously been promoted to the rank of major-general, was appointed to command it. In the same year a still more formidable insurrectionary movement having taken place in Ireland, he was appointed, in company with Viscount Hardinge, to assist in its suppression. But at the time he was in Scotland, and so ill in health that he was unable to sit on horseback even for an hour, so that he was obliged reluctantly to forego so honourable an appointment. The same cause obliged him in 1852 to resign the command of the forces in Scotland, after he had accepted the office, and been in readiness to proceed to Edinburgh.

Thus full of years and of honour, and distinguished by talents alike fitted for foreign wars and intestine commotions, Major-general Sir James Shaw Kennedy died at Bath, on the 30th of May, 1865, at the ripe age of seventy-seven. His character is thus summed up in the *Guardian*, by the Rev. W. C. Luke, who enjoyed his intimacy and appreciated his worth:—

"If it had not been for a delicacy of health, like that which Napier describes in Colonel M'Leod, 'whose feeble body would have been quite unfit for war if it had not been sustained by an unconquerable spirit,' General Shaw Kennedy would unquestionably have been one of the greatest commanders of the time. This, I believe, was Sir William Napier's opinion. He was, in addition to this, a man of extensive reading and remarkable powers of conversation; and there must be some of your readers who were brought in contact with him in later life, when at seventy-five he retained the freshness and animation of a boy, who must have been impressed like myself with the feeling that they scarcely ever met with a man of greater natural power and energy. . . . In many qualities there is often said to be a resemblance between the profession of a clergyman and that of a soldier, and I think that few clergymen could have been brought into the presence of so much resolution, energy, and modesty, without feeling themselves the better for it, and believing that their own profession would not be injured by the study of such examples."

Although the general was so well qualified to

illustrate the important subject of military science, his only literary production in this department was a single volume, entitled *Notes on the Battle of Waterloo*, published in London in 1865. It consists of critical and explanatory notes of that great conflict, with a map of the battle-field, and sketches of the positions of the different battalions—a brief autobiography of his own services, from which the foregoing account has been taken—and a plan for the defence of Canada, a subject of daily growing importance.

KER, JOHN, third Duke of Roxburgh, distinguished by his eminent bibliographical knowledge, and his extensive and valuable collection of books, was born in Hanover Square, London, on the 23d April, 1740. He was the eldest son of Robert, the second duke, by Essex Mostyn, daughter of Sir Roger Mostyn, of Mostyn, in Kentshire, Baronet. In 1755 he succeeded his father in the dukedom, to which was attached the British peerage of Earl and Baron Ker of Wakefield; and he appears to have soon after proceeded upon his travels on the Continent. It is stated that while in Germany he formed an attachment to Christiana Sophia Albertina, eldest daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and that their nuptials would have taken place, had not her sister Charlotte just at that time been espoused by the King of Great Britain. Etiquette then interfered to prevent what would otherwise have been an equal and proper match, it being deemed improper that the elder should become the subject of the younger sister. Both parties, however, evinced the strength of their attachment, by devoting their after-lives to celibacy. It seems to have been to this event that Sir Walter Scott alludes, when he says of the duke:¹ "Youthful misfortunes, of a kind against which neither wealth nor rank possess a talisman, cast an early shade of gloom over his prospects, and gave to one splendidly endowed with the means of enjoying society, that degree of reserved melancholy, which prefers retirement to the splendid scenes of gayety." To whatever extent George III. might be the innocent cause of his grace's misfortune, it does not appear to have in the least marred a strong friendship which existed between them—"a tie of rare occurrence," Sir Walter Scott justly observes, "between prince and subject." In 1767 his grace was appointed a lord of the bed-chamber, and next year was invested with the order of the Thistle. The former honour gave him a title to be much about the court; but he never farther engaged himself in a public career.

The taste which his grace imbibed to so extraordinary an extent for book-collecting, is stated by Sir Walter to have originated in an accidental circumstance. "Lord Oxford and Lord Sunderland, both famous collectors of the time, dined one day at the house of the second Duke of Roxburgh, when their conversation happened to turn upon the *editio princeps* of Boccaccio, printed at Venice in 1471, and so rare that its very existence was doubted of. The duke was himself no collector, but it happened that a copy of this very book had passed under his eye, and been offered to him for sale at a hundred guineas, then thought an immense price. It was therefore with complete assurance that he undertook to produce to the connoisseurs a copy of the treasure in question, and did so at the time appointed, with no small triumph. His son, then Marquis of Beaumont, never forgot the little scene upon this occasion, and used to ascribe to it the strong passion which he

ever afterwards felt for rare books and editions, and which rendered him one of the most assiduous and judicious collectors that ever formed a sumptuous library." But a still stronger instance of the power of bibliomania was afforded at the sale of the duke's library, and in the case of this very book. When it was put up, the first offer was 100 guineas, the original sum which his grace had paid for it—but at the sight of it a tempest of enthusiasm pervaded the meeting, the biddings rose, and after a long and almost frantic competition, it was at length knocked down to the Marquis of Blandford for £2260. Such a sum for a copy of the works of Boccaccio! Well might it be said by one who describes the scene, that the sound of the fall of the auctioneer's hammer was "heard in the libraries of Rome, of Milan, and St. Mark." The purchaser had previously a copy of the same edition, but it wanted five leaves, and he was resolved to secure the present one, though he should go as far as £5000 for it.

There can be no doubt, at the same time, that the duke chanced to possess that perseverance of character and genuine literary taste, without which such an impulse as this must have been of no avail. "Sylvan amusements," says Sir Walter, "occupied the more active part of his time when in Scotland; and in book-collecting, while residing in London, he displayed a degree of patience which has rarely been equalled, and never excelled. It could scarcely be said whether the Duke of Roxburgh's assiduity and eagerness were most remarkable, when he lay for hours together, though the snow was falling at the time, beside some lovely spring in the Cheviot Hills, where he expected the precarious chance of shooting a wild goose, when the dawning should break; or when he toiled for hours, nay, for days, collating and verifying his edition of the *Black Acts* or Caxton's *Boke of Troy*."

With the exception of singularly fortunate adventures in the procuring of old books, the duke's life passed on in an almost unvaried tenor, in the pursuits just alluded to. At his seat of Fleurs in Scotland, where he spent but a small portion of his time, he had a proportionately small library; but at his house in St. James' Square, London, where he chiefly resided, he, in time, amassed the most valuable private library in the country. In 1796 he was appointed groom of the stable, and initiated a privy-councillor, and in 1801 was honoured with the Garter, which he was permitted to bear along with the Thistle, a mark of honour conferred on no other subject since 1712, when the Duke of Hamilton had the same distinction from Queen Anne.² For upwards of forty years he continued his book-collecting habits without intermission, being much aided during a great part of the time by Mr. G. Nichol, bookseller to the king, whose services towards the excellent library collected by George III., and afterwards given by George IV. to the nation, were also very eminent. At length, on the 19th of March, 1804, the duke died of inflammation in the liver, at his house in London, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He was buried at Bowden, near Melrose.

His library, at his death, consisted of upwards of 10,000 distinct articles, many of them of the greatest rarity and of high value, though it was understood that in many cases he had purchased them at comparatively low prices. It would be vain to pretend that his grace had made, or could make, a good use

¹ *Quarterly Review*, xlv. 446.

² No man could have borne these honours with more grace than the Duke of Roxburgh, whose "lofty presence and felicitous address," according to Sir Walter Scott, "recalled the ideas of a court in which Lord Chesterfield might have acted as master of the ceremonies."

of such a vast mass of literature, much of it of an obsolete kind; yet, neither can there be any doubt that he read much of what he purchased, and seemed, upon the whole, to aim rather at gratifying an innate taste for letters, and a devout and worshipful regard for their brightest ornaments, than either for the pride of possessing so many curiosities, or the usual antiquarian appreciation of minute peculiarities in the *externe* of books.

Early English literature and the *Table Ronde* had been the chief objects of his research. Of the former he possessed not only the rarest, but, in point of condition, the most beautiful specimens in existence. He idolized the talents of Shakspeare and Cervantes, and collected everything that could illustrate their works. Fifteen different editions of Shakspeare's complete works, with seventy-five separate plays in different editions, and fourteen distinct works respecting this great dramatic author, are to be found in the catalogue. In the poetical department of early English literature he had a great collection; in which the most curious article was a very large assortment of ancient ballads and fugitive pieces of poetry, in three volumes folio, which had been first formed for the library of the Earl of Oxford, afterwards enlarged by Major Pearson and Mr. Isaac Reid, then increased to a great extent by the duke himself, and which brought at the sale no less than £477, 15s. The duke had also collected many ancient manuscripts, some of them splendidly illuminated; and it is mentioned, that he read these with great facility, as was testified by various remarks which he wrote upon them with his own hand. He had the largest and finest collection of the books printed by Caxton, in England. At his death he was in full pursuit of the English dramatic authors; and when the large collection he possessed is taken into account, along with the comparative briefness of the time during which he had directed his attention this way, his industry seems prodigious. He had an uncommon quantity of books and tracts relative to criminals, detections of witches, and other impostors. Mr. Nicol, in the preface to the catalogue, says, "He had a particular pleasure in exercising those discriminating powers which he so eminently possessed in tracing out the images by which the perverted ingenuity of the human mind often attempts to impose upon the credulity of its fellow-creatures." This splendid library was, after a long and distressing delay from litigation, brought to sale, in May, 1812; an event which may be said to have created more sensation than any other connected with literature during the present century—the disclosure of the Waverley secret alone excepted.

KERR, ROBERT, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1755.¹ He was the son of Mr. James Kerr of Bughtridge, jeweller in Edinburgh, convener of the trades and M.P. for the city, which honours he held at the same time,² by Elizabeth, daughter of

Lord Charles Kerr, second son of Robert, first Marquis of Lothian. Mr. Kerr was educated at the high-school and university of Edinburgh; and having qualified himself to act as a surgeon, entered into business as partner with an aged practitioner named Wardrope, whose daughter he subsequently married. He had the misfortune to be very lame in one of his limbs, which caused him to sink greatly to one side in walking. His first literary effort was a translation of Lavoisier's *Elements of Chemistry*, published in 1789, in which year he also gave to the world a version of Berthollet's *Essay on the New Method of Bleaching by Means of Muratic Acid and Oxygen*. The approbation with which these publications were received induced him to commence a translation of Linnaeus' *Zoological System*; two volumes of which were published (4to) in 1792, but which did not meet with so much success as to tempt him to proceed with the rest. Having failed with the dry classifications of the Swedish philosopher, he commenced a translation of the more popular work of Buffon on *Oviparous Quadrupeds and Serpents*, the first volume of which appeared in 1793, and the fourth and last in 1800. The execution of these translations was highly extolled in the reviews of the time, and caused Mr. Kerr to be respectfully known in the world of letters.

The political predilections of this gentleman being decidedly Whiggish, he published in 1794 a pamphlet, entitled *A Vindication of the Friends of Freedom from the Aspersions of Disloyalty*; being designed, as its name imports, to prove that the liberality of his party was not inconsistent with a steady attachment to the existing monarchical form of government. The prevailing tone of his mind was political, and he used to argue on topics which interested him with great ardour and even enthusiasm, insomuch that he often appeared suffering from passion when he was not.

In the year 1794 Mr. Kerr was induced to embark his fortune, which was not inconsiderable, in the purchase and management of a paper-mill at Aytoun in Berwickshire. The speculation, after a trial of several years, turned out unfortunately, and reduced him in the latter part of life to circumstances very inconsistent with his merits, either as a man or as an author. These circumstances, however, renewed his exertions in literature, after they had been long intermitted. In 1809 he published a *General View of the Agriculture of Berwickshire*, and in 1811 *Memoirs of Mr. William Smellie*, and a *History of Scotland during the Reign of Robert Bruce*, both of which last were in two volumes octavo. About the same time he conducted through the press, for Mr. Blackwood, a *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, in eighteen volumes octavo. *The Memoirs of Mr. Smellie*, though disproportioned to the subject, contain much valuable literary anecdote. Mr. Kerr's last work was a translation of Cuvier's *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*; which was published in 1815 (after his death), with an introduction and notes by Professor Jameson. The event just alluded to took place on the 11th of October, 1813, when he was about fifty-eight years of age. He left one son, a captain in the navy, and two daughters, both of whom were married.

¹ The exact place of his birth is not known: but it was a mansion in Roxburghshire, near the Cheviot Hills, where his mother happened to be on a visit at the time. The usual residence of his parents was in Edinburgh.

² An intimate friend of Mr. Robert Kerr supplies us with the following information respecting his father:—

"Mr. James Kerr was the son of a jeweller in the Parliament Square, Edinburgh, whose shop was attached to the walls of the old cathedral of St. Giles: the first on the right hand in going into the square. The house occupied by this person was a mere cellar under the shop, and partly projecting below the adjacent pavement, from which its sole light was derived by means of a grating. In consequence of the family, which was very numerous, being brought up in this miserable and unhealthy hovel, they all died in infancy, except the father of the author, whose life was saved by his being removed to more roomy accommodations on the opposite side of the square.

Mr. James Kerr was the last citizen who had the honour to represent the city in parliament. It may be mentioned that he was one of the jury on the famous trial of Carnegie of Finhaven, for the murder of the Earl of Strathmore in 1728, when, through the persuasive eloquence of the first Lord-president Dundas, then at the bar, and counsel for the prisoner, the jury recognized the liberty of Scotland, by resuming the right to judge not only of the naked fact, but of the fact and the law conjunctively."

Mr. Kerr was a kind and warm-hearted man, liberal and honourable in his dealings, possessed of extensive information, and in every respect an ornament to society.

KIRKALDY, WILLIAM, one of the earliest converts to the Protestant faith in Scotland, and a brave and accomplished man, was the eldest son of Sir James Kirkaldy of Grange, high-treasurer to James V. of Scotland.¹ Of the period of his birth and the method of his education we have been unable to discover any satisfactory information; but like the greater number of the Scottish barons at that time, he seems to have chosen, or to have been devoted by his parents, to the profession of arms. At the death of James his father seems to have lost his situation in the government; yet with a view of procuring that nobleman's assistance to the cause of Protestantism, he was one of the most active assistants in raising Arran to the regency; but in the hope he had formed he was to a considerable extent disappointed.

Young Grange, as well as his father, had embraced the principles of the Reformation; and his first appearance in the historic page is as one of the conspirators against the persecutor Cardinal David Beaton. The circumstances of this renowned conspiracy have already been commemorated in these pages. The conspirators having, by an act which cannot be justified, avenged the death of the martyr Wishart by assassinating his murderer, shut themselves up in the castle of St. Andrews, which they held for several months, and only surrendered after being besieged by a French force, in the end of July or the beginning of August, 1546. It was stipulated that the lives of all that were in the castle should be spared; that they should be transported to France, whence, if they did not choose to continue in that country, they were to be transported to whatever other country they chose, Scotland excepted. The victors, however, did not find it necessary or convenient to attend to the terms of the stipulation; the greater part of the garrison were sent to the galleys, and the leaders immured in different dungeons. Norman Leslie, Peter Carmichael, and the subject of this memoir, were imprisoned in Mount St. Michael, where they lay a considerable time. From this place they wrote a letter to John Knox, who was in the galleys, asking the somewhat superfluous question whether they might not with a good conscience break their prison. To this Knox naturally answered in the affirmative, with the proviso that they were not morally entitled to shed blood in the attempt.

Embracing the opportunity of a festival night, when the garrison were intoxicated, they bound every man in the castle, locked the doors, and departed, having, it is said, strictly adhered to the humane recommendation of Knox. The two Leslies came to Rohan and speedily escaped; but Kirkaldy and Peter Carmichael, disguised as beggars, wandered through the country for upwards of a quarter of a year; at the termination of which period they got on board a French ship, which landed them in the west of Scotland, whence they found their way into England.

Kirkaldy appears to have spent a considerable portion of the ensuing period of his life in France, where he entered the army, and was distinguished

as a brave and skilful soldier in the wars between the French king and the Emperor Charles V. Sir James Melville informs us that in these wars he commanded a hundred light horsemen; and for his useful services received the commendation of the Duke of Vendome, the Prince of Condé, and the Duke of Aumale. Henry II., he adds, used to point him out and say, "Vonder is one of the most valiant men of our age." Henry indeed seems to have used him with the most endearing familiarity, and in all the pastimes which he attended, is said to have chosen Grange as a supporter of his own side in their mimic battles; while, according to the same writer, who is always circumstantial in recording the honours paid to a Scotsman, the great constable of France would never speak to him uncovered. We are not aware of the exact date of his return to Scotland, but we find him in that country in the year 1559.

During the border wars of this period an incident occurred peculiarly characteristic of the chivalrous temper of Kirkaldy, which is otherwise remarkable as being the latest "passage of arms" which has been handed down to us, described with all the minute "pomp and circumstance" of Froissart. Lindsay of Pitscottie, who describes the circumstance, tells us, that Lord Evers' brother desired to fight with Kirkaldy "ane singular combat upone horseback with speares." Sir William was "very weil content" with such a species of amusement, and consented to meet the challenger on any spot he might prefer. The Lord Evers' brother was attended by the governor of Berwick and his whole garrison, while Kirkaldy was waited on by "Monseor Doswell (Mons. D'Oswell?), the King of France lieftenant," with the garrison of Heymouth, and other Scottish gentlemen. In bringing the opposing armies so near each other, and within view of example so seducing, it was necessary to "deceme under paine of treason, that no man should come near the championes, be the space of ane flight shot." Each of the champions had a squire to bear his spear, there were two trumpeters to sound the charge, and after the most approved method, two lords were appointed as judges of the field, "to sie the matter finished." "And when all things war put to ordour, and the championes horsed, and their speirs in their hands, then the trumpeters sounded, and the heralds cryed, and the judges let them go, and they ran together very furiously on both sides, bot the laird of Grange ran his adversar, the Inglis-man, throw his shoulder blaid, and aff his hors, and was woundit deadlie, and in perill of his lyff; but quihidder he died or lived I cannot tell, but the laird of Grange wan the victorie that day."²

Kirkaldy became after this incident actively engaged in the cause of the Reformation. When the French troops arrived to subdue Scotland, and by means of the Popish faction reduce it to a province of France, no man stood firmer to the interests of his country, and in the first encounter he is said to have slain the first man with his own hand. To the French, who were aware of his bravery and military skill, he was particularly obnoxious, and in one of their inroads through Fife they razed his house of Grange to the foundation. Naturally exasperated at such an act, Kirkaldy sent a defiance to the French commander; reproached him for his barbarity, and reminded him of the many Frenchmen whom he had saved when engaged in quarrels not his own. The commander, less chivalrous than Grange, paid no regard to the communication; and the latter took vengeance by waylaying a party of marauders, and

¹ The facts in this article are in general taken from the memoir of Kirkaldy of Grange by Mr. Graham Dalyell, a gentleman who has been so minute in his investigations that it would be difficult to find a fact of importance omitted by him.

² *Lindsay of Pitscottie*, ii. 524.

cutting them off to a man. During this invasion of Fife by the French he had a mere handful of men, and these were but poorly provided, yet he retarded the powerful and well-appointed troops of France at every village and at every field, disputing as it were every inch of ground, and making them purchase at a ruinous price every advantage.

In common with all the wise and good among his countrymen, Kirkaldy was convinced of the danger of the French alliance, and of the far superior advantages which might be derived from a connection with England, which by a barbarous and ignorant policy had been always overlooked or despised, and he contributed materially to the formation of that friendship which subsisted between the ministers of Elizabeth and the Scottish reformers, without which it may be doubted if the Reformation of that country could have been effected. In the contests that arose between Mary and her subjects, while it must be admitted that his correspondence with the English was clandestine, contrary to the law, and not perhaps dictated by motives quite purely patriotic, he steadily adhered to the popular cause. Kirkaldy was among the number of the adherents of Moray who, on the temporary success of the queen, were compelled in 1565 to take refuge or "banish themselves" in England, and the criminal record shows us some instances of barbarous punishment denounced on those who had intercourse with them, as "intercommuning with rebels."¹

When, after her unhappy marriage and flight to Dunbar, she returned with an army to meet the lords who had entered into a confederation for the preservation of the prince, Grange was one of the most active and influential among them, having the command of 200 horse, with which he intended at Carberry Hill, by a stratagem, to have seized upon the Earl of Bothwell, which he hoped would have been the means of putting an end to the contest between the queen and her subjects. The queen, however, who highly respected him, perceiving the approach of the troop, and understanding that he was their leader, requested to speak with him, which prevented the attempt being made. While he was in this conference with the queen, Bothwell called forth a soldier to shoot him, who was in the very act of taking aim, when the queen perceiving him, gave a sudden scream, and exclaimed to Bothwell that he surely would not disgrace her so far as to murder a man who stood under her protection. With that frank honesty which was natural to him, Kirkaldy told her that it was of absolute necessity, if she ever expected to enjoy the services and the confidence of her subjects, that she should abandon Bothwell, who was the murderer of her husband, and who could never be a husband to her, having been so lately married to the sister of the Earl of Huntly. Bothwell, who stood near enough to overhear part of this colloquy, offered to vindicate himself by single combat from the charge of any one who should accuse him of murdering the king. Grange told him he should have a speedy answer; and returning to the lords, found little difficulty in persuading them of the propriety of his accepting the challenge, which he did without hesitation. Bothwell, however, thought it prudent to decline, on the plea that Kirkaldy, being only a baron, was not his equal. To the laird of Tullibardine he objected on the same ground. The Lord Lindsay then came forward, whom he could not refuse on the score of inequality; but he finally declined to engage. The queen then sent again for Grange, and proposed surrendering herself to the

lords. Bothwell in the meantime made his escape. The queen holding out her hand, Kirkaldy kissed it, and taking her horse by the bridle turned him about, and led her down the hill. This was almost the full measure of Mary's humiliation, which was accomplished by her entry into Edinburgh amidst the execrations of the rabble. The lords (particularly Kirkaldy) were still willing to treat her with kindness, if she could have been prevailed on to abandon Bothwell. The same night, however, she wrote a letter to him, calling him "her dear heart, whom she should never forget nor abandon, though she was under the necessity of being absent from him for a time;" adding, that she had sent him away only for his own safety, and willing him to be comforted, and to be watchful and take care of himself. This letter falling into the hands of the lords, convinced them that her passion for Bothwell was incurable; and they determined to secure her in Lochleven. Grange alone wished to excuse her, and hoped that gentle usage might yet reclaim her; but they showed him her letter to Bothwell, which left him no room to speak more on her behalf. The queen, in the meantime, sent him a letter, lamenting her hard usage, and complaining of broken promises. He wrote to her in return, stating what he had already attempted in her behalf, and how his mouth had been stopped by her letter to Bothwell; "marvelling that her majesty considered not that the said earl could never be her lawful husband, being so lately before married to another, whom he had deserted without any just ground, even though he had not been so hated for the murder of the king her husband. He therefore requested her to dismiss him entirely from her mind, seeing otherwise that she could never obtain the love or respect of her subjects, nor have that obedience paid her which otherwise she might expect." His letter contained many other loving and humble admonitions, which made her bitterly to weep. Eager to free the queen and the nation of Bothwell, Grange most willingly accepted the command of two small vessels that had been fitted up from Morton's private purse (for Bothwell had not left a sufficient sum for the purpose in the Scottish treasury), with which he set sail towards Orkney, whither it was reported Bothwell had fled. He was accompanied by the laird of Tullibardine and Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney. Bothwell having made his escape from Orkney, was pursued by Grange to the coast of Norway, where, at the moment when they had almost overtaken the fugitive, the impetuosity of Kirkaldy, who called on the mariners to hoist more sail than the vessel was able to carry, lost them their prize, and they were wrecked on a sandbank. Bothwell escaped in a small boat to the shore, leaving his ship and his servants a prey to Kirkaldy. This unhappy man fled to Denmark, and the method of his end is too well known to be repeated.

The Regent Moray was in the meantime establishing order and tranquillity generally through the country. The king, an infant, had been crowned at Stirling, and his authority in the person of the regent very generally acknowledged, when the queen, making her escape from Lochleven, and putting herself into the hands of the Hamiltons, created new and serious calamities. The regent being at that time in Glasgow holding his justice-eye, was just at hand, and meeting with the queen and her followers at Langside, on the way for Dumbarton Castle, gave them, though they were far more in number than all the king's friends that he could muster, an entire overthrow. The regent led the battle himself, assisted by Grange, who, being an experienced soldier, was

¹ Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, i. (p. i.) 466, 478.

appointed to oversee the whole battle; to ride to every wing, and to encourage and make help wherever it was most required. The dispositions of the regent were excellent, and his followers behaved with great courage; so that the victory was soon won, and there being few horsemen to pursue, and the regent calling out to save and not to kill, there were not many taken or killed; the greatest slaughter, according to Sir James Melville, being at the first rencounter by the shot of some troops that were planted behind the dykes at the head of the lane leading up to the village.

Having taken the command of the castle of Edinburgh from Sir James Balfour, the regent bestowed it upon Grange, who appears to have had the principal direction of affairs during the time that Moray, through the intrigues of the queen's faction, was called up to the conferences at York. Lethington, subtle, restless, and changeable, had by this time turned to the queen's side, whom he almost openly owned during the time of these conferences, and he had imposed upon the unsuspecting disposition of Grange, enticing him into a kind of doubtful neutrality, which had an unhappy influence upon the public cause, and ended fatally for Grange himself. Lethington and Sir James Balfour having been both at last arrested under an accusation of having been concerned in the king's murder, Grange took them into his own hands and protected them in the castle, which he refused to deliver up to the regent. On the murder of the Regent Moray in 1570, it did not immediately appear what party Grange would embrace. It was evident, however, that for some time previous to this event he had leaned to the side of the queen, and the castle of Edinburgh in a short time became the resort and general rendezvous of all who opposed the party of the prince.

The Earl of Lennox succeeding to the regency was supported by Elizabeth, who sent an army into Scotland for that purpose, and to retaliate upon some of the border chieftains who had made inroads into the English territories, particularly Buccleugh and Fernihurst. Grange, in the meantime, by the orders of the queen's faction, who now assembled parliaments of their own, liberated all those who had been formerly given him in charge as prisoners, for their opposition to the king in the person of the regent. These dispersing themselves over the country, some pretending to be employed in a civil, and others in a military capacity, carried dissension and rebellion along with them, to the entire ruin of the miserable inhabitants. Lord Seton, to intimidate the citizens of Edinburgh, who in general leaned to the side of the king, assembled his vassals at Holyrood House, while the Hamiltons, with the whole strength of their faction, assembled at Linlithgow, when they made a sudden and unexpected attack upon the castle of Glasgow, the residence of Lennox the regent. Coming upon the place by surprise, they gained the court and set fire to the great hall; but they were soon repulsed, and the approach of the king's army, a principal part of which was English, compelled them to raise the siege. The Hamiltons suffered most severely on this occasion, their lands in Clydesdale being ravaged, Cadzow plundered, and the town of Hamilton, with the seat of the Hamiltons, burned to the ground. Nor did this suffice; they also burned the house of the Duke of Chatelherault in Linlithgow, the palace of Kinnoull, the house of Pardovan, and Bynie, Kincavil, and the chapel of Livingstone.

Grange, meanwhile acting somewhat dubiously, and not supporting the extreme measures of either of the parties, was confounded to see a foreign foe in

the heart of the kingdom, and Mary's friends used with such extreme rigour; and afraid of being entrapped himself, began to fortify the castle with all haste, and lay in everything necessary for a siege. Lennox in the meantime summoned an army in the king's name to attend him, with twenty days' provision, and to complete his equipments he applied to Grange for some field-pieces. The request was, however, refused, under a pretence that he would not be accessory to the shedding of blood. The purpose of this armament was to interfere with a parliament which the queen's party intended to have held at Linlithgow, which it effectually accomplished; and in the following month (October) Lennox held one for the king in Edinburgh. The insignia of royalty being supposed necessary to the legality of parliaments, they were demanded from Grange, who flatly refused them, and from that time forth he was regarded as determinedly hostile to that cause for which he had done and suffered so much. Through the mediation of Elizabeth, however, who was at the time amusing Mary and her friends with proposals for restoring her to some part of her authority, a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon for two months, which being renewed, was continued till the succeeding April, 1571.

The truce, however, was not strictly observed by either of the parties. Fortresses were taken and retaken on both sides oftener than once, and in the month of April, Dumbarton Castle, reckoned impregnable, was taken by surprise by the friends of the regent, who, on a sentence of forfeiture in absence, hanged Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had taken refuge in the place. Alarmed at the fate of Dumbarton, Grange repaired the walls of the castle, cut away all the prominences on the rock, and smoothed the banks to prevent the possibility of an escalade. He also prepared the steeple of St. Giles for receiving a battery, and carried away the ordnance belonging to the town. His brother James at the same time arrived from France with "ten thousand crowns of gold, some murrions, corslets, hagbuts, and wine, which was saiffie convoyt from Leyth be the horsemen and soldiers of the town." All men who favoured not the queen were now commanded to leave the town, and even his old tried friend and fellow-sufferer, John Knox, was obliged to quit his place, which was supplied by Alexander, Bishop of Galloway. The regent's soldiers, however, took possession of some ruinous houses close to the walls, whence they annoyed the town. There was now an end to all business; public worship ceased, and there was nothing to be heard but the thundering of artillery. The queen's party had now, however, the pride of also holding a parliament in Edinburgh, which declared the demission of Mary null; forbade any innovation to be made in the Presbyterian religion; and after two or three hours' deliberation, rode in procession from the Canongate to the castle, having the regalia borne before it. Prayers for the queen were ordered by this meeting, and all who omitted them were forbidden to preach. During these proceedings there were daily skirmishes on the streets, and the regent still kept possession of Holyrood House. In the month of August, in this year, an envoy arrived from the King of France, with money, arms, and ammunition for Grange; but the money fell into the hands of the regent. In the ensuing month Grange laid a plan for seizing the regent at Stirling, and bringing him safe to the castle, which failed of success only through the imprudence of those who conducted it. The regent was actually made a prisoner, and on the road for Edinburgh, when, principally through the valour of Morton, he was

rescued, but shot by one of the party when they saw they could not carry him away. David Spens of Wormiston, who had him in charge, and used every endeavour to save him, was also shot in revenge, though the wounded regent attempted to protect him. This was unfortunate for Grange. Mar was immediately elected regent; a man of far higher merit, and much more respected, than Lennox, and in still greater favour with the ministers of Elizabeth; and he in the end proved too strong for the misled though patriotic Grange. The war now assumed the most ferocious character. Morton destroyed the whole of Grange's property in Fife. Grange on the same day retaliated by burning Dalkeith; and for upwards of two months they reciprocally hanged their prisoners.

The distress of the town and the surrounding districts now became extreme; the poor were turned without the gates, and the empty houses pulled down and sold for fuel; a stone weight being sold for what would purchase a peck of meal. Through the mediation of the English and French ambassadors an armistice was at last agreed to, and all the differences between Morton and Grange nearly made up. Through the intrigues of Maitland, however, who had gained an extraordinary influence over him, Grange rose in his demands, and nothing was accomplished further than a renewal of the truce. In the meantime Mar, who was a sincere, good man, and truly devoted to the public interests, died, and was succeeded by Morton, a man of great address, and the mortal enemy of Maitland. He too, however, professed to desire peace, and offered the same terms as Mar. Grange was to deliver up the castle in six months, and a convention was called to consider the means of effecting a double peace. Both parties were at the same time attempting to overreach each other. Morton thirsted for the wealthy estates of some of the queen's adherents; and the queen's adherents wanted to gain time, in the hope of procuring effectual aid from France. The Hamiltons, Huntly, Argyle, and their followers, were now weary of the war; and in a meeting at Perth accepted of the terms offered by Morton, and, according to Sir James Melville, abandoned Grange, who would willingly have accepted the same terms; but from that time forth Morton would not permit the offers to be mentioned to him. The day of the truce had no sooner expired than a furious cannonade was commenced by Grange on the town from the castle. He also shortly after, on a stormy night, set fire to the town, and kept firing upon it to prevent any person coming forth to extinguish the flames; a piece of wanton mischief, which procured him nothing but an additional share of odium. Being invested by the Marshal of Berwick, Sir William Drury, with an English army, the garrison was soon reduced to great straits. Their water was scanty at best, and the falling of one of the chief towers choked up their only well. The Spur, a building of great strength, but imperfectly manned, was taken by storm, with the loss of eight killed and twenty-three wounded. Sir Robert Melville, along with Grange, were, after beating a parley, let over the walls by ropes, for the gate was choked up with rubbish. They demanded security for their lives and fortunes, and that Maitland and Lord Hume might go to England, Grange being permitted to go or stay as he might deem best. These conditions not being granted, they returned to the garrison, but their soldiers refused to stand a new assault, and threatened in case of another that they would hang Lethington, whom they regarded as the cause of their protracted defence, over the wall. Nothing remained therefore but an unconditional

surrender; and so odious were the garrison to the citizens, that an escort of English soldiers was necessary to protect them from the rabble. After three days they were all made prisoners. Lethington died suddenly, through means, it has been supposed, of poison, which he had taken of his own accord. Grange, Sir James Kirkaldy (his brother), James Mossman and James Leckie, goldsmiths, were hanged on the 3d of August, 1573, and their heads afterwards set up on the most prominent places of the castle-wall.¹

Thus ignominiously died one of the bravest warriors of his age; the dupe of a volatile and crafty statesman, and of his own vanity to be head of a party. He had been one of the earliest friends, and during its first days of peril one of the most intrepid defenders, of the Reformation. Knox, who knew and loved him well, lamented his apostasy, and with that sagacity which was peculiar to his character admonished him of the issue. "That man's soul is dear to me," said Knox, "and I would not willingly see it perish; go and tell him from me, that if he persists in his folly, neither that crag in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal wit of that man whom he counts a demi-god, shall save him; but he shall be dragged forth and hanged in the face of the sun." Kirkaldy returned a contemptuous answer dictated by Maitland; but he remembered the warning when on the scaffold with tears, and listened with eagerness when he was told the hope that Knox always expressed, that though the work of grace upon his heart was sadly obscured, it was still real, and would approve itself so at last; of which he expressed with great humility his own sincere conviction.

KIRKWOOD, JAMES, an eminent teacher and writer on grammar, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, was born near Dunbar. The circumstances of his education are unknown; he was first schoolmaster of Linlithgow, and subsequently of Kelso. His school at Linlithgow was one of considerable reputation, and he would appear to have been intrusted, like many teachers of the present day, with pupils who boarded in his house. The celebrated John, second Earl of Stair, was thus educated by him. The first work ascertained to have been published by him was an *Easy Grammar* of the Latin language, which appeared at Glasgow in 1674. In 1677 he published at London an octavo fasciculus of *Sentences* for the use of learners. In the succeeding year appeared his *Compendium of Rhetoric*, to which was added a small treatise on *Analysis*. After the Revolution he was sent for by the parliamentary commissioners for colleges, on the motion of Lord-president Stair; and his advice was taken about the best Latin grammar for the Scottish schools. The lord-president asked him what he thought of *Despauter*. He answered, "A very unfit grammar; but by some pains it might be made a good one." The Lord Crossrigg desiring him to be more plain on this point, he said, "My lord-president, if its superfluities were rescinded, the defects supplied, the intricacies cleared, the errors rectified, and the method amended, it might pass for an excellent grammar." The lord-president afterwards sent for him, and told him it was the desire of the commissioners that he should immediately reform *Despauter*, as he had proposed; as they knew none fitter for the task. He accordingly published, in 1695,

¹ In the case of Kirkaldy there appears to have been considerable debate on the relevancy of the indictment on which he was tried, too technical to be interesting to the general reader.—Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, ii. 3.

a revised edition of *Desputer*, which continued to be commonly used in schools till it was superseded by Ruddiman's *Rudiments*. Kirkwood was a man of wit and fancy, as well as of learning; and having fallen into an unfortunate quarrel with his patrons the magistrates, which ended in his dismissal, he took revenge by publishing a satirical pamphlet, entitled *The Twenty-seven Gods of Linlithgow*, meaning thereby the twenty-seven members of the town-council. He appears to have afterwards been chosen schoolmaster at Kelso, where he probably died.

KNOX, JOHN, the most eminent promoter of the Reformation in Scotland, was born at Haddington in the year 1505. His father, though himself a man of no note, was descended from the ancient house of Ranfurly in the shire of Renfrew. Of the mother of the great reformer nothing farther is known than that her name was Sinclair—a name which he frequently used in after-life, when to have subscribed his own would have exposed him to danger: thus many of his letters in times of trouble are signed "John Sinclair." Though a man of no rank in society, his father would yet seem to have been possessed of a competency beyond that of the ordinary class of the peasantry of the times, if such an inference be permitted from the circumstance of his having given his son an education which was then attainable only by a very few. This is a point, however, on which there has been also much dispute; some representing his parents as in a "mean condition," others as persons of extensive property. Whatever may have been the condition of his parents—a matter of little moment—there is no doubt regarding the only circumstance of any importance connected with the question, namely, that he received a liberal education.

His course of learning began at the grammar-school of Haddington, where he acquired the elements of the Latin language. He was afterwards, about the year 1524, sent to the university of St. Andrews. From the circumstance of the name "John Knox" appearing on the list of matriculated students for the year 1520, in the Glasgow College, it has been presumed that he studied there also, and this, as appears by the dates, four years previous to his going to St. Andrews; but the supposition that this John Knox was the reformer is much weakened by the fact that many of the Knoxes of Ranfurly, the house from which his father was descended, were educated at the university of Glasgow. Amongst the last of these of any note were Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, and, after him, his son and successor, Sir Thomas Knox. In the absence, therefore, of all other evidence, this circumstance in the life of the reformer must be held as extremely doubtful, especially as no allusion is made to it, either by himself, his contemporaries, or any of the earlier writers who have spoken of him. Knox, when he went to St. Andrews, was in the nineteenth year of his age, and was yet undistinguished by any indications of that peculiar character and temper, or that talent, which afterwards made him so conspicuous. His literary pursuits had hitherto been limited to the acquisition of the Latin language, Greek and Hebrew being almost unknown in Scotland, although at an after period of life Knox acquired them both. His removal to St. Andrews, however, opened up new sources of learning and of knowledge. John Mair, a celebrated doctor of the Sorbonne, who had studied at the colleges of England and Paris, was then principal of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews. He was a man of no great strength of mind, nor of very high attainments; but he had while in

Paris imbibed, and he now boldly inculcated, civil and religious principles directly at variance with the opinions and practices of the times. He denied the supremacy of the pope, and held that he was amenable to a general council, which might not only rebuke and restrain him, but even depose him from his dignity. He held that papal excommunications were of no force, unless pronounced on just and valid grounds, and that tithes were not of divine origin. He, besides, fearlessly censured the avarice and ambition of the clergy. And with regard to civil matters, his opinions were no less daring, and not less boldly inculcated. He taught his pupils to consider kings as having no other right to their elevation but what proceeded from their people, to whom they were amenable for their conduct, and by whom they might be judicially proceeded against. Such were some of the doctrines taught by Mair; and that they had taken a strong hold of Knox, who was one of his pupils, his after-life sufficiently shows. For we find him, with the courage which belonged to his character, practising himself, and showing others how to practise, that which his preceptor only taught.

In the studies of the times Knox now made rapid progress. He was created Master of Arts, and ordained a priest before he had attained the age (twenty-five) appointed by the canon-law for receiving ordination. It will not perhaps be lost time to pause for a moment at this period of his life, since it presents us with the interesting sight of a great mind slumbering in its strength, and unconscious at once of the darkness with which it was surrounded, and of there being a brighter and a better world beyond the narrow precincts which it had been taught to consider as the utmost limits of its range. Here we find the great reformer, passively and without remark or objection, becoming a minister of that church which he was afterwards to overturn and erase from his native soil; becoming a minister of that religion which he was afterwards to drive from the land, with a violence which shook both the kingdom and the throne. A little longer, however, and we find this mighty mind emerging gradually but majestically into the light of day. The discovery had been made that there lay a wider and a fairer region beyond the bounds of the prison-house, and Knox hastened himself to seek and to point out the way to others.

He soon betook himself to the study of the writings of the fathers of the Christian church; and, in the works of Jerome and Augustine, found the doctrines and tenets which effected that revolution in his religious sentiments, afterwards productive of such important results. He was now in the thirtieth year of his age, but he did not either publicly avow the change which had taken place in his religious creed, or attempt to impress it upon others, for several years afterwards. In the meantime the work of reformation had been making irregular but rapid progress. Patrick Hamilton had already preached the new faith in Scotland, and had fallen a martyr to its doctrines, and several others of not less zeal, but of less note, had shared a similar fate. Copies of the Scriptures were now surreptitiously introduced into the kingdom, and eagerly read by those into whose hands they fell. Poets employed their fascinating powers in bringing the Church of Rome and its ministers into contempt. The effect of all this was a violent agitation of the public mind. The reformed doctrines were everywhere spoken of and discussed. They became the topics of common conversation, and were the themes of disquisition amongst the learned. It was at this critical period, about





the year 1542, in the midst of this feverish excitement of public opinion, that Knox first stepped into the arena as a combatant in the cause of the new faith. He was still a teacher of philosophy in the college of St. Andrews, but he availed himself of the opportunities which this appointment afforded of disseminating his doctrines amongst his pupils, whom he taught to look with abhorrence and contempt on the corruptions and errors of the Romish church. Though such opinions were now spreading widely, and were made matter of ordinary discussion, their abettors were not yet by any means safe from the vengeance of the Romish ecclesiastics, who were still struggling hard to suppress the heresies which were everywhere springing up in the land, and threatening the speedy ruin of their church. Knox's case was too marked and too conspicuous an instance of defection to escape for any length of time some proof of that wrath which it was so well calculated to excite. He was degraded from the priesthood, had sentence passed against him as a heretic, and only escaped assassination by fleeing from St. Andrews, that fate having been marked out for him by Cardinal Beaton. On leaving St. Andrews Knox found protection in the family of Douglas of Langniddrie, where he acted in the capacity of tutor. Here, Douglas himself being a zealous advocate for the new faith, Knox continued to preach the doctrines which had driven him from St. Andrews; and in these doctrines he not only instructed the family with which he lived, but also the people in the neighbourhood, whom he invited to attend his prelections. From the consequences which must infallibly have attended this perseverance in disseminating principles so inimical to the church, Knox was only saved by the death of Cardinal Beaton, who was assassinated in the castle of St. Andrews, on the 29th of May, 1546. Though, by the death of Beaton, Knox probably escaped the utmost severities which prelate could inflict, he yet did not escape all visitation from its wrath. John Hamilton, the successor of Beaton, sought his destruction with as much eagerness as his predecessor had done, compelling him to flee from place to place, and to seek his safety in concealment. Apprehensive of falling at last into the hands of his enemies, he, after having led a vagrant and miserable life for many months, at length sought an asylum in the castle of St. Andrews, which had been in the possession of the cardinal's assassins since the period of his death, and which they had held out against repeated attempts of the Earl of Arran, then Regent of Scotland, to take it. Knox entered the castle of St. Andrews at the time of Easter, 1547. This step he had been prevailed upon to take by two of his warmest friends, the lairds of Langniddrie and Ormiston, at a time when he had himself determined to retire to Germany.

The circumstance of Knox's having taken shelter, on this occasion, with the assassins of Beaton, has given rise to reflections on his character, involving charges of the most serious nature. Some of them are wholly unfounded, others unreasonable. He has been accused of being one of the conspirators who projected the death of Beaton; which is totally unsupported by any evidence, and must therefore, in common justice, be utterly rejected. He has been said to have made himself accessory to the crime of the cardinal's murder by taking shelter amongst those by whom it was perpetrated—a most unreasonable and unwarrantable conclusion. His own life was in imminent danger, and he naturally sought shelter where it was most likely to be found, without reference to place or circumstances, and we cannot see by what reasoning he could be reduced to the dilemma

of either sacrificing his own life or submitting to be accused as an accessory to murder; the one consequence threatening him by his remaining at large, the other by his fleeing to a place of refuge. He has been accused of vindicting the deed in his writings. This length he certainly has gone; but, considering all the circumstances connected with it, such vindication on the part of Knox is not much to be wondered at, nor is it calculated to excite much reasonable prejudice against him. Beaton eagerly sought his life; he was his personal enemy, and a relentless and cruel enemy to all who were of the same faith. If, therefore, we are called upon to disapprove of Knox's justification of the death of Beaton, we should at the same time be permitted to remark that it was an event which he had but little reason to regret.

After entering the castle of St. Andrews, Knox resumed his duties as a teacher, and proceeded to instruct his pupils as before. He also resumed his lectures on the Scriptures, and regularly catechised his hearers in the parish church of the city. Hitherto Knox's appearances as a disciple and teacher of the reformed doctrines had been rather of a private character, or at least only before select audiences, such as his own class of pupils, or a few neighbours congregated together, as at Langniddrie. He was now, however, about to come forward in a more public, or at least more formal, capacity. At the time that he sought refuge in the castle of St. Andrews there were three persons of note there, all zealous reformers, who had also fled to it as a sanctuary. These were Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, and John Rough, a celebrated reformed preacher, and who was at this moment publicly preaching in St. Andrews. These persons were so much struck with Knox's talents and his manner of instructing his pupils, that they earnestly exhorted him to come publicly forward as a preacher of the reformed doctrines. This, however, Knox declined; not from any unwillingness to expose himself to the dangers which then attended the discharge of such a duty, nor from any reluctance to devote himself to the great cause which he had espoused, and of which he was afterwards so singular a promoter; but from a feeling of diffidence in his own powers, and a deep sense of the awful importance of the charge to which he was invited; he besides entertained some scruples as to the regularity of the call which was now made upon him, and, with a conscientiousness and feeling of delicacy which became his religious professions, expressed a fear that his coming forward as a preacher, on the summons of only two or three individuals, might be deemed an intrusion into the sacred office of the ministry.

Bent on their object, however, the three persons above named, without Knox's knowledge, consulted with the members of the church in which Rough preached, and the result was the fixing of a certain day when Knox should, in the name and in the face of the whole congregation, be called upon by the mouth of their preacher to accept the office of the ministry. On the day appointed, and while Knox was yet wholly unaware of what was to take place, Rough, after preaching a sermon on the election of ministers, in which he maintained the right of a congregation, however small its numbers, to elect its own pastor (and he farther maintained that it was sinful to refuse to obey such a call when made); then suddenly turning to Knox—"Brother," he said, "you shall not be offended although I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this—In the name of God and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you

refuse not this holy vocation, but, as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces unto you." Turning now to the congregation, "Was not this your charge unto me?" he said, "and do ye not approve this vocation?" "It was, and we approve it," was the reply. Deeply impressed with the circumstance, Knox made an attempt to address the audience, but his feelings overcame him; he burst into tears, and rushed out of the church. Though not without the hesitation and the doubts and fears of an ingenuous and religious mind, Knox accepted the charge thus solemnly and strikingly imposed upon him, and on an appointed day appeared in the pulpit. On this occasion, a highly interesting one, as being the first public appearance of the great reformer as a preacher of the gospel, he gave out the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth verses of the seventh chapter of Daniel—a choice which shows the great changes which he already anticipated in the religious establishments of the land, and the confidence with which he looked forward to the result of the contest now begun with the Church of Rome. The sermon which he preached on this occasion subjected him to the high displeasure of the church dignitaries; he and Rough were summoned before a convention of learned men to answer for the heretical doctrines which they entertained and promulgated. In the controversy which took place in this assembly between Knox and the person appointed to dispute with him, a grayfriar of the name of Arbutill, on the various points at issue, the former so utterly discomfited his opponent, and so strongly established his own positions, that the Romish clergy, resigning all hopes of maintaining their ground either by scriptural appeals or by force of reasoning, carefully avoided for the future all such exhibitions of public disputation. The castle of St. Andrews, in which Knox still found refuge, was soon after this (June, 1547) besieged by a French fleet, which had been despatched from France to assist the governor in its reduction, and after a stout resistance of several weeks' duration, the garrison was compelled to capitulate, and all within it were made prisoners of war. Knox and all the others who were taken with him were carried on board the French ships, which soon afterwards proceeded with them to France. On their arrival there the greater part of them were distributed throughout different prisons, but Knox, with two or three others, were detained on board the galleys in the Loire during the whole of the succeeding winter. His confinement on ship-board altogether extended to nineteen months. At the end of that long period his liberation took place; and the cause is ascertained to have been the intercession of Edward VI. employed in his behalf.

On obtaining his liberty Knox immediately proceeded to England, where the Reformation was making considerable progress, under the auspices of Archbishop Cranmer and other powerful persons in that kingdom. Knox's reputation as a preacher and zealous reformer was already well known to Cranmer and his colleagues, who were not long in finding him suitable employment. He was despatched by the privy-council to Berwick to preach the reformed doctrines, and was allowed a salary for his maintenance. Here he remained for two years, daily strengthening the great cause in which he was embarked, and weakening that of its opponents. During this period

too great numbers were converted by his powerful reasoning and impressive eloquence; nor were the good effects of his ministry confined to the effecting a beneficial change in the religious sentiments of his hearers; their morals and manners were also greatly improved by the force of his example, and the striking truths exhibited in his precepts. While in Berwick, Knox was involved in another controversy or public disputation similar to that in which he had been engaged in St. Andrews. The scene on this occasion was Newcastle, whither he had been summoned by the Bishop of Durham to appear before an assembly of the learned men of his cathedral to discuss the doctrines which he taught. These Knox defended with his usual ability, and with his usual success. He retired triumphant from the debate, leaving his opponents silenced and confounded by the ingenuity and strength of his arguments, and the fervour and energy of his eloquence.

His reputation was now daily spreading wider and wider, and so highly did the privy-council appreciate the value of his services, that they conferred on him in December, 1551, a singular mark of their approbation, by appointing him one of the king's chaplains. While residing in Berwick Knox formed an acquaintance with a young lady of the name of Marjory Bowes. This lady afterwards became his wife, but without the consent of her father, who could never be induced to approve of the connection. He, however, had a warm friend in the young lady's mother, who not only gave her sanction to the marriage of her daughter, but used every effort, though without effect, to reconcile her husband to the union. Family pride, together with some differences of opinion in religious matters, are supposed to have been the cause of Mr. Bowes' objection to accept the reformer as a son-in-law. As a natural result, the malevolence of Knox's enemies, those who adhered to Popery, kept pace with the success which attended his efforts against the Romish church. They narrowly watched his every word and action, and at length laying hold of some expressions of a political nature which they conceived might be employed to his prejudice, they denounced him to the privy-council. In consequence of this charge, which was supported by the Duke of Northumberland, who entertained a personal dislike to Knox, he was summoned up to London. The result, however, was in the highest degree favourable to him. He not only convinced the council of the uprightness of his intentions and the malice of his accusers, but succeeded in gaining a yet greater degree of favour with that body than he had before enjoyed. He was appointed to preach to the court, and gave such satisfaction in the discharge of this duty, that the privy-council determined to invite him to preach in London and the southern counties during the following year. They offered him the living of All-Hallows in the city. He, however, declined the appointment, as also that of a bishopric, which was soon afterwards tendered him at the special request of the king, by whom he was much esteemed. These splendid offers of promotion he refused for conscience' sake—there being several things connected with the English ecclesiastical establishment repugnant to the faith which he had adopted, such as the reading of homilies, the chanting of matins and even-song, the prevalence of pluralities, &c.

In the meantime the king, Edward VI., who had evinced so much readiness to patronize our reformer, died, and was succeeded by one of the most sanguinary and relentless enemies which the reformed religion had, during any period, to contend with. This was Mary. The accession of this princess to the

throne totally altered Knox's situation and his views. Her bigotry and persecution soon made England unsafe for him to live in it.

Finding his danger becoming daily more and more imminent, he at length came to the resolution, though not without much reluctance, of retiring to the Continent; and making choice of France, proceeded to Dieppe in that kingdom in the year 1554. Here he remained till the latter end of the following year, occasionally visiting Geneva, then the residence of the celebrated Calvin, with whom he formed a close intimacy. At the latter end of the autumn of 1555 Knox returned to Scotland, induced by the temporary favour which the queen-dowager, Mary of Lorraine, had extended to the Protestants in her dominions. As this favour, however, did not proceed from any feeling of regard for those who had adopted the new faith, but was employed as a means of checking the clergy who had been averse to the dowager's obtaining the regency of the kingdom, it was of short duration, and lasted only so long as that princess thought it necessary to her interests. In the meantime Knox was zealously and industriously employed in disseminating the doctrines of the reformed religion. He went from place to place preaching the gospel, and gradually increasing the number of his disciples, amongst whom he was soon able to reckon some of the first persons in the kingdom. While thus employed, he received an invitation from an English congregation at Geneva to become their pastor. With this invitation he thought it his duty to comply, and accordingly proceeded thither in the month of July, 1556. He was on this occasion accompanied by his wife and mother-in-law, the husband of the latter being now dead. On learning that he had left Scotland, the clergy there proceeded to evince those feelings regarding him which they had not dared to avow, or at least to act upon, while he was present. Knowing that he could not appear, they summoned him before them, passed sentence against him in absence, adjudging his body to the flames, and his soul to damnation. The first part of the sentence they made a show of carrying into effect, by causing his effigy to be burned at the cross of Edinburgh. On reaching Geneva he immediately took charge of his congregation, and spent the two following years in promoting their spiritual interests. This was perhaps the happiest period of Knox's life. He lived upon the most affectionate footing with the members of his church, by all of whom he was greatly beloved. He enjoyed the society and friendship of Calvin, and the other ministers of the city; and to complete his felicity, he lived in the bosom of his own family, a happiness of which he had hitherto had but a small share. No degree of enjoyment, however, or of earthly felicity, could wean him from the desire of promoting the Reformation in his native country; to this he continued to look forward with unabated eagerness, and only waited for more favourable times to gratify this ruling passion of his life.

When he had been about two years in Geneva, the long-cherished wishes of our reformer to exercise his ministry in his native land seemed about to be realized. Two persons, citizens of Edinburgh, the one named James Syme, the other James Barron, arrived in Geneva with a letter signed by the Earl of Glencairn, the lords Lorn and Erskine, and Lord James Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V., and afterwards Earl of Moray, inviting him to return to Scotland. Knox immediately obeyed the call, and had proceeded as far as Dieppe on his way to Scotland, when he received letters from the latter country containing the most discouraging accounts of the state

of the kingdom and of the Protestant interest there. Grieved and disappointed beyond expression, he again returned to Geneva, where he remained for another year. During this period he assisted in making a new translation of the Bible into English, and also published his *Letter to the Queen Regent*, his *Appellation and Exhortation*, and *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Matters having at length taken a more favourable turn in Scotland, the Protestant lords sent a second invitation to Knox to join them, accompanied by the gratifying intelligence that the queen-regent had promised them her countenance and protection. He placed little reliance on these promises, but he readily obeyed the call of his friends to return to his native country.

He sailed from Dieppe on the 22d of April, and arrived safely in Leith on the 2d of May, 1559. The distrust which Knox entertained of the good faith of the queen-regent was not without sufficient cause. By the time he arrived, that artful and able princess, conceiving that she had no longer any occasion for assistance from the Protestants, not only gave them to understand that they had nothing more to hope from her, but openly avowed her determination to suppress the Reformation by every means in her power, and to employ force for that purpose if it should be found necessary.

In this spirit she authorized Archbishop Hamilton to summon the reformed preachers before him in St. Andrews to answer for their conduct, giving him at the same time a similar assurance of protection and support with that which she had a short while before given to the Protestants. A threat, however, having been conveyed to her that the preachers would not go unattended to the impending trial, she deemed it prudent to prorogue it until she should be in a better state of preparation, and accordingly wrote to the primate to delay any further proceedings in the matter for the time. On the faith of receiving assistance from France, which had united with Spain for the extirpation of heresy, she soon after resumed the process against the Protestant preachers, and summoned them to stand trial at Stirling. Thither Knox, though he had been proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel, by virtue of the sentence formerly pronounced against him, determined to repair to assist his brethren in their defence, and to share the dangers to which they might be exposed; but the artifice of the queen-regent deprived him of the opportunity of carrying this generous resolution into effect.

The preachers in their progress to Stirling were attended by large bodies of people, who had determined to abide by them during the impending trial. Unwilling, however, to give the queen-regent any offence by approaching her in such numbers, they halted at Perth, and sent Erskine of Dun before them to Stirling to assure her that they meditated no violence nor entertained any but the most peaceable intentions. Unsatisfied by this representation at the approach of so great a multitude, she had recourse to dissimulation to prevent their coming nearer. She informed Erskine that she would stop the trial if he would prevail upon his brethren to desist from their journey. Unsuspicious of the deception she meditated, Erskine was persuaded to write to the assembled Protestants, requesting them to proceed no further, and intimating that he was authorized by the queen to promise them that no trial of their preachers should take place. Rejoiced by these very welcome and very unexpected overtures, they instantly complied, and the greater part of them returned to their homes. But when the appointed day of trial came, the summonses of the

preachers were called in court by the express orders of the queen. They were outlawed for non-appearance, and all persons prohibited under pain of rebellion from harbouring or assisting them.

When this infamous proceeding took place, Knox was with the rest of his brethren at Perth, where he had preached a sermon against idolatry and the celebration of mass, on the very day on which intelligence reached that place of what had occurred at Stirling. On the conclusion of the sermon a priest who was present had the impudence to uncover an altar-piece on which were some images, and prepared to celebrate mass, regardless of the excited state of the public feeling, which had just been roused by the eloquence of Knox, and armed, as it were, for violence by the duplicity of the regent. Under these circumstances little was required to bring on a crisis, and that little was not long wanting. A boy having uttered some disrespectful expressions, was instantly struck by the hot-headed priest. The boy retaliated by throwing a stone, which, missing his assailant, for whom it was intended, struck the altar and broke one of the images. This fired the train. In an instant all the interior decorations of the church were torn down and destroyed, altar and images were overturned and trampled under foot; a mob collected outside, but finding the work of destruction already completed here, they proceeded to the monasteries, which they in a short time laid in ruins. This was the first ebullition of popular feeling connected with the Reformation, and Knox has been accused of having been the cause of it. If he was, he certainly was so unconsciously and innocently, for he reprobated the violence which had taken place, and in speaking of it says it was perpetrated by "the rascal multitude"—language sufficiently indicative of the light in which he viewed it. The Protestant lords, finding now that they had not only nothing more to hope for from the queen, but that she was their declared enemy, determined to make a vigorous effort to establish the reformed religion without either her assistance or consent. They proceeded to ascertain the numbers of their friends, established a correspondence with them, and united the whole by procuring their subscriptions to a religious covenant—copies of which they despatched for that purpose to different districts throughout the country. These thus united were distinguished by the name of the Congregation, and the noblemen who were included by that of the Lords of the Congregation. The latter, still desirous of accomplishing their purpose rather by the force of reasoning than by the sword, engaged Knox to meet them on a certain day at St. Andrews, where they proposed he should deliver a series of sermons. On his way to St. Andrews he preached at Anstruther and Crail, and arrived at the first-named place on the 9th of June.

Here occurred a striking instance of that personal intrepidity for which the great reformer was so remarkable. The archbishop, informed of his design to preach in his cathedral, assembled an armed force, and sent word to Knox, that if he appeared in the pulpit he would order the soldiers to fire upon him. Alarmed for his safety, Knox's friends endeavoured to dissuade him from preaching, but in vain. "He could take God to witness," he said, "that he never preached in contempt of any man, nor with the design of hurting an earthly creature; but to delay to preach next day, unless forcibly hindered, he could not in conscience agree. As for the fear of danger that may come to me," he continued, "let no man be solicitous, for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me." Knox accordingly ap-

peared in the pulpit at the appointed time, and preached to a numerous assembly, without experiencing any interruption; but although the threatened attempt upon his life was not made, he retains a full claim to all the courage which a contempt and defiance of that threat implies.

On this occasion he preached for three successive days; and such was the effect of his eloquence and the influence of his doctrine, that both the inhabitants and the civil authorities agreed to set up the reformed worship in the town. The monasteries were demolished, and the church stripped of all images and pictures. The example of St. Andrews was soon after followed in many other parts of the kingdom. At the latter end of the month Knox arrived with the forces of the Congregation in Edinburgh, and on the same day on which he entered the city, he preached in St. Giles', next day in the Abbey Church, and on the 7th of July the inhabitants met in the Tolbooth, and appointed him their minister, there being then only one place of worship in Edinburgh, viz. St. Giles' Church. In this charge, however, he was not long permitted to remain. The forces of the regent soon after obtained possession of the city; and, although against his own inclination, his friends prevailed upon him to retire from the town. On leaving Edinburgh he undertook a tour of preaching through the kingdom; and in less than two months had gone over the greater part of it, disseminating with the most powerful effect the doctrines of the reformed religion. He next retired to St. Andrews, where he officiated as minister for several months; and on the conclusion of the civil war, which the determination of the Congregation to establish the reformed religion, and the regent's efforts to suppress it, had created, he returned to Edinburgh. In 1560, after an arduous struggle and many vicissitudes, the faith for which Knox had fought such a "good fight," seemed to be securely established in the land. The queen-regent was dead, and by the assistance of England—an assistance which Knox had been the chief instrument in procuring—the arms of the forces of the Congregation were completely triumphant.

The accession, however, of Mary to the actual government, who was known to be strongly attached to Popery, again excited the fears of the Protestants, and of no one more than Knox, who insisted that the invitation sent to France to that princess to ascend the throne of her ancestors should be accompanied by the stipulation that she should desist from the celebration of mass; and when the rest of the council urged that she ought to be allowed that liberty within her own chapel, he predicted that "her liberty would be their thralldom."

A few days after the queen's arrival at Holyrood she sent for Knox, and taxed him with holding political opinions at once dangerous to her authority and the peace of her realm, and with teaching a religion different from that allowed by its princes. Knox entered at great length into these subjects, defending himself and his doctrines with his usual ability and boldness. His language on this occasion was so stern and decisive as to throw the queen into a fit of weeping, but her tears were those of rage rather than sorrow. The arrival of the dinner hour broke off this interesting interview, and Knox retired from the presence with some expressions of good wishes for the queen's happiness. Frequent conferences took place afterwards between the reformer and Mary, but with little increase of regard on either side. On one of these occasions, when he had spoken with even more than his usual boldness, and just as he was about to retire, he overheard some of

the queen's Popish attendants say, "He is not afraid." "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman frighten me?" replied the stout reformer, turning round upon them; "I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid beyond measure." Knox's ministerial duties were in the meantime exceedingly laborious. His charge, as already mentioned, was St. Giles' Church, where he had fulfilled these duties since the year 1560. He preached twice every Sabbath, and thrice on other days of the week, besides meeting regularly with his kirk-session once every week for discipline, and with others for exercises on the Scriptures. He also regularly attended all the meetings of the General Assembly and the provincial synod; and at almost every meeting of the former a mission to visit and preach in some distant part of the country was imposed upon him. With the view of relieving him of part of these overwhelming labours, the town-council, in April, 1562, solicited John Craig, minister of Canongate, to undertake the half of his charge. From the difficulty, however, of obtaining an additional stipend, Knox remained without assistance till June in the following year. It has been already said that many interviews took place from time to time between the queen and Knox; these were still occasionally occurring; but their only effect was to increase her dread and dislike of the reformer; and although some instances occurred in which there was something like an approach to a better understanding, yet on the part of the queen it was never sincere; and there is little doubt that she longed for an opportunity of getting rid of so troublesome a subject, whom neither her threats nor blandishments could divert from the strict path of his duty. Such an opportunity as she desired, or at least such a one as she certainly rejoiced in, seemed now unexpectedly to present itself. Two persons, Protestants, were indicted to stand trial for having, with several others, intruded into the palace during a temporary absence of the queen, for the purpose of interrupting the celebration of certain Roman Catholic rites which was about to take place in the chapel of Holyrood. The Protestants of Edinburgh, dreading that the queen would proceed to extremities against these men, requested Knox to write circular letters to the principal gentlemen of their persuasion, detailing the circumstances of the case, and inviting their presence on the day of trial. One of these letters falling into the hands of the Bishop of Ross, he immediately conveyed it to the queen, who again lost no time in laying it before her privy-council, by which it was pronounced treasonable, and the writer was soon afterwards indicted to stand trial in Edinburgh for the crime of high treason.

The queen presided in person at the trial, and with an ill-judged and ill-timed levity, burst into a fit of laughter, when, on taking her seat in court, she perceived Knox standing uncovered at the foot of the table. "That man," she said, pointing to the reformer, "had made her weep, and shed never a tear himself: she would now see if she could make him weep." The trial now proceeded, and after the charge against him had been read, Knox entered upon his defence at great length, and with such self-possession, intrepidity, and ability, that although he had several enemies amongst his judges, he was, by a great majority, acquitted of the crime of which he had been accused. Alluding to the queen's feelings on this occasion, he says in his history, "That night (the evening after the trial) was nyther dancing nor fiddling in the court; for madame was disappointed of hir purpose, quhilk was to have had John Knox in hir will, be vot of hir nobility."

A second attempt on the part of the queen and her husband Darnley to suppress the stern and uncompromising truths, both political and religious, which the reformer continued to proclaim to the world, was soon after made. He had given out a text which occasioned such offence to the stripling king, that on the afternoon of the same day he was taken from his bed and carried before the privy-council, who suspended him from his office. As the suspension, however, was limited to the time of their majesties' residence in the city, it was but of short duration, as they left Edinburgh before the following Sabbath, when Knox resumed his ministry, and delivered his sentiments with the same boldness as before. This occurrence was soon after followed by the murder of Rizzio, the queen's secretary—an event which gave the queen, now at Dunbar, a pretence for raising an army, ostensibly to enable her to resent the indignity which had been shown to her person by the assassins of Rizzio, and to punish the perpetrator of that deed, but in reality to overawe the Protestants. On the approach of the queen and her forces to Edinburgh, Knox, long since aware of the dislike which she entertained towards him, deemed it prudent to leave the city. On this occasion he retired to Kyle, and soon afterwards went to England to visit his two sons, who were there living with some relations of their mother's, who had died in 1560. Knox returned again to Edinburgh after an absence of about five or six months. During that interval two events had taken place which entirely ruined the queen's authority in the kingdom, and left him nothing to fear from her personal resentment: these were the murder of Darnley and her marriage with Bothwell. He therefore resumed his charge without interruption, and proceeded to take that active part in the national affairs, both political and religious, which the times required, and for which he was so eminently fitted; and, soon after, had the satisfaction of seeing the Protestant religion securely established by the laws of the land, and that of the Popish church utterly overthrown by the same authority. During these commotions our reformer in 1564 had married his second wife, a daughter of Lord Ochiltree, who survived him.

In the month of October, 1570, he was struck with apoplexy, and although it only interrupted his preaching for a few days, he never recovered from the debility which it produced.

The irritability of the times and the vindictive spirit of the Popish faction, still animating its expiring efforts, placed the life of the great reformer once more in danger, and once more compelled him to seek safety in flight. His enemies endeavoured first to destroy his reputation by the most absurd and unfounded calumnies; and, failing utterly in these, they made an attempt upon his life. A shot was fired in at the window at which he usually sat; but, happening to be seated at a different part of the table from that which he generally occupied, the bullet missed him, but struck the candlestick which was before him, and then lodged in the roof of the apartment.

Finding that it was no longer safe for him to remain in Edinburgh, he retired to St. Andrews, where he continued till the end of August, 1572, when he again returned to Edinburgh. His valuable and active life was now drawing fast to a close. On the 11th of the November following he was seized with a cough, which greatly affected his breathing, and on the 24th of the same month he expired, after an illness which called forth numerous instances of the magnanimity of his character, and of the purity and fervour of that religious zeal by which he had been

always inspired. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, "not so much," says Dr. M'Crie, "oppressed with years as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labours of body and anxieties of mind." His body was interred in the churchyard of St. Giles', on Wednesday the 26th of November, and was attended to the grave by all the nobility who were in the city, and an immense concourse of people. When his body was laid in the grave, the regent, who was also at the funeral, exclaimed in words which have made a strong impression from their aptness and truth, "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

KNOX, WILLIAM. "It may not be impertinent to notice that Knox, a young poet of considerable talent, died here a week or two since. His father was a respectable yeoman, and he himself, succeeding to good farms under the Duke of Buccleuch, became too soon his own master, and plunged into dissipation and ruin. His talent then showed itself in a fine strain of pensive poetry, called, I think, *The Lonely Hearth*, far superior to that of Michael Bruce, whose *consumption*, by the way, has been the life of his verses. . . . For my part, I am a bad promoter of subscriptions; but I wished to do what I could for this lad, whose talent I really admired; and I am not addicted to admire heaven-born poets, or poetry that is reckoned very good, *considering*. I had him (Knox) at Abbotsford about ten years ago, but found him unfit for that sort of society. I tried to help him, but there were temptations he could never resist. He scrambled on writing for the booksellers and magazines, and living like the Otways, and Savages, and Chattertons of former days, though I do not know that he was in extreme want. His connection with me terminated in begging a subscription, or a guinea, now and then. His last works were spiritual hymns, and which he wrote very well. In his own line of society he was said to exhibit infinite humour; but all his works are grave and pensive—a style, perhaps, like Master Stephen's melancholy, affected for the nonce."

In this extract from Sir Walter Scott's *Diary*, an outline of the life, moral character, and literary productions of an erring and unfortunate son of genius is briefly sketched; but with the great novelist's wonted perspicuity, sharp intuitive sagacity, and immeasurable good-nature, that never could see a fault where there was a tolerable *per contra* to recommend.

William Knox was born upon the estate of Firth, in the parish of Lilliesleaf, Roxburgh, on the 17th August, 1789, and was the son of an extensive and pastoral farmer in the shires of Roxburgh and Selkirk. As his parents were in comfortable circumstances, he received a liberal education, first at the parish school of Lilliesleaf, and afterwards at the grammar-school of Musselburgh. After having become a tolerable classical scholar, and acquired a taste for reading, especially in poetry and romance, he was sent, at little more than the age of sixteen, to a lawyer's office, not, however, for the purpose of studying the law as a future profession, but of acquiring the general knowledge and practical habits of business. This was necessary, as he was the eldest son of a family of six children, and would naturally succeed to his father's extensive farming; but as a school of morals and virtuous habits, a lawyer's office, at the beginning of the present century, could scarcely be reckoned the happiest of selections. After a few months' training at law, in which he made little progress, he was called home to assist his father; and in 1812 he commenced farm-

ing on his own account, by taking a lease of the farm of Wrae, in the neighbourhood of Langholm. But steady though he appears to have been at this period, so that he soon acquired the reputation of a diligent and skilful farmer, he was so unsuccessful that he lost all interest in agriculture, threw up the lease of Wrae in 1817, and commenced that precarious literary life which he continued to the close. Indeed, while he was ploughing and sowing, his thoughts were otherwise occupied; for even at the schoolboy age, he had been infected, as half of the human race generally are at that ardent season, with the love of poetry; but instead of permitting himself, like others, to be disenchanted by the solid realities and prosaic cares of life, he cherished the passion until he became irrecoverably a poet. Unhappy is such a choice when it can lead no higher than half-way up Parnassus! His boyish efforts were exhibited chiefly in songs and satires written in the Scottish dialect; and although, when his mind was more matured, he had the good sense to destroy them, it was only for the purpose of producing better in their season. In this way his first publication, *The Lonely Hearth*, and other *Poems*, was nearly ready for the press before he had quitted his farm.

It would be too much to follow each step of Knox's progress after he had committed himself to the uncertainties and mutations of authorship. His life was henceforth occupied not only in writing works which issued from the press, but others which were not so fortunate. It was not merely to poetry that he confined himself, in which case his stock, as a source of daily subsistence, would soon have failed; he also wrote largely in prose, and was happy when he could find a publisher. Such a course, sufficiently precarious in itself, was rendered tenfold worse by those intemperate practices that had already commenced, and which such a kind of life tends not to cure, but to aggravate. Still, amidst all his aberrations, his acknowledged talents as a genuine poet, combined with his amiable temperament and conversational powers, procured him many friends among the most distinguished literary characters of the day. We have already seen the estimate that Sir Walter Scott had formed of him: to this it may be added, that Sir Walter repeatedly supplied the necessities of the unfortunate poet, by sending him ten pounds at a time. Professor Wilson also thought highly of the poetical genius of Knox, and was ever ready to befriend him. Nor must Southey, a still more fastidious critic than either Scott or Wilson, be omitted. Writing to William Knox, who had sent him a copy of one of his poetical works, he thus expresses himself: "Your little volume has been safely delivered to me by your friend Mr. G. MacDonald, and I thank you for it. It has given me great pleasure. To paraphrase sacred poetry is the most difficult of all tasks, and it appears to me that you have been more successful in the attempt than any of your predecessors. You may probably have heard that the Bishop of Calcutta (before he was appointed to that see) was engaged in forming a collection of hymns and sacred pieces, with the hope of having them introduced into our English churches. Some of yours are so well adapted to that object that I will send out a copy of your book to him."

The principal works of Knox, besides the *Lonely Hearth*, which we have already mentioned, were a Christmas tale, entitled *Mariamne or the Widow's Daughter*, *A Visit to Dublin*, *Songs of Israel*, and the *Harp of Zion*. Much of his authorship, however, was scattered over the periodicals of the day, and especially the *Literary Gazette*. As a prose writer his works are of little account, and have utterly dis-

appeared; but the same cannot be said of his poetry, which possesses a richness and originality that places it on a higher intellectual scale, and insures it a more lasting popularity. It is pleasing also to record, that it is not only undefaced by a single line which a dying author would wish to blot, but elevated throughout into the highest tone of pure devotional feeling and religious instruction. In these cases, Sir Walter Scott seems to think that poor Knox was assuming a part—that he was speaking “according to the trick,” and nothing more. We would fain charitably believe, however, that the pensiveness of the erring bard was something else than affectation, and his religious feeling than hypocrisy. Had he not cause to write sadly when he yielded to his better feelings, and sat down to give vent to them in the language which he had learned in happier and purer days? Or was he singular under that

—“*video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor*” —

which converts so many an unfortunate genius into a sign-post between time and eternity, where he can do nothing more than direct others upon their heavenward journey? In the following stanzas, by which his *Songs of Zion* are prefaced, we can both recognize and understand his sincerity, notwithstanding all those unhappy inconsistencies with which it was contradicted:—

“Harp of Zion! pure and holy!
Pride of Judah’s eastern land!
May a child of guilt and folly
Strike thee with a feeble hand?
May I to my bosom take thee,
Trembling from the prophet’s touch,
And, with throbbing heart, awake thee
To the songs I love so much?”

“I have loved thy thrilling numbers
Since the dawn of childhood’s day,
When a mother sooth’d my slumbers
With the cadence of thy lay—
Since a little blooming sister
Clung with transport round my knee,
And my glowing spirit blessed her
With a blessing caught from thee.

“Mother—sister—both are sleeping
Where no heaving hearts breathe,
While the eve of age is creeping
Round the widowed spouse and sire.
He and his, amid their sorrow,
Find enjoyment in thy strain—
Harp of Zion! let me borrow
Comfort from thy chords again.”

It is only necessary to add, that this life of literary adventure to which William Knox committed himself, and in which he unwisely squandered his resources of health and strength, was a brief one, for he died at Edinburgh on the 12th of November, 1825, in his thirty-sixth year. The cause of his death was a stroke of paralysis, which he survived only three or four days.

L.

LAING, ALEXANDER GORDON, whose name is so mournfully connected with the history of African discovery, was born in Edinburgh on the 27th of December, 1793. His father, William Laing, A.M., was the first who opened an academy for classical education in the new town of the Scottish capital; where he laboured for thirty-two years, and was one of the most popular teachers of his day. His maternal grandfather, William Gordon, was also a teacher of very considerable note, and is known as the author of a system of geography, a treatise on arithmetic, a translation of the first six books of *Livy*, &c.

With such a parentage it might naturally have been supposed that the subject of this memoir was more likely to have spent his days amid the quiet pursuits of literature than in the bustle of the camp and amid the din of arms: the aspect of his early years seemed to favour the supposition. Under the tuition of his father young Laing received the elementary education that was necessary to prepare him for the university, and he was enrolled in the humanity class at the early age of thirteen years. Previous to this he had acquired a very considerable knowledge of the Latin language, of which he was passionately fond; and the appearances he made in the class then taught by Professor Christison were of so marked a kind as to secure him the very flattering notice of his preceptor; he was held up as a model for the imitation of his fellow-students, and there were but few who could entertain any hope of excelling him.

At the age of fifteen Mr. Laing entered on the business of active life, having engaged himself as assistant to Mr. Bruce, a teacher in Newcastle. Here he remained only six months, when he returned to Edinburgh and entered into company with his father, taking charge of the commercial department of the academy, for which his beautiful penmanship and other acquirements singularly qualified him.

But the time was fast approaching when the subject of our memoir was to exchange the *ferula* for the *sword*. In 1809 volunteering was very general in Edinburgh, and young Laing attached himself to a corps then forming. In 1810 he was made an ensign in the Prince of Wales’ volunteers, and from that period the academy had no more charms for him. In his eighteenth year he abandoned the irksome duties of teaching, and set off for Barbadoes to his maternal uncle, Colonel (afterwards Lieutenant-general) Gordon, through whose kind offices he looked forward to an introduction into the army. At that time Colonel Gordon held the office of deputy quartermaster-general in Barbadoes, and on his nephew’s arrival he gave him a situation as clerk in his counting-house. In this situation Mr. Laing repeatedly came in contact with Sir George Beckwith, then at the head of the command of the military on the station, who was so much pleased with the young clerk, and took so deep an interest in his fortunes, as to secure for him unsolicited an ensign’s commission in the York light infantry.

But we must hurry over the first years of Laing’s service in the army, to detail the more important passages in his history. Having obtained the ensigncy in the York light infantry, he immediately joined his regiment in Antigua; in two years he was made a lieutenant, and shortly after, on the reduction of the regiment, he was put on half-pay. Dissatisfied with the inactivity consequent on such a measure, as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made, he exchanged into the 2d West India regiment, and proceeded to Jamaica. Here over-exertion in consequence of his discharging the duties of quartermaster-general caused him to suffer much from disease of the liver. He retired to Honduras for the recovery of his health, where Colonel Arthur,

appreciating his excellence as an officer, detained him with another division of the regiment, and appointed him fort-major. His distemper, however, which at first seemed to yield in Honduras, returned with increasing violence, and compelled him to seek relief in the air of his native land, and the sympathies of his relations.

During the eighteen months he remained at home, the division of the 2d West India regiment to which he belonged was reduced, and he was again put on half-pay. Restored, however, to health, he could not remain inactive. Towards the end of 1819 he went to London, was sent for by the colonel of his regiment Sir Henry Torrence, received many flattering compliments for his former services, and having been appointed lieutenant and adjutant, he proceeded to Sierra Leone.

From the beginning of the year 1822 his history as an *African traveller* may properly be dated. In January of that year he was despatched by Sir Charles McCarthy, governor of Sierra Leone, on an important embassy to Kambia and the Mandingo country, where he collected much valuable information regarding the political condition of these districts, their dispositions as to commerce, and their sentiments as to slavery. Having so far achieved the object for which he set out, he crossed to Malacour, a Mandingo town situated on the banks of the river Malageea. There he learned that Sannasse, the chief of the district of Malagea, and a friend of the British government, had been captured by Amara, the king of the Soolimas, and was about to be put to death. Well knowing the unrelenting disposition of Amara, Laing, although labouring under a severe attack of fever and ague, resolved to go to the Soolima camp and intercede for the life of the unfortunate Sannasse.

With this view he crossed the Malageea near its source, and after experiencing many difficulties in meeting with Soolima guards, he at length reached the camp. Having witnessed the feats of warlike exercise, the dancing, and the music exhibited by Soolimas, Bennas, Sangaras, and Tambaccas, he was invited to a *palaver* with Yarradee, the general of the Soolima army. This officer received him with much kindness and with many protestations of friendship. Subsequently he was introduced to and had a conversation with Amara himself, and having obtained an assurance that Sannasse would not be put to death, he retired to Sierra Leone, where he arrived on the sixth day, exhausted by the fatigues of his journey and continued illness.

Scarcely had Laing recovered, when a report at Sierra Leone that his mission had been of no avail, induced the governor to send him on another embassy for the same object. Having once more visited the Soolima camp, he was assured indeed that Sannasse had been set at liberty, but he also learned that his town had been burned, and his property plundered or destroyed. Of this conduct he expressed in the name of his government the most decided reprobation; and after a journey of six and a half days, during which he had never for a single hour been under shelter, he once more reached Sierra Leone.

It was now that Lieutenant Laing assumed the character of a *volunteer traveller*. Having been led to believe during the last embassy that the Soolimas were in possession of considerable quantities of gold and ivory, he suggested to the governor the propriety and probable advantages of opening up a commercial intercourse with them; and the suggestion having been approved of by the council at large, he left Sierra Leone again on the 16th of April, 1822,

with the view of furthering such an object, accompanied by two soldiers of the 2d West India regiment, a native of Foutah Jallow, eleven carriers, natives of the Jolof district, and a boy a native of Sego. When he set out upon this journey little was known of the Soolimas except the name; they were said to be distant from Sierra Leone 400 miles to the eastward: it afterwards appeared that Falaba, the capital, is only distant 200 miles. They were represented as a powerful nation, rich in gold and ivory; but this also turned out not to be the fact. On his arrival at Toma in the country of the Timmanees our traveller found that no white man had ever been there before him, although the town is situated only sixty miles from Sierra Leone. His appearance, as was to be expected, excited no little astonishment—one woman in particular stood fixed like a statue gazing on the party as they entered the town, and did not stir a muscle till the whole had passed, when she gave a loud halloo of astonishment, and then covered her mouth with both her hands. Of the Timmanees he writes in his journal very unfavourably; he found them depraved, indolent, avaricious, and so deeply sunk in the debasement of the slave traffic, that the very mothers among them raised a clamour against him for refusing to buy their children. He further accuses them of dishonesty and gross indecency, and altogether wonders that a country so near Sierra Leone should have gained so little by its proximity to a British settlement.

From the country of the Timmanees Lieutenant Laing proceeded into that of Kooranko, the first view of which was much more promising—he found the first town into which he entered neat and clean, and the inhabitants bearing all the marks of active industry. It was about sunset when he approached it, and we give in his own language a description of the scene. “Some of the people,” says he, “had been engaged in preparing the fields for the crops, others were penning up a few cattle, whose sleek sides denoted the richness of their pastures; the last clink of the blacksmith’s hammer was sounding, the weaver was measuring the cloth he had woven during the day, and the guarange, a worker in leather, was tying up his neatly-stained pouches, shoes, and knife-sheaths; while the crier at the mosques, with the melancholy call of ‘Allah Akbar,’ summoned the decorous Moslems to their evening devotions.” Such were our traveller’s first impressions of the Koorankoes; but their subsequent conduct did not confirm the good opinion he had formed of them.

On approaching the hilly country, Lieutenant Laing informs us that nothing could be more beautiful or animating than the scene presented to his view—well-clothed rising grounds, cultivated valleys, and meadows smiling with verdure; the people in the different towns were contented and good-humoured, and in general received the stranger with very great kindness. In illustration of this he has given us the burden of the song of one of their minstrels:—“The white man lived on the waters and ate nothing but fish, which made him so thin; but the black men will give him cows and sheep to eat, and milk to drink, and then he will grow fat.” At Komato, the last town of the Koorankoes on his route, our traveller found a messenger from the King of Soolimana, with horses and carriages to convey him to Falaba, the capital of that nation. Crossing the Rokelle river, about a hundred yards broad, by ropes of twigs suspended from the branches of two immense trees (a suspension bridge called by the natives *nyankata*), he proceeded to that city; and, having been joined by the king’s son at the last town upon this side of





it, he entered Falaba under a salute of musketry from 2000 men, who were drawn up in the centre of the town to receive him. Not long after reaching Falaba, Lieutenant (now Captain) Laing (for about this time he was promoted), was seized with a fever, which brought on delirium for several days. While in this state he was cupped by one of the Soolima doctors, and that so effectually as to satisfy him that it was the means of saving his life. The operation differed in no respect from ours, except that the skin was scarified by a razor, and the cup was a small calabash gourd.

Our traveller enters in his journal into a long detail of the habits and manners of the Soolimas, with which he had made himself fully acquainted during his three months' residence in Falaba. To give even a short abstract of this would be inconsistent with our limits. Suffice it to say that the main object of his mission failed. The king all along promised to send back with him a company of traders; but when the time of departure arrived, these promises ended in nought. Although within three days' journey of the source of the Niger, he was not permitted to visit that often-sought spot, and deep was the grief which the loss of such an opportunity cost him; by measuring, however, the height of the source of the Rokelle, which he found to be 1441 feet, and by taking into account the height of the mountains in the distance, which gave rise to the Niger, he calculated (as he himself thought), with a tolerable degree of accuracy, that that river, which has had so much importance assigned to it, has an elevation at its source of from 1500 to 1600 feet above the level of the Atlantic. We cannot resist quoting here the testimony of an eminent writer in the *Edinburgh Journal of Natural and Geographical Science* (June, 1830), more especially as the measurements of Captain Laing have been rather lightly spoken of in the *Quarterly Review* (we believe by Mr. Barrow): "Major Laing," says the *Edinburgh Journalist*, "assigned the position and the elevation above the sea of Mount Loma, from whence the Niger takes its origin; and he first traced on the map the first part of its course towards the north for an extent of about twenty-five leagues."

On the 17th of September our traveller quitted Falaba, accompanied by numbers of the natives, who escorted him to a considerable distance; the last to leave him was the king himself. Of his "adieu" the captain speaks in the most affecting terms. On returning the route of the party was nearly the same as that by which they set out.

Before our traveller's return hostilities had commenced between the British government and the king of the Ashantees—the consequence was, that no sooner had he tasted the comforts of a British settlement, than he was ordered to join his regiment on the Gold Coast without delay. Having transmitted details to his friend Captain Sabine in London, of the geographical determinations of the latitude, longitude, and elevation of the places he had lately visited, he hastened to the Gold Coast, where he was employed in the organization and command of a very considerable native force, designed to be auxiliary to a small British detachment which was then expected from Britain. During the greater part of the year 1823 this native force was stationed on the frontier of the Fantee and Ashantee countries, and was frequently engaged, and always successfully, with detachments of the Ashantee army. On one of these occasions the enemy was completely beaten, and the fame of the victory spread over the whole coasts, and so effectually, that Sir Charles M'Carthy received the allegiance of most of the

Fantee tribes. On another occasion Captain Laing made two gallant and successful attacks on a larger division of the enemy; and entering into the territories of the King of Ajumacoo, who was suspected to be friendly to the Ashantees, he compelled that prince to place his troops under the British command.

On the fall of Sir Charles M'Carthy, which took place in 1824, Lieutenant-colonel Chisholm, on whom the command of the Gold Coast devolved, sent the subject of our memoir to England, to acquaint government more fully than could otherwise be done of the state of the country, and the circumstances of the war. He arrived in England in August, and immediately afterwards obtained a leave of absence to visit Scotland for the recovery of his health, which had been seriously affected by so many months of constant and extreme exposure in Africa. In Scotland, however, he did not continue long. In October he returned to London, and an opportunity having unexpectedly presented itself of proceeding under Lord Bathurst's auspices in the discovery of the course and termination of the Niger, he gladly embraced it. It being arranged that he should accompany the caravan from Tripoli to Timbuctoo in the ensuing summer, it became necessary that he should depart early in the year from that fatherland, which, alas! he was destined never to revisit.

Our traveller, now promoted to a majority, left London for Tripoli in the month of February, 1825. While in the latter city he had occasion to have frequent intercourse with the British consul, Mr. Warrington; a close intimacy was formed between them, and the bond was strengthened by the major's marrying Emma Maria, the daughter of the consul. This event was celebrated on the 14th of July, 1825; and two days after the marriage the major proceeded on his pilgrimage to Timbuctoo. He left Tripoli in company with the sheik Babani, whom he afterwards discovered to be no less a personage than the governor of Ghadamis. The sheik engaged to conduct him to Timbuctoo in ten weeks; the wife and the family of Babani resided there. The travellers proceeded with their *koffila* by the route of Beneoled, the passage by the Gharan Mountains being rendered unsafe in consequence of the turbulence of a rebellious chief in that district. On the 21st of August the party reached Shaté, and on the 13th of September, after a tedious and circuitous journey of nearly 1000 miles, they arrived at Ghadamis. Already had the major experienced much to vex and annoy him; his barometer had been broken; his hygrometers had been rendered useless by evaporation; the tubes of most of his thermometers had been snapped by the warping of the ivory; his glasses had been dimmed by the friction of the sand; his chronometer had stopped (in all likelihood from the insinuation of sandy particles); and in addition to this lengthened list of mishaps, his rifle-stock had been broken by the tread of an elephant.

Our traveller left Ghadamis, where he was treated with the utmost kindness and hospitality, on the 27th of October; and on the 3d of December he arrived at Ensala, a town on the eastern frontier of the province of Tuat, belonging to the Tuareg, and said to be thirty-five days' journey from Timbuctoo. Here as in Ghadamis he experienced the kindest reception, and he did all he could to repay it by administering of his medicines to the diseased.

He quitted Ensala on the 10th of January 1826 and on the 26th of the same month entered on the cheerless, flat, and sandy desert of Tenezaroff. Hitherto neither his enthusiasm nor his health had failed him; the people had all been friendly and kind to him, the elements only had been his foes; but in

the desert he was to enter on a different course of experience, and bitter assuredly it was. The Tuarics attacked, and plundered, and most cruelly mangled him. The following letter, written by himself and addressed to his father-in-law, discloses the amount of authentic information concerning this barbarous outrage:—

“*Blad Sidi Mahomed, May 10th, 1826.*

“My dear Consul,—I drop you a line only by an uncertain conveyance, to acquaint you that I am recovering from my severe wounds far beyond any calculation that the most sanguine expectation could have formed; and that to-morrow, please God, I leave this place for Timbuctoo, which I hope to reach on the 18th. I have suffered much, but the detail must be reserved till another period, when I shall ‘a tale unfold’ of treachery and woe that will surprise you. Some imputation is attachable to the old sheik (Babani); but as he is now no more, I shall not accuse him; he died very suddenly about a month since.

“When I write from Timbuctoo I shall detail precisely how I was betrayed, and nearly murdered in my sleep. In the meantime, I shall acquaint you with the number and nature of my wounds, in all amounting to twenty-four; eighteen of which are exceedingly severe. I have five sabre cuts on the crown of the head, and three on the left temple; all fractures, from which much bone has come away. One on my left cheek, which fractured the jaw-bone, and has divided the ear, forming a very unsightly wound. One over the right temple, and a dreadful gash on the back of the neck, which slightly scratched the *windpipe*,¹ &c. I am nevertheless, as already I have said, doing well, and hope yet to return to England with much important geographical information. The map indeed requires much correction, and, please God, I shall yet do much in addition to what I have already done towards putting it right.”

It would appear from this letter, that the major intended on the day after he wrote it to set out for Timbuctoo. The intention, however, was frustrated. The illness and subsequent death of Sidi Mahomed Mooktar, the marabout and sheik of the place, together with a severe attack of fever in his own person, detained him for two months longer. By this distemper he lost also his favourite servant *Jack*, to whom he was much attached. We can easily enter into his feelings when, writing again on the 1st of July to his father-in-law, he concludes the epistle by saying, “I am now the only surviving member of the mission.”

On the 18th of August he arrived at Timbuctoo, and from the following letter, which he left behind him there, which was afterwards forwarded to Tripoli by the nephew of Babani, and is the last that any of his relations ever received from him, we learn only enough to deepen our regret that he should have perished in the hour of success, and that his valuable papers should have been lost to the world.

“*Timbuctoo, 2 September 21, 1826.*

“My dear Consul,—A very short epistle must serve to apprise you, as well as my dearest Emma, of my arrival at and departure from the great capital of Central Africa; the former of which events took place on the 18th ultimo, the latter, please God, will take place at an early hour to-morrow morning. I have abandoned all thoughts of retracing my steps to Tripoli, and came here with an intention of proceeding to Jenne by water; but this intention has

been entirely upset, and my situation in Timbuctoo rendered exceedingly unsafe, by the unfriendly dispositions of the Foulahs of Massina, who have this year upset the dominion of the Tuaric, and made themselves patrons of Timbuctoo, and whose sultan, Bello, has expressed his hostility to me in no unequivocal terms, in a letter which Al Saidi Boubokar, the sheik of this town, received from him a few days after my arrival. He has now got intelligence of my arrival in Timbuctoo, and as a party of Foulahs are hourly expected, Al Saidi Boubokar, who is an excellent good man, and who trembles for my safety, has strongly urged my immediate departure. And I am sorry to say, that the notice has been so short, and I have so much to do previous to going away, that this is the only communication I shall for the present be able to make. My destination is Sego, whither I hope to arrive in fifteen days; but I regret to say that the road is a vile one, and my perils are not yet at an end; but my trust is God, who has hitherto borne me up amidst the severest trials, and protected me amidst the numerous dangers to which I have been exposed.

“I have no time to give you any account of Timbuctoo, but shall briefly state, that in every respect, except in size (which does not exceed four miles in circumference), it has completely met my expectations. Kabra is only five miles distant, and is a neat town situated on the margin of the river. I have been busily employed during my stay, searching the records in the town, which are abundant, and in acquiring information of every kind; nor is it with any common degree of satisfaction that I say my perseverance has been amply rewarded. I am now convinced that my hypothesis concerning the termination of the Niger is correct.

“May God bless you all! I shall write you fully from Sego, as also my Lord Bathurst, and I rather apprehend that both letters will reach you at one time, as none of the Ghadamis merchants leave Timbuctoo for two months to come. Again may God bless you all! My dear Emma must excuse my writing. I have begun a hundred letters to her, but have been unable to get through one. She is ever uppermost in my thoughts, and I look forward with delight to the hour of our meeting, which, please God, is now at no great distance.”

The following abstract of the testimony of Bungola, the major's servant, when examined by the British consul, gives the catastrophe of this melancholy story:

When asked if he had been with the major at Mooktar's, he answered, Yes.

Did you accompany him from thence to Timbuctoo? Yes.

How was he received at Timbuctoo? Well.

How long did he remain at Timbuctoo? About two months.

Did you leave Timbuctoo with Major Laing? Yes.

Who went with you? A kofle of Arabs.

In what direction did you go? The sun was on my right cheek.

Did you know where you were going? To Sansanding.

Did you see any water, and were you molested? We saw no water, nor were we molested till the third day, when the Arabs of the country attacked and killed my master.

Was any one killed beside your master? I was wounded, but cannot say if any were killed.

Were you sleeping near your master? Yes.

How many wounds had your master? I cannot say, they were all with swords, and in the morning I saw the head had been cut off.

¹ It should be the *spine*.

² In this letter the major always spells the name of the capital *Timbucti*.

Did the person who had charge of your master commit the murder? Sheik Bouraboushi, who accompanied the reis, killed him.

What did the sheik then do? He went on to his country; an Arab took me back to Timbuctoo.

What property had your master when he was killed? Two camels; one carried the provision, the other carried my master and his bags.

Where were your master's papers? In his bag.

Were the papers brought back to Timbuctoo? I don't know.

Thus perished, a few days after the 21st of September, 1826, by the hand of an assassin, one of the most determined, enthusiastic, and thoroughly accomplished of those daring spirits who have perilled their lives in the cause of African discovery. The resolution of the unfortunate Laing was of no ordinary kind; his mother has told the writer of this article, that years before he entered on his last and fatal expedition, in providing against hardships and contingencies, he had accustomed himself to sleep on the hard floor, and to write with the left hand; yea more, with the pen between the first and second toes of the right foot. It is melancholy to think that he should have perished unrequited by that fame for which he sacrificed so much, and undelivered of that tale of the capital of Central Africa, which he had qualified himself so well to tell. In any circumstances the death of such a man had been lamentable; but it seems the more so, inasmuch as the result of his successful enterprise is likely for ever to be unavailing for the benefit of the living. Many years have elapsed since his melancholy murder, and there seems not the shadow of a hope that his papers will ever be recovered.

But we cannot conclude this memoir without adding a few sentences regarding these important documents. Facts which were established at Tripoli during the year 1829, and established to the entire satisfaction of the consuls of Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Sardinia, develop a system of treachery and plunder regarding the major and his property, which almost amounts to the incredible. It seems to have been fully made out that the very guide (Babani) who set out with the traveller from Tripoli, was under the secret direction of Hassunah D' Ghies, son of the prime minister of the Tripolitan bashaw, and the conspirator against the major's life—that by his (D' Ghies') instructions the ferocious Bourabouschi, the eventual murderer, was appointed to be the conductor of the major from Timbuctoo, and that into his (D' Ghies') hands the major's papers (fourteen inches long by seven thick) were put by another of his emissaries shortly after the murder. In short, it was afterwards fully ascertained that this packet was secreted in Tripoli in the month of July or August, 1828.

The most amazing part of the tale of treachery yet remains to be told. It would further appear that the documents referred to were given by D' Ghies to the French consul at Tripoli, the Baron de Rosseau, and that during the greater part of the major's journey this official from France had been in secret correspondence with the conspirators—that he exerted himself in securing the flight of Hassunah D' Ghies after the treachery had been discovered, and gave protection to and tampered with his brother Mohamed, who made the disclosure.

It were out of place, in this memoir, to detail the strong chain of evidence by which these allegations are supported. A masterly summary of it will be found in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 84. Suffice it to say, that neither M. Rosseau nor the French

government did anything to acquit themselves of the fearful charge there preferred against them. Till removed, it must stand a foul blot upon their national honour.

LAING, MALCOLM, a lawyer and distinguished constitutional historian, was born in the year 1762, at Strynzia, his paternal estate, situated on the mainland of Orkney. He received the rudiments of his education at the respectable grammar-school of Kirkwall; a seminary which is generally attended by about a hundred boys, the sons of the neighbouring proprietors and farmers. When he had reached the proper age, he was sent to the university of Edinburgh, then superintended and attended by men of great talent. Along with many of the latter class, he joined in the establishment of the Speculative Society, an institution whose subjects of discussion were perhaps to a certain extent guided by his peculiar tastes, and certainly coincided remarkably with those in which he afterwards distinguished himself.

In 1785 he passed as a Scottish advocate: we do not know whether he had any predilection for the practice of the law, or whether he made choice of the profession for the mere respectability of the title, and the opportunity it might afford of attracting notice as a politician; but assuredly, notwithstanding his very high talents in general, and his peculiarly great powers as a reasoner or special pleader, he never was much employed, or known as a distinguished practising barrister. It will scarcely account sufficiently for this circumstance, that the manner in which he delivered his powerful arguments was neither majestic nor pleasing, that "his speeches were uttered with an almost preternatural rapidity, and in harsh and disagreeable tones." If he could speak and compose with facility—and in parliament he was considered an able speaker—such arguments as he might have used did not require the extraneous assistance of *manner*, even for a jury; while almost the whole pleading in Scotland at that period was addressed to the judges, from whose well-practised intellects reason and powerful argument only could find attention. Laing has shown in his writings a minute knowledge of all branches of Scottish law; he voluntarily acted the part of a lawyer in historical subjects, in a manner which has called forth the highest praise to his merely forensic abilities; and it may, on the whole, be safely concluded, that the limited extent of his practice at the bar must be attributed more to his choice than to his want of talent. The first fruit of Mr. Laing's laborious constitutional investigations was the preparing for the press the last volume of Dr. Henry's *History of Great Britain*, in 1793, after that author's death. The matter collected by Henry did not extend to a period at which the work could be closed, and Laing was requested by his executors to write two terminating chapters, to which he annexed a dissertation on the alleged crimes of Richard III. The labours of the two authors could not be very aptly united, and many consider Laing as a fierce liberalist, whose doctrines appeared harsh and prejudiced when compared to the calm narrative of Henry. The authors were indeed extremely dissimilar, but we must pause before we decide in favour of the former. Henry was a man of tame mind and tolerable good sense; but if he appeared calm and moderate in his historical opinions, he was so in the very safe and reputable cause of despotism, in which he encosured himself as an impregnable fortress, which it did not require much skill to defend. Laing, on the other hand, was a man of strong judgment and profound specula-

tion; and if he was violently argumentative in support of the opinions he had adopted, he was so not as a man who is determined to maintain a given point because he has chosen it, and is personally interested in its being shown to be true; but as one who had considered the matter accurately, had submitted it to the arbitration of his strong judgment, and was resolved to crush those prejudices which prevented others from seeing it as it appeared to himself. It is the height of all prejudice to blame a historian for his opinions; but many have deserved to be censured severely for twisting facts to support opinions, instead of bending opinions to accommodate them to facts. It was the object of Laing to discover the truth. Perhaps prepossession in favour of the line of principles he had adopted may have therefore prompted him to derive improper deductions from the facts which he produced; but his strongest political opponents have never accused him of perverting facts. Laing is said likewise to have composed the memoir of Henry which accompanied the history; but it certainly does not display his usual energy of style. Whatever defects some may have discovered in the continuation of Henry's *History*, the critical world in general saw its merit, and bestowed the countenance of its approbation. The author, thus encouraged to new historical labours, looked towards his native country, and in 1800 he published "*The History of Scotland, from the Union of the Crowns on the Accession of King James VI. to the Throne of England, to the Union of the Kingdoms in the Reign of Queen Anne.*" With Two Dissertations, Historical and Critical, on the Gowry Conspiracy, and on the supposed Authenticity of Ossian's Poems." As in the previous case, his book was very dissimilar to that of the person of whose labours his were a continuation—Dr. Robertson. Of the flowing academical ease of that author it is very destitute. It cannot be called either inelegant or harsh, but it is complicated; and by being laboured to contain much meaning, is occasionally obscure. There is much in the profundity of the remarks and reflections which Dr. Robertson could not have reached; but the chief merit lies in the display of critical power on matters of evidence, in which he displays all the acumen of the practised lawyer and the close observer of human nature. From this peculiar merit the separate dissertations, containing nothing but special pleadings, are the most useful and admirable parts of the book. In all parts of the work the author's ruling spirit has prompted him to search for debated facts, few of which he has left without some sort of settlement. He has treated in this manner many points of English history, among which is the celebrated question of the author of *Eikon Basilike*, concerning which he has fully proved, that whatever share Charles may have had in the suggestion or partial composition, Gauden was the person who prepared the work for the press. Mr. Laing appears to have enjoyed a peculiar pleasure in putting local and personal prejudices at defiance; and exulting in the exercise of strong reasoning powers, he has not hesitated to attack all that is peculiarly sacred to the feelings of his countrymen; a characteristic strikingly displayed in his dissertation on the poems of Ossian, the authenticity of which he attacked with great learning and inveterate rancour.

The author of such an attack on one of the fortresses of the national pride of Scotland did not perpetrate his work without suitable reprobation; the Highlanders were "loud in their wail," and the public prints swarmed with ebullitions of their wrath. Mr. Laing was looked on as a man who had set

all feelings of patriotism at defiance: to many it seemed an anomaly in human nature, that a Scotsman should thus voluntarily undermine the great boast of his country; and unable otherwise to account for such an act, they sought to discover in the author motives similar to those which made the subject sacred to themselves. His dissertations on the poems of Ossian had the merit of causing to be produced "The Report of the Committee of the Highland Society appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian," conducted under the superintendence of Henry Mackenzie, published in 1805.

At the same period Mr. Laing brought the controversy to a final issue by publishing a work which, with a sneer in its designation, he entitled "*The Poems of Ossian, &c.*," containing the Poetical Works of James Macpherson, Esq., in Prose and Rhyme, with Notes and Illustrations." The nature of the "notes and illustrations" may easily be presumed; the work indeed is a curiosity in literature. The edition of Ossian is a very splendid one; and, like an animal decked for sacrifice, the relentless editor introduced it conspicuously to the world, with the apparent purpose of making its demolition the more signal. Within the same year Mr. Laing's line of argument was answered by Mr. M'Donald, and two years afterwards a long and elaborate work, complacently termed a *Confutation*, was produced by the Rev. Mr. Graham, who, however, made a somewhat unlucky development of his qualifications for this task by quoting the *De Moribus Germanorum* of Tacitus, referring entirely to the Teutonic nations as authority concerning the Celts. Mr. Laing never confused his arguments, having never made the attempt.

In the meantime Mr. Laing's controversial disposition had prompted him to discover another subject, in the treatment of which he excited a still greater degree of wrath. In 1804 he published an edition of his *History of Scotland*, to which he prefixed two volumes containing "A Preliminary Dissertation on the Participation of Mary Queen of Scots in the Murder of Darnley." The purpose of the treatise was, with the author's usual decision and boldness, declared in the title, and through the whole of the lengthy detail of two volumes on one historical incident, he never wavers in the slightest degree from the conclusion of guilt. Having first formed his opinion in the matter—on good grounds, it is charitably to be presumed—he lays down and arranges his documents and arguments with the precision and circumstantiality of a lawyer, and no more hints at the possibility of the innocence of the queen than the crown-lawyer at that of his victim. Few who have ever read this extraordinary work can forget the startling exactness with which the arguments are suited to the facts, and to the guiding principles of the whole narrative of the renowned event laid before the reader. "Mr. Laing's merit," says a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, who refers to this work as to one peculiarly characteristic of his genius, "as a critical inquirer into history, an enlightened collector of materials, and a sagacious judge of evidence, has never been surpassed. If any man believes the innocence of Queen Mary, after an impartial and dispassionate perusal of Mr. Laing's examination of her case, the state of such a man's mind would be a subject worthy of much consideration by a philosophical observer of human nature. In spite of his ardent love of liberty, no man has yet presumed to charge him with the slightest sacrifice of historical integrity to his zeal. That he never perfectly attained the art of full, clear, and easy narrative, was

owing to the peculiar style of those writers who were popular in his youth, and may be mentioned as a remarkable instance of the disproportion of particular talents to general vigour of mind."¹

Laing was intimately acquainted with Charles Fox, with whom he conducted an ample correspondence, the letters of which on both sides still, we believe, exist unpublished, and would certainly form a very interesting addition to our epistolary information regarding great men. That eminent statesman frequently quoted the historical works of Mr. Laing, as containing matter which could be relied on for its authenticity; and Laing became an active and zealous supporter of the short administration of his friend, during which he represented his native county in parliament. It is said, that notwithstanding the disadvantages of his manner, he was listened to and much respected as a speaker; and he gave all the assistance which so short a period admitted to the plans of the ministry for improving the Scottish courts of law. After his brief appearance as a legislator, the state of his health prevented him from interfering in public business. Whether from excessive study and exertion, or his natural habit of body, he suffered under a nervous disorder of excessive severity, which committed frightful ravages on his constitution; and it is said that he was required to be frequently supported in an artificial position to prevent him from fainting. He retired to his estate in Orkney, and his health being to a certain extent restored by a cessation from laborious intellectual pursuits, his ever-active mind employed itself in useful exercise within his narrow sphere of exertion: he improved his own lands, introduced better methods of cultivation than had been previously practised in the district, and experimented in the breeding of merino sheep. He died in the end of the year 1818, having, notwithstanding the great celebrity of his works, been so much personally forgotten by the literary world, that it is with difficulty we have been enabled to collect matter sufficient for an outline of his life. He was married to Miss Carnegie, daughter of a gentleman in Forfarshire, and sister-in-law to Lord Gillies. His property was succeeded to by Samuel Laing, his elder brother.² Besides the works we have discussed above, it may be mentioned that he edited the *Life of James VI.*, published in 1804.

LAING, WILLIAM. This well-known dealer in rich and rare literary productions, whose shop was a Herculaneum of the treasures of past ages, was born in Edinburgh, on the 20th of July, 1764. After having received his education at the grammar high-school of the Canongate, he made choice of the trade of a printer for his future occupation, and served to it a six years' apprenticeship. This selection was an unlucky one, owing to the weakness of his eyes; and therefore, instead of following it out, he became a bookseller, for which his apprenticeship had completely qualified him. In his case, too, it was not the showy and ephemeral, yet money-making, books of modern literature that constituted his stock in trade; but the choicest British and foreign editions of the old classical authors of every language—works which only the learned could appreciate, in spite of the dust and dingy vellum with which they were covered. His shop for this species of unostentatious, slow-going, and precarious traffic, was first opened in the Canongate in 1785; afterwards he removed lower down the street to Chessel's Buildings, where he remained till 1803, at which date he removed to the South Bridge, where he permanently

established his emporium. During these changes his reputation as a collector of valuable old books continued to increase, until it was established among the learned over the whole island, so that his shop became a well-known repository for those scarce volumes which his thriving brethren in the trade did not possess, and probably had never even heard of. All this, too, was the fruit of ardent disinterested zeal and untiring diligence in his profession. From the year 1786 he had continued to issue an almost annual succession of catalogues. He knew all the scarce works of antiquity, as to the best editions in which they had been published, the places at which they were to be found in Britain or upon the Continent, and the prices at which they were to be purchased. And he was ready to communicate this valuable information to the literary inquirers who frequented his shop for intelligence that could not well be obtained elsewhere. The labour of travel was added to that of painstaking home research and inquiry, and that too at a time when Edinburgh booksellers and traffickers in general limited their journeys to the coast of Fife, or even the ranges of the Pentlands. Thus, in 1793, when the French revolution was at the wildest, he visited Paris, for the purpose of making himself acquainted with such knowledge of his vocation as his own country could not supply, and ascertaining what were the best editions of those authors that are most in request. It was no ordinary zeal that made him pursue such a task amidst the roar of the Parisian pikemen and the clank of the guillotine—more especially when every stranger there was at least "suspected of being suspected." Another similar pilgrimage he made in 1799. Learning that Christian VII., King of Denmark, had been advised to dispose of the numerous duplicates contained in the royal library at Copenhagen, and being instigated by the advice of the celebrated Niebuhr, at that time a student in the university of Edinburgh, Mr. Laing repaired to the Danish capital, and there made such arrangements upon the sale of the duplicates with the privy-councillor, Dr. Moldenhawer, as was satisfactory to both parties. When the peace of Amiens had introduced a breathing interval in the wars of the revolution, Mr. Laing repeatedly visited France and Holland, still for the purpose of extending his professional knowledge, which he readily imparted to the scholars of his own country. The immense amount of information he had thus acquired, was enhanced by his kind generous temper, and modest unassuming manners.

During the war that followed the delusive peace of Amiens, by which the whole Continent was closed against British visitors, Mr. Laing was worthily employed in raising the literary character of his native country in the department of printing. And for this, indeed, he saw that there was too much need. The distinguished brothers, the Foulis of Glasgow, had passed away, and left no successors in their room. In Edinburgh, so soon to assume the name of "Modern Athens," the case was still worse; for except Ruddiman's *Livy* and Cunningham's *Virgil*, no classical work had issued from her press worth mentioning. In 1804 he commenced the attempt by publishing the works of Thucydides in six volumes, small 8vo, under the following title, *Thucydides Græce et Latine; accedunt Indices: ex Editione Wassii et Dukeri*. In printing this work Mr. Laing was fortunate in having for the superintendent of the press the Rev. Peter Elmsley, who attained such a high European distinction in Grecian literature. In 1806 the works of Thucydides were followed by those of Herodotus, in seven volumes, small 8vo, under the title of *Herodotus Græce et Latine; accedunt Anno-*

¹ *Ed. Rev.* xliv. 37. ² *Ed. Annual Register*, 1812, p. 250.

latine scribit, nomen Index Latine: ex Editionibus Wesselingii et Reizii. For editing this work Mr. Laing had secured the valuable services of Professor Porson; but as the latter went no farther than the second book, the rest was carried on and completed under the superintendence of Professor Dunbar. The next classical author whose writings Mr. Laing published, in 1811, was Xenophon, in ten volumes, also of small 8vo, under the title of *Xenophontis quæ extant Opera Græcè et Latine: ex Editionibus Schæderi et Zeunii: accedit Index Latinus.* This important publication was admirably edited by Mr. Adam Dickinson, whose Greek scholarship was only equalled by his retiring modesty, that prevented his worth from being more widely known. Mr. Laing would have followed these with similar editions of the works of Plato and Demosthenes, but was prevented, chiefly by the difficulty of obtaining competent Greek scholars to superintend such important publications. Still, however, he had done much: the editions which he had published were standard specimens of their class, and have given an impulse to classical reprinting in Scotland which, we trust, will neither be fruitless nor yet soon abandoned.

During the latter part of his life, when Mr. Laing was in easy and comfortable circumstances, he was able to devote himself to the more general interests of merchandise, and to this purpose was one of the original founders of the Commercial Bank of Scotland, and also a director. After having nearly completed his sixty-eighth year, and attended business till within three days of his death, he died at his house, Ramsay Lodge, Laurieston, Edinburgh, on the 10th of April, 1832, leaving a widow and family. His name honourably survives in one of his sons, whose valuable labours are well known in Scottish history and antiquarianism.

LANDSBOROUGH, REV. DAVID, D.D. This pious divine, zealous naturalist, and poet, was born in the parish of Dalry, Kirkcudbrightshire, in 1782. After an early education, first at the school of his native parish, and afterwards at Dumfries Academy, he entered the university of Edinburgh, where he passed through the usual course of study prescribed by the church for the office of the ministry. While a student, he was also for some time tutor in the family of Sir William Miller, who was also a lord of session, under the title of Lord Glenlee, and whose influence was exerted in behalf of David Landsborough when he was licensed as a preacher. David was first an assistant in the old church of Ayr, and in 1811 was ordained as minister of the parish of Stevenston. Belonging to what was called the "evangelical" party in the Church of Scotland, he naturally felt a deep interest in that theological conflict of which the chief subject was the right of the people to elect their own minister; and when the severance known as the "Disruption" occurred, he was one of those self-denying country ministers who abandoned the Established church for the sake of those principles he had steadfastly advocated. On relinquishing the clerical charge of the parish of Stevenston, he became minister of a congregation at Saltcoats in connection with the Free Church of Scotland.

It was not until 1847—a late period in life for a poet's first appearance in the press—that he published "*Arran, a Poem in Six Cantos.*" This production was well received in its day, and is not without some poetical merit, but still not enough to buoy up a poem of six cantos, and save it from sinking into oblivion. Happily, however, his memory will rest on a sounder basis than his poetry. He had a still

stronger enthusiasm and better natural aptitude for the study of natural history, and the hours that were not occupied with the duties of his sacred calling were spent in the study of the plants, flowering and cryptogamic, with which the picturesque district in which he dwelt abounds. He thus became to his own particular locality what Gilbert White was to his parish of Selbourne. He also carried his researches into the marine and land shells, and the mysteries of fossil botany contained in the coal-fields. But as old age came on, his principal and favourite investigations were the algæ of Ardrossan and Arran, of which several of his discoveries are announced in Dr. Harvey's *Phycologia Britannica*. These contributions of the minister were so highly valued, that Dr. Harvey in gratitude conferred his name upon a little alga or seaweed, by calling it *Ectocarpus Landsburgii*. In like manner his friend Dr. Johnston of Berwick named a zoophyte after him, *Lepralia Landsburgii*. On a similar honour being conferred upon him by naming a shell as one of the *Landsburgii*, the Free Church minister sportively asked, "Is it possible to sail far down the stream of life in a scallop?"

Thus passed the life of the Rev. David Landsborough in retirement, but with a growing reputation, which, had he been ambitious of distinction, might well have compensated for the obscurity of his position; and his scientific friends, who were enlightened by his discoveries, were also charmed by the amenity of his gentle manners, and improved by his Christian example. His works connected with his favourite science were also highly appreciated. These, besides the various papers he communicated to Harvey's *Phycologia Britannica*, were the following: "*Lectures on the Animals, Algae, Crusts, and the Two Cumbraes, with Reference to the Natural History of these Islands.*" Edinburgh, 8vo, 1852; *Popular History of British Zoophytes and Coralline*, London, 8vo, 1852; and *Popular History of British Seaweeds*. He also contributed to the *Christian Herald* the biographies of several of his parishioners, and others distinguished for their excellence, which he afterwards collected and published in a small volume, under the title of *Ayrshire Sketches*. He was an associate of the Linnean Society, and had the title of Doctor in Divinity conferred upon him by an American college. Dr. Landsborough was cut off suddenly, and by cholera, on September 12, 1854.

LAUDER, SIR JOHN, Lord Fountainhall, an eminent lawyer and statesman, was born at Edinburgh, on the 2d of August, 1646.¹ His father was John (afterwards Sir John) Lauder, baronet, a merchant and baillie of Edinburgh, a younger branch and afterwards chief of the family of Lauder of Bass and Lauder. The subject of our memoir was his eldest son, by his second marriage, with Isabel Ellis, daughter of Alexander Ellis of Mortonhall. By this wife he had fourteen sons and two daughters; by a previous marriage he had three children, and by a third wife, of whom mention will be made hereafter, he had four sons and two daughters. Of the early education of young Lauder we know nothing, with the exception of a passing memorandum in his voluminous memorials of legal matters, which shows that he had passed some time at the university of Leyden, at that time the principal continental resort of stu-

¹ Register of baptisms in Edinburgh. For this and all the other information relative to Lord Fountainhall not to be found in printed works, we are indebted to a very courteous M.S. gentleman regarding him, made by his descendant, the late Sir Thomas Lauder, of which that gentleman kindly permitted us the use.

dents at law. "The university of St. Andrews," he says, "claims to be freed from paying excise for all drink furnished to the scholars, and that upon the general privilege competent to all universities by custom. I remember we enjoyed that privilege at Leyden after our immatriculation." Having accomplished his preparatory studies, he passed as an advocate on the 5th of June, 1668, and commenced the practical pursuit of his profession with vigour, after having previously, as his early proficiency as a lawyer shows us, prepared his mind by intense and accurate study. "From my admission as an advocate," he says, "in June, 1668, I began to mark the decisions of the Court of Session;" and it is to his uninterrupted industry in this occupation that we owe that valuable mass of precedents known by the name of *Fountainhall's Decisions*, published in two volumes folio, and latterly more fully re-edited from the original manuscripts. In a case which he reports during his earlier years at the bar, strong internal evidence—arising from the use of the first person singular, the unusual prolixity of the speech,¹ and the absence of the name of the counsel—shows himself to have acted in that capacity. This action was at the instance of the town of Stirling, against the unfreemen in Falkirk and Kilsyth, bearing date January 18th, and June 25th, 1672. Lauder's speech is a curious specimen of the mixed logical and rhetorical eloquence of the forensic pleading of the age, when the judges acted more as a deliberative assembly than as a body of lawyers bound to the letter of certain enactments; and the person who addressed them, if he could not sway their passions as those of a modern jury are affected, had a wide field of influence in their reason or prejudices. Contrasted with the restricted legal pleadings of the present day, the following commencement on the part of "the learned gentleman for the prosecution," would appear very singular: "My lord commissioner, may it please your grace, what happiness and cheerfulness the eminent and most eloquent of all the apostles, St. Paul, expresses, when he is put to plead his cause before Festus and Agrippa, because the one had long been a judge in his nation, and the other was expert in all the manners and customs of the Jews, the same gladness possesses the town of Stirling, and with them the whole royal burghs, that they are to plead in behalf of their privileges this day before your grace, the great patron and conservator of them." It is to be remarked that, in this case, Lauder is pleading for the exclusive privileges of burghs, and in favour of monopolies. He opens his speech with a sketch of the arguments of his adversary, on which, probably with a wish to caricature them, he has bestowed an amiable liberality of doctrine which Adam Smith could not have excelled, and told many politico-economical truths which few had then imagined. His own answers to the principles he thus beautifully lays down, sound harsh and jarring in comparison, although they were far more accordant to the principles of the time. "Do not," he says with considerable tact, "think it a light matter to rob the royal burghs of their privileges, which are become their property by as good a title as any of you bruike your lands and estate. By what hand ye shall communicate these liberties (now called in question) to the defenders, by that same shall ye lop off the royal burghs from being the third estate in the kingdom. Remember that a threefold cord ought not to be easily broken. Consider that lamentable confusion may follow on loos-

ing one pin of the government; that the touching such a fundamental sacred constitution may unhinge the whole; that government is like a sheaf of arrows fast bound: pull out one, all will follow and fall to the ground; and how terribly dangerous such an innovation may be." It will be held in mind, however, that each counsel was fee'd for the principles he maintained, and that the genuine opinions of both may have almost united in "a happy medium." The speech, on the whole, is full of classical learning and statistical information, and cannot fail to convey a pleasing idea of the intelligence and talent of a forensic orator of the seventeenth century.

Soon after this period we find the subject of our memoir connected with one of those constitutional acts of resistance for which the bar of Scotland has only, in a very few instances, been celebrated. It is well known to those acquainted with Scottish history, that a private litigation betwixt the Earls of Dunfermline and Callender interested the feelings or cupidity of Lauderdale, who was determined to influence the decision in favour of the former by swaying the judges through his personal appearance on the bench, in virtue of his honorary title of "an extraordinary lord of session." The affair was managed by having the cause prematurely called in court, in defiance of statute; and, a decision being come to in favour of the pursuer, Callender lodged an appeal to parliament, a novel procedure, which it was the interest of the king and of the judges to stifle at its first appearance. There are few who will not acknowledge that a final appeal of litigated cases to the legislative tribunal of the country, is, if not a preventive, at least a check to the consequences of influence or prejudice in inferior judicatories. The absence of such a principle, and the decay of jury trial in Scotland, had both originated from the same cause. Parliament was anciently the great jury of the nation, and, with the king as its president, the court of last resort in all litigations: but becoming, from the nature of the inferior courts, overburdened with judicial business, which a large body of men could not easily accomplish, the full powers of parliament, in this respect, were bestowed on a judicial committee called the lords auditors, from which, through a gradation of changes, was formed the Court of Session, which thus, by its origin, united the duties of the jury, the law court, and the legislative body of last resort. In these circumstances it was not difficult for government to discover that a measure so unpleasing to itself was a daring innovation of the "constitution." The counsel for the appellants, Lockhart and Cunningham, were desired to make oath regarding their share in this act of insubordination, and not only refusing, but maintaining the justice of appeals, were summarily prohibited the exercise of their profession. The members of the bar united to resent the insult and protect their rights, and fifty advocates (probably very nearly the whole number then at the bar), of whom Lauder was one,² followed their distinguished brethren to retirement, and at the instance of Lauderdale were banished twelve miles from Edinburgh. After a year's exile they were allowed to return, having managed to effect a compromise with the court. In another appeal, which was attempted not long after, the appellant was persuaded to trust to the effect of recalling his appeal; but the judges, on whom the mixture of intimidation and flattery appears to have

¹ Extending from p. 642 to 679 of Brown's *Supplement*, where it is styled "Fountainhall's Speech for the Pursuers."

² Mackenzie's *Memoirs*, 293, where Lauder, among others, subscribes an address by the debarred advocates to the privy-council. For a further account of the affair, see the memoirs of SIR G. LOCKHART and SIR G. MACKENZIE.

produced little effect, adhered, notwithstanding an implied promise to the contrary, to their previous interlocutor. "And so," remarks Lauder in reference to the case, "he was either ill or well served for his complimenting them. But the times were such that no rational man could expect a rectification from them of what had once, even though un-awares, escaped them. When their honour was once engaged at the stake, they blushed to confess what is incident to humanity itself, *nam humanum est errare*." With regard to his own sufferings for judicial integrity, he remarks, "I have few or no observations for the space of three sessions and a half, viz. from June, 1674, till January, 1676, in regard I was at that time debarred from any employment, with many other lawyers, on the account we were unclear to serve under the strict and servile ties which seemed to be imposed on us by the king's letter, discharging any to quarrel the lords of session their sentences of injustice, and was not restored till January, 1676." After his restoration to his powers, his collection of decisions shows that he was a well-employed and active counsellor.

His next appearance in public life is at the celebrated trial of the Earl of Argyle, in 1681, for a treasonable explanation of the test, for whom Lauder acted as counsel, along with Lockhart and six others. The vulgar prejudice against vindicating a person accused of any crime, together with the cautious vigilance of the crown, trammelled for a long time the legitimate powers of counsel in Scotland, and, especially in cases of treason, brought their duty so much under the arbitration of the court, that a practice prevailed by which it was considered illegal to defend a person accused of such a crime without the permission of government; and therefore every prudent advocate declined interfering till he could produce a royal warrant. In the present instance Argyle's counsel had prepared and signed, as lawyers, an "opinion" that his explanation of the test was a legal one. The consequence of this, as detailed in Lauder's own words, was, that "The council named a committee to call my lord Argyle's eight advocates, viz., Sir George Lockhart, Sir John Dalrymple, Messieurs Walter Pringle, David Thoirs, Patrick Home, John Stewart, James Graham, and myself, for subscribing an opinion that his explanation contained nothing treasonable in it. We were examined upon oath; and it was called a new practice to sign opinions with us, especially in criminal cases importing treason, and a bad preparative; though lawyers should not be prelimited nor overawed freely to plead in defence of their clients; the privy-council having authorized us to that purpose. Tho' some aimed at imprisoning and depriving us, yet, after we had spoke with his royal hynes, he was pleased to pass it; tho', he said, if any bad use were made of our signed opinion, by spreading it abroad in England to incense them, or reproach the duke or the judges, he could not but blame us. It was afterwards printed in England, and Argyle's trial, with another piece, called a *Scotch Mist to Wet ane Englishman to the Skin*: being sundry animadversions on Argyle's process."

Although his political proceedings do not seem to have been calculated to bring him within the atmosphere of court favour, he early received the dignity of knighthood; at what precise period is not known, but apparently previous to the year 1681. Much about the same period, or some years afterwards, he appears to have acted as one of the assessors to the city of Edinburgh; a circumstance discoverable from his remarking, that on the 4th of November, 1685, the other gentleman who held that

office was removed, from some cause connected with burgh politics, while he was retained.

In 1685 Sir John Lauder became a member of the committee of estates; and for more than twenty years,¹ until the treaty of union, he appears from the journals of the house to have performed his parliamentary duties with activity and zeal. He was returned for the shire of Haddington on the 23d of April, along with Sir John Wedderburn of Gosford. His election was disputed by Sir James Hay of Simplum; and the committee on controverted elections having reported that the votes were equally divided, a new election was proposed, when one of the voters for Sir James Hay being discovered to have given his vote after the election had been formally terminated, Sir John Lauder was declared the sitting member by a majority of one. Lauder was early discovered in his legislatorial, as he had been in his professional capacity, not to be a docile and obedient supporter of the measures of government. In the first parliament which he attended he refused to vote for the forfeiture of the Earl of Melville, who had fled from the wrath of government after the discovery of the Rye-house Plot.²

He was a zealous friend to the Protestant faith, when there were few in Scotland who risked an open defence of the religion to which they were so ardently attached. The government, who found it difficult to make the protection of Protestantism a crime, had nevertheless power enough to harass him. "On May 1st, 1686," he says, "Mr. James Young, son to Andrew Young, writer to the signet, is apprehended by Captain Graham, and kept in the court of guard, being delated as a copier and dispenser of a paper, containing reasons why the parliament should not consent to the dispensing with the penal laws against Papists, and reflecting in the end on such Protestants as had apostatized! and for having verses against the Bishop of St. Andrews and Bishop of Edinburgh; and he having in his examination named John Wilson and John Nasmyth, my servants,³ as bringers of these papers to his chamber, the chancellor signed an order to Captain Graham to arrest them, apprehending possibly to reach myself for libelling, as he termed it. But they having named their authors from whom they had them, were liberated, and their authors, viz. Mr. John Ellis, Robert Keill, &c., were cited."—"My two servants," he afterwards says, "being imprisoned, and I threatened therewith, as also that they would seize upon my papers and search if they contained anything offensive to the party then prevailing, I was necessitated to hide the manuscript, and many others, and intermit my historic remarks till the Revolution in the end of 1688, after which I began some observes of our meeting of estates of parliament held in 1690-93 and 95, and other occurrences foreign and domestick, briefly summed up, and drawn together yearly (but not with such enlargements as I have used here), and are to be found up and downe in several manuscripts besyde me, to be reviewed *cum dabit otium Deus*."

When James made his well-known recommendation to the parliament of Scotland to rescind the penal statutes against Roman Catholics, Lauder joined in the debate on the appropriate answer, in a spirit of moderation, which, according to the amount of

¹ The record shows him to have been returned of the following dates: 23d April, 1685; 29th April, 1686; 3d September, 1690; 9th May, 1695; 8th September, 1696; 21st May, 1700; 6th May, 1703; 6th July, 1704; 28th June, 1705; 3d October, 1706.—*Act. Parl.* vols. viii. ix. x.

² *Act Parl.* ix. Ap. 45.

³ The term "servant" is invariably used by Lauder and other lawyers of the period for "clerk."

his charity, the reader may attribute to prudence, or liberality, or both united. On the question, what term the parliament should bestow on those who professed the Romish faith, "I represented," says he, "that there was no man within the house more desirous to have these odious marks of division buried, and that we might all be united under the general name of Christian. It is true the names under which they were known in our law were the designations of the papistical kirk, heresy, error, superstition, popish idolatry, and maintainers of the cruel decrees of the council of Trent; and though it was not suitable to the wisdom and gravity of parliament to give them a title implying as if they were the true church, and we but a sect, yet I wished some soft appellation, with the least offence, might be fallen on, and therefore I proposed it might run thus, *those commonly called Roman Catholics*; that the most part of our divines calls us the catholics, and so Chamier begins his *Panstratia*, 'Vertuntur controversiæ, *Catholicos inter et Papistas*.' The chancellor called this a nicknaming of the king, and proposed it might run in general terms thus, *as to those subjects your majesty has recommended to us*," &c. The motion of the Archbishop of Glasgow, that they should be simply termed "Roman Catholics"—a repetition of the king's own words—was finally carried. But however he might be inclined to be conciliatory about epithets, Lauder resisted with firmness the strong attempt made by James and his commissioner, the Earl of Moray, towards the conclusion of the parliament, finally to abolish the penalties against Roman Catholics. In his manuscripts are preserved seventeen closely written pages of matter on this subject, entitled "A Discourse in defence, whereof part was spoken in the Parliament, of the Penal Laws against Popery, and why the Toleration Act should not Pass; and the rest was intended, but was prevented by the sudden rising of the Parliament." Frequent application, often in the most contemptible of causes, has made the arguments contained in this able document too hackneyed to please a modern taste; an impartial posterity, however, will reflect, that though liberal feeling has often been disgusted by a similar discussion of a question which to this day bears the same name, the supporters of the penal laws against Roman Catholics in the reign of James VII. were not striking against freedom of opinion; that they were a party which had just halted from a battle for their own privileges and liberties, and once more beheld them sternly menaced; that they did not wish to dictate to the consciences of an oppressed body of men, but were boldly preserving the purity of their own, by using the only means in their power to prevent the resuscitation of a church which sat in judgment over the mind, and was armed with a sword to compel obedience to its dictates. "It were," says Lauder, "a strange excess and transport of Christian lenity and moderation, to abolish our laws against Papists, who, by the principles and practice of their church, may show no favour to us; but will turn the weapons we arm them with to the total subversion of our religion:" words which had a meaning when a bigoted papal monarch sat on the throne, and the horrors of a high-commission were in too fresh recollection; but which have none when used towards that body grown poor and powerless, and only desiring to enjoy their own religion in peace.

We must not omit to mention that at the trial of the Duke of Monmouth in 1686, Sir John Lauder and other two counsel were employed to protest for the interest of the duchess, who was absolute pro-

prietrix of the estate enjoyed by her husband. The criminal court would not condescend to receive a protest in a matter purely civil; but did condescend to forfeit the property of the duchess for the crime of her husband. It was afterwards, however, given back by the king.

We pause in the history of his political career to record a few domestic events which characterized the life of Sir John Lauder. He had been married on the 21st January, 1669, to Janet Ramsay, daughter of Sir Andrew Ramsay, Lord Abbotshall, whose father was the celebrated Andrew Ramsay, minister of the Grayfriars' Church. This lady, after bearing him eleven children, died in 1686. Her husband has thus affectionately noted the event, "27 Februarii, 1686, at night happened *mors charissimæ meæ conjugis mihi amarissima et luctuosissima*; so there is little to the 10th of March, I not having come abroad till then." On the margin is written *nota non obliviscenda*. In the curious familiar memorials which he has left behind him we find frequent instances of that warm domestic feeling which is often the private ornament of men illustrious for their public and political intrepidity. To any disaster in his numerous family—for he had seven children by a second wife—we sometimes meet such simple allusions as the following, buried among the legal notanda or the political events of that feverish period: "17 Decembris, 1695, I entered on the bills; and my dear child Robert dying this day, the observes are the fewer, in respect of my absence for two days, and my other affairs, which diverted my constant attention that week." Again, "21 July, 1696, Tuesday: my dear son William dying this day, I was absent till his burial was over." Sir John was a second time married, on the 26th of March, 1687, to Marion Anderson, daughter of Anderson of Balram, who survived him.

The domestic tranquillity of this excellent man was long harassed by the machinations of a step-mother—his father's third wife, of whose heteroclitie proceedings we must give a slight sketch. This woman, Margaret Ramsay, daughter to George Ramsay of Iddington, to whom Sir John Lauder's father was united in 1670, at the ripe age of eighty-six, prevailed on her husband to procure a baronet's title, which he obtained in July, 1688, and the lady, showing that she had more important designs than the gratification of female vanity, managed, by an artifice for which parental affection can scarcely form an excuse, to get the patent directed to her own son George, and the other heirs male of her body, without any reference to the children of the previous marriage.

A document among the papers of Sir John Lauder, being a draft of an indictment, or criminal libel, at the instance of the lord-advocate, before the privy-council, against the lady and her relations, gives us his own account of the transaction: it is dated 1690, and commences "Memorandum for Sir John Lauder, to raise an libell at privy counsell at the instance of Sir J. D. (Sir John Dalrymple), his majesty's advocate, for his majesty's interest, and of Sir John Lauder, Mr. William and Andrew Lauders, his brothers german, against Margaret Ramsay," &c. Neither the *Medea* of Euripides, nor the old ballad of *Lord Randal my Son*, gives a more *beau idéal* picture of the proceedings of the "cruel step-dame," than this formidable document. It accuses her of having "wearied her husband by her excessive importunity and ambition to procure and accept ane knight baronet's patent;" that, having managed through her relations to direct the destination in the manner we have mentioned, the old gentleman im-

mediately sent the patent to Mr. Robert Lauder to be altered, and Mr. Robert, certainly not having the fear of what are awfully termed consequences before his eyes, proceeded to his duty, when the enraged lady, "with several others of her accomplices, intending by force to have taken the patent from him, threatened to see his heart's blood if he did not deliver it presently." Farther, "to fright her husband to comply with her unreasonable and unjust demands, she threatened that she would starve herself if that patent was not taken to her son, and that she would kill herself if she saw any of the complainers come near the house, and if he did not absolutely discharge them his presence;" and still more emphatically, "she tore the clothes off her body, and the hoods off her head, and sware fearful oaths, that she would drown herself and her children, and frequently cursed the complainers, and defamed and traduced them in all places, and threatened that she hoped to see them all rooted out, they and their posterity, off the face of the earth, and her children would succeed to all."¹ A decree appears to have been obtained against the defenders in the privy-council; and the patent being reduced in the civil court, a new destination was obtained, by which Sir John Lauder succeeded to the family title and estates on the death of his father in 1692.

Meantime, the Revolution had brought him a relief from the dangers and difficulties of opposition, and the hope of preferment and influence. He was appointed a lord of session, and took his seat with the title of "Lord Fountainhall," on the 1st November, 1689. On the 27th of January following he was also nominated a lord of justiciary. In 1692 Sir John Lauder was offered the lucrative and influential situation of lord-advocate; but the massacre of Glencoe, an act characteristic of a darker age and a bloodier people, had just taken place; the lukewarmness, if not criminality, of the government formed an impediment, and, to his honour be it mentioned, he would not accept the proffered situation except on the condition of being allowed to prosecute the murderers. At the time when the Scottish parliament found it necessary to strike a blow for the property of the nation invested in the Darien scheme, it was proposed that the parliament should vote an address to the king, calling on him to vindicate the honour of Scotland, and protect the company. The more determined spirits in that exasperated assembly demanded an act as the legitimate procedure of an independent body. Among these was Lauder. The address was carried by 108 to 84, and a body of those who voted otherwise, with Hamilton and Lauder at their head, recorded their dissent.² He began at this period to show opposition to the measures of government. Along with Hamilton he recorded a dissent from the motion of the high-commissioner, for continuing for four months the forces over and above the 3000 which constituted the regular establishment.³ He attended parliament during the tedious discussion

of the several articles of the union, and we find his protest frequently recorded, although to one or two articles, which did not involve the principle of an incorporating union, he gave his assent. In the final vote his name is recorded among the noes.

Soon after the union, on the appointment of circuits, old age interfered with Lord Fountainhall's performance of all his laborious duties, and after some unwillingness on the part of royalty to lose so honest a servant, he resigned his justiciary gown, and a short time before his death he gave up his seat in the Court of Session. This good and useful man died in September, 1722, leaving to his numerous family a considerable fortune, chiefly the fruit of his own industry. On a character which has already spoken for itself through all the actions of a long life, we need not dilate. His high authority as a rational lawyer is well known to the profession. His industry was remarkable. His manuscripts, as extant, fill ten folio and three quarto volumes; and there is reason to believe, from his references, that several were lost.

In 1822 was published "*Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs from 1680 till 1701*," being chiefly taken from the Diary of Lord Fountainhall. Unfortunately this volume is not taken from the original manuscript, but from an abridged compilation by a Mr. Milne, a writer in Edinburgh; a fierce Jacobite, who has disturbed the tranquil observations of the judge with his own fiery additions, apparently judging that his cause might be well supported by making an honest adversary tell falsehoods in its favour. A genuine selection from the historical manuscripts of Lord Fountainhall, however, was published by the Bannatyne Club in 1840 and 1848, under the titles of *Historical Observes*, and *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs*, by which much light is thrown upon the political events and social condition of the period.

LAUDER, SIR THOMAS DICK, Bart. This multifarious and distinguished writer was the eldest son of Sir Andrew Lauder, Bart., of Fountainhall, Haddingtonshire, and was born in 1784. The family was originally of Norman extraction, its founder, De Lavedre, having come from England with Malcolm Canmore, when the latter drove Macbeth from the Scottish throne; and from him descended a race who took part in all the subsequent wars of Scottish independence, and fought gallantly under the banners of Wallace, Bruce, and the Douglases. It was natural that these family recollections should influence the early studies of Sir Thomas, and inspire him with that love of chivalry and antiquarian research which he afterwards turned to such good account. At an early period he entered the army, and was an officer in the 79th regiment (Cameron Highlanders). Here he continued only a short period; and on quitting the army he took up his residence in Morayshire, where he married Miss Cumming, only child and heiress of George Cumming, Esq. of Relugas, a beautiful property on the banks of the Findhorn. From this time till the close of life he was fully occupied with the civil appointments he held, and with the pursuits of science and literature, in which he sustained a high reputation to the end.

The first efforts of Sir Thomas in authorship, so far as can be ascertained, were in the departments of natural science; and his diligence in these studies is well attested by his numerous contributions to the scientific journals of the day, and especially to the *Annals of Philosophy*, edited by the late Thomas Thomson, professor of chemistry in the university of Glasgow. To this magazine we find him, in 1815 and the three following years, contributing papers on

¹ Notwithstanding her ferocity, this woman seems to have managed to be regretted at her death. She is the only person to whom, from the date April 18, 1773, we can apply a piece of tragedy. "In idem patre generis omnia Domina D.A. Fountainhall, Eligium, ad usum et captum adolescentuli comitum 5000 Alesandri. Lauder, ex industria accommodatum." It thus elegantly commences:—

"An quæ matris ex genere stemmate nata
Fatorum rigido numine, sancta cadis."

Or, as it is Englished—

"Fallen by the dismal stroke of harsher fate,
Because by birth, but broke by virtue, great."

Pamphlets Ad. Lib. M. 4.4.

² *Act. Parl.* x. 269.

³ *Act. Parl.* x. 274.

the following subjects, from which the nature of his researches can best be understood:—"Account of a Toad Found in the Trunk of a Beech;" "Account of the Worm with which the Stickleback is infested;" "Account of the Aluminous Chalybeate Spring which has lately appeared on the Property of Sir Andrew Lauder Dick, Bart., at Fountainhall, in East Lothian." (To this he subsequently added a register of its diurnal alternations contrasted with the barometer, during nineteen months, a daily list of which had been made by his father, who was also a lover of natural science.) "An Account of the Earthquake in Scotland;" "Account of Different Currents of Wind observed at the same time." But the most important of his philosophical investigations, upon which he had spent much study, and made more than one exploratory journey to the wilds of Lochaber, was contained in his paper "On the Parallel Roads of Glenroy," which he read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1818. These singular roads, it was generally supposed, had been constructed either by the ancient Celtic kings of Scotland when their royal abode was the castle of Inverlochy, or by the Fingalian "car-borne" chiefs who had flourished at a still earlier period. Sir Thomas, however, attempted to show, by a careful induction, that these stupendous pathways, instead of being constructed by kings, heroes, or primitive giants, had been formed by the action of the waters of a lake that had stood at different heights, corresponding with those of the shelves, until it had finally burst through its latest barrier in consequence of some great natural convulsion—probably the same that formed the great glen of Scotland through which the Caledonian Canal has been carried. This simple theory, although it sorely discomfited the lovers of the wonderful, and worshippers of "superstitious eld," was greatly admired by the sober and scientific, not only for its originality, but the powerful array of facts and arguments adduced to support it, illustrated as it farther was by eight drawings, with which Sir Thomas accompanied his dissertation. This essay, with engravings of his sketches, was published in the *Transactions of the Society*. He had thus not only the merit of throwing new light upon the theory of natural geological formations in opposition to the artificial, but of directing particular attention to these phenomena of Lochaber, which have been investigated by subsequent geologists, among whom may be mentioned Mr. Milne and Sir G. S. M'Kenzie. Another subject of scarcely less importance, that occupied the researches of Sir Thomas, was the natural transport, by means of ice, of a large boulder on the shore of the Moray Frith. His account of this huge isolated stone, and his conjectures as to the mode in which it had found its ultimate landing-place, was published in the third volume of the *Wernerian Transactions*; while his theory formed the basis on which several scientific writers afterwards endeavoured to account for still more important revolutions by means of ice, which had been effected over a large portion of the earth's surface.

The nature of these studies, extending over so many fields, and the reputation which they had already won for him, would have constituted a stock in life upon which most of our comfortable country-gentlemen would have contentedly reposed to the end. But the mind of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder possessed an amount of intellectual vigour that could not be so easily satisfied; he had only thus commenced, not concluded, his career; and after having begun with science, he turned, by way of relief, to the lighter departments of literature, through which he was to be better known to the world at large, than

by his more laborious investigations among migratory rocks and water-chiselled highways. On the commencement of *Blackwood's Magazine*, at the beginning of 1817, he became one of its earliest contributors; and his first tale which appeared in it, under the title of "Simon Ray, Gardener at Dumphail," was written with such vigour and truthfulness, that, for a time at least, it was supposed to have proceeded from no other pen than that of Sir Walter Scott himself. Some impression of this kind, indeed, seems at first to have been made by the anonymous contribution upon the conductors of the magazine also, for they appended to the tale the flattering announcement of "Written, we have no doubt, by the author of *Waverley*." The great era of magazines had now fully commenced, as well as that of steam, in which the impatient mind, no longer booked for the slow conveyance of folios and quartos, was to be carried onward with railway speed; and to the most important of these periodicals Sir Thomas became a frequent and welcome contributor. Besides these light but attractive sketches, he also became a writer in the grave methodical pages of the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, for which he drew up the statistical account of the province of Moray. It was in the midst of these and such other literary occupations that he succeeded to the baronetcy of Fountainhall, by the death of his father in 1820, and was the seventh who had enjoyed that title.

After having preluded for some time in the department of fiction, and as an anonymous contributor to the periodicals, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, having now fully essayed his strength, adventured upon the decisive three-volume experiment, by publishing his historical romances of *Lochindhu* and the *Wolf of Badenoch*. The scenery of both of these works was laid in Morayshire, a county with which he was so well acquainted, while the time of action was that which succeeded the days of Bruce, the period when chivalrous warfare was at the hottest in Scotland, while it had Froissart for the chronicler of some of its best passages of arms. It was a right perilous attempt to follow the sandalled steps of the warrior monk; and Sir Thomas, stalwart though he was, and a knight to boot, was scarcely able to keep pace with his mighty leader. But who, indeed, would read modern chivalrous romances in the hope of finding newer and more stirring deeds of warlike emprise, after what Froissart has written?—or search for keener ridicule of the fooleries of chivalry than can be found in the pages of Cervantes? The attempts of Sir Thomas, therefore, in these productions, partook somewhat of the inferiority of Smollet, when the latter endeavoured, in his *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, to produce an English similitude of *Don Quixote de la Mancha*. It happened unfortunately also for *Lochindhu* and the *Wolf of Badenoch*, that their author, not content with entering a field so preoccupied, must needs accommodate himself to the language of the period, by interlacing his phraseology with antique and consequently uncouth words; and thus his style, which after all would have been a *patois* unintelligible to the fourteenth century, of which it purports to be the type, becomes utter barbarism to readers of the nineteenth, for whose gratification it was written. This is generally the fate of such literary compromises; and Sir Walter Scott was guilty of the same blunder when, in his romance of *Ivanhoe*, he jumbled together the characters and events of the early period of Richard Cœur de Lion with the refinements of that of Richard II., and crowned the whole with the English phraseology of the days of Queen Elizabeth. But, in spite of these incongruities, *Ivanhoe* is a magnificent epic, and

Lochinhu and the *Wolf* are heart-stirring captivating romances. In scenic description and delineation of events Sir Thomas has approached the nearest to Scott of all the ambitious imitators of the "Great Unknown" of the period. But it is in individuality of character that he chiefly fails, and his knights, like the brave Gyas, and the brave Cloanthes, are little more than facsimiles of each other. They have all the same complement of thews and bones, and are equally prompt to use them; and they only differ by virtue of the scenery with which they are surrounded, and the historical actions of which they form a part.

But of all the works which Sir Thomas Dick Lauder has produced, that entitled *The Moray Floods in 1829*, is perhaps the one by which he will continue to be best appreciated. He had himself not only been an eye-witness of these tremendous inundations, but an active philanthropist in the relief of those who had been ruined by the havoc; and the account which he wrote of the event will long be prized by the lovers of vigorous writings, and vivid, poetical, and truthful description. Another descriptive work which he produced, commemorative of a great national event, was the *Queen's Visit to Scotland in 1842*. But reverting during this long interval to that kind of study which gave full scope to his imagination, as well as brought the varied resources of his experience and observation into complete act and use, he published his "*Highland Rambles, with Long Tales to Shorten the Way*," a work which, independently of its attractive narratives, is an interesting memorial of the Celtic character, manners, and superstitions, and the intimate knowledge which he had acquired of them. Besides these original productions, he edited *Gilpin's Forest Scenery*, and *Sir Uvedale Price on the Picturesque*. To the latest period of his life, also, he continued to be a contributor to our periodicals, in which his articles, chiefly consisting of Highland and Lowland tales and sketches, were always gladly welcomed by the reading public. These, we doubt not, if collected and published in a separate work, would soon become the most popular of his literary productions.

From the foregoing account it might be supposed that the life of Sir Thomas had been chiefly spent in the study; and that when he emerged into society, it was rather for the purpose of enjoying relief, than taking an active part in its occupations. But, on the contrary, he was an industrious, public-spirited man, fully conscious of the duties of his position, and indefatigable in promoting the best interests of his country. In this way he bestirred himself in the great political questions of the day, and was one of the most active promoters in Scotland of the reform bill. In 1839 he was appointed secretary to the Board of Scottish Manufactures, which was soon afterwards united by the lords of the treasury to the Board of White Herring Fishery; and as secretary of both his labours were sufficiently diversified, as well as widely distinguished from each other. It was a Janus-like office, that required a double and opposite inspection—or rather, a planting of "one foot on sea and one on shore," like the very personification of an inconstant man, which Shakspeare's ditty so touchingly describes. But faithfully and ably were these opposite functions discharged. In his department of manufactures Sir Thomas quickly perceived that, in consequence of the extension of our commercial and manufacturing operations, the original purpose for which the Scottish board had been created was in a considerable degree superseded. He therefore endeavoured to restore it to full efficiency, by adapting it to the progress of modern im-

provement; and for this purpose he proposed that its surplus funds should be employed in the extension of schools for teaching pattern-drawing. On the proposal being sanctioned, he carried it into execution so zealously, that artistic taste was diffused anew throughout our manufactories of fanciful design, and a love of the fine arts promoted among those classes that had hitherto been contented with humble imitations of foreign excellence. His task as secretary of the White Herring Fishery Board was fulfilled with equal diligence; and as one of its duties was an annual voyage round the British coast, and an examination of its places of export, he turned the experience he thus acquired to good account, by aiding in the supply of materials for a narrative of the voyage in 1842, which was written by Mr. Wilson, the naturalist, who accompanied him. He also wrote several books of directions for the taking and curing of herring, cod, ling, tusk, and other fish, which were translated into Gaelic for the instruction of the Highlanders. While so much was accomplished in the course of his professional duties, he was not neglectful of those public movements which concerned the general weal, and from which he might have excused himself under the plea of a press of occupation elsewhere. Among these public-spirited exertions we can only allude in passing to the interest he took in the proceedings of the original Scott Monument Committee, of which he was one of the most active agents—and his efforts for the construction of the Queen's Drive round Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crag, already become the fairest ornament of the fairest of European cities.

Such was the life of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder to the close—a twofold life of diligent study and active exertion, in each of which he was a benefactor to society, and a distinguished ornament of his country; while several of his writings, translated into the French and German languages, acquired for him a European reputation. His private worth and amenity of character had endeared him also to the learned and talented, so that scholars, authors, and artists sought his society, and were benefited by his counsel and conversation. Even strangers were arrested, as he passed along the streets of Edinburgh, by the sight of his noble stately form, long white locks, and remarkably handsome expressive countenance, and felt convinced at once that this man must be some one as much distinguished above his fellows by intellectual as by personal superiority. This round of activity was only interrupted by his last illness, which was occasioned by a tumour on the spine, that for fifteen months incapacitated him for attendance at the Board of Trustees for Manufactures, &c., and finally obliged him to lay aside a work descriptive of the rivers of Scotland, of which part had already appeared in a serial form in *Tail's Magazine*. He died at his residence called the Grange, near Edinburgh, on the 29th May, 1848, at the age of sixty-four.

Independently of the offices we have mentioned, Sir Thomas held that of deputy-lieutenant of the county of Haddington; he was also a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He was survived by two sons and six daughters, and succeeded in the baronetcy by his eldest son, Captain Dick, who, a short time previously, had retired from the army after fourteen years of military service as an officer in the East India Company.

LAUDER, WILLIAM, a man renowned in literary history for having turned superior talents, and very high classical acquirements, to an attempt to defraud Milton of his fame. Of the period of his birth, which has escaped the patient investigation of Chalmers,

we are totally ignorant. The earlier part of his life was passed in great obscurity, although it has been ascertained from his own remarks—in after-life we believe—that he was connected, and not very distantly, with the respectable family of Lauder of Fountainhall. He received all his education in Edinburgh, and passed through the university with considerable credit. After leaving college he seems to have immediately resorted to teaching, as a means of gaining a livelihood; but his early career in this profession was for some time interrupted by an accident, which must have materially affected his future course of life. While standing near a party engaged in the game of golf, on Bruntfield Links, near Edinburgh, a ball struck him on the knee; the wound, which cannot have been very serious, festered from careless treatment, and he was compelled to submit to the amputation of his leg.¹ In 1734 he was employed by Professor Watt, then in bad health, to teach for him the class of humanity or Latin; and on the death of that gentleman he naturally exerted himself to procure an appointment as successor; but though he had talents to teach, he had not sufficient influence to be appointed a professor. We are, however, informed that on this occasion the professors gratuitously honoured him with “a testimonial from the heads of the university, certifying that he was a fit person to teach humanity in any school or college whatever.”² After this disappointment his ambition sunk to an application for the subordinate situation of keeper to the university library, but this also was denied him. He appears indeed to have been a person whose disposition and character produced a general dislike, which was only to a small extent balanced by his talent and high scholarship. “He was,” says Chalmers, with characteristic magniloquence, “a person about five feet seven inches high, who had a sallow complexion, large rolling fiery eyes, a stentorian voice, and a sanguine temper;” and Ruddiman has left, in a pamphlet connected with the subject of our memoir, a manuscript note, observing, “I was so sensible of the weakness and folly of that man, that I shunned his company as far as decently I could.” Ruddiman’s opinion, however, if early entertained, did not prevent him from forming an intimate literary connection with its subject.

In 1738 Lauder printed a proposal to publish by subscription *A Collection of Sacred Poems*, “with the assistance of Professor Robert Stewart, Professor John Ker (professor of Greek in Aberdeen, and afterwards of Latin in Edinburgh), and Mr. Thomas Ruddiman.” The promised work was published by Ruddiman in 1739, and forms the two well-known volumes called *Poetiarum Scriptorum Musa Sacra*.³ What assistance Stewart and Ker may have given to this work appears not to be known; Ruddiman provided several notes and three poems. This work was creditable both to the scholar and typographer. It contains a beautiful edition of the translation of the Psalms and the Song of Solomon by Arthur Johnston, and similar sacred poems of merit by Ker, Adamson, and Hog; it contains likewise a reprint of Eglisliam’s somewhat ludicrous attempt to excel Buchanan’s best translated psalm, the 104th,⁴ with

the sarcastic “judicium” of Barclay on the respective merits of the competitors,⁵ and several minor sacred poems by Scottish authors are dispersed through the collection. The classical merit of these elegant poems has, we believe, never been disputed by those who showed the greatest indignation at the machinations of their editor; nor is their merit less, as furnishing us with much biographical and critical information on the Latin literature of Scotland, among which may be mentioned a well-written life of Arthur Johnston, and the hyperbolic praises which proved so detrimental to the fame of that poet. To support the fame of the author he had delighted to honour, Lauder afterwards engaged in the literary controversy about the comparative merits of Buchanan and Johnston, known by the name “Belum Grammaticale.”⁶

In 1740 the General Assembly recommended the Psalms of Johnston as a useful exercise in the lower classes of the grammar-schools; but Lauder never realized from his publication the permanent annual income which he appears to have expected, “because,” says Chalmers, “he had allowed expectation to outrun probability.” In 1742 Lauder was recommended by Mr. Patrick Cumming, professor of church history in the university of Edinburgh, and the celebrated Colin Maclaurin, as a person fitted to hold the rectorship of the grammar-school of Dundee, which had been offered to his coadjutor Ruddiman in 1710; he was again, however, doomed to suffer disappointment, and in bitterness of spirit, and despair of reaching in his native place the status to which his talents entitled him, he appears to have fled to London, where he adopted the course which finally led to the ruin of his literary reputation. His first attempts on the fame of Milton were contained in letters addressed to the *Gentleman’s Magazine* in 1747, which that publication, certainly without due caution regarding charges so suspicious, unreservedly admitted for publication. The literary world indeed received the attacks on the honesty of the great poet with singular complacency, and the periodicals contained praises of the acuteness and industry of Lauder, some of which he afterwards ostentatiously published. The first person who attempted a discovery of the true merit of the attack was the Rev. Mr. Richardson, author of *Zoilomastix*, who, on the 8th of January, 1749, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, in which he maintained the falsity of Lauder’s quotations from some books not very well known even to the learned world, particularly insisting that the passage “non me judice,” which Lauder had “extracted” from Grotius, was not to be found in that author, and that passages said to be from Masenius and Staphorstius belonged to a partial translation of Milton’s *Paradise Lost* by Hog, who had written twenty years subsequently to the death of Milton.⁷ Although the editor of the *Gentleman’s Magazine* arrogated to himself the praise of candour for admitting the strictures of Lauder, yet this communication was not published until the forgeries had been detected in another quarter, on the ground of unwillingness to give currency to so grave and unexpected a charge, without full examination.

In 1750 Lauder, having brought his design to ma-

¹ Chalmers’ *Ruddiman*, 146.

² Nichols’ *Anecdotes*, ii. 136.

³ *Poetiarum Scriptorum Musa Sacra, sive quatuor sacri codicis scriptorum, Davidis et Solomonis, Jobi et Jeremii, poetici libri, per totidem Scotos, Arch. Johnstonem, et J. Kerrum P. Adamsonum, et G. Hogerum, Latino carmine redditi: quibus ob argumenti similitudinem, obnectantur alia Scotorum titulum operiscula sacra.* Edinb. Kaildini: 1739.

⁴ *Certamen cum Georgio Buchanano pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.*

⁵ *Barclai Judicium de Certamine Eglisemmii cum G. Buchanano pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.*

⁶ For farther information on this matter see the memoir of ARTHUR JOHNSTON in this Collection. The reader may remark that we have there praised the classical acquirements of Auditor Benson if he was the author of the life of Johnston prefixed to the edition of his *Psalms*. The circumstance that the life in the *Musa Sacra* is exactly the same leads to the conclusion that it is by Lauder.

⁷ *Gent. Mag.* xx. 535.

turity, published his *Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns* in his "Paradise Lost," to which he prefixed as a motto the very appropriate line from the author he traduced, "Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme." The reader is aware that this book consists of a tissue of passages from obscure authors, from which it is maintained that Milton surreptitiously filched the materials of *Paradise Lost*. In the list are two of the critic's own countrymen, Andrew Ramsay and Alexander Ross, both respectable Latin versifiers and good scholars, but neither likely to have been suspected of giving much aid to Milton; in the introduction of the former of these the critic may have gratified a little family pride—he was father-in-law to Lord Fountainhall, and consequently a connection or relation of the author. Had the author confined his book to the tracing of such passages of Milton as accident has paralleled in far inferior poems, he might have produced a curious though not very edifying book: and, indeed, he has given us a sufficient number of such genuine passages to make us wonder at his industry, and admire the ingenuity with which he has adapted them to the words of Milton; but when he produces masses of matter, the literal translations of which exactly coincide with the poem unequalled in the eyes of all mankind, we express that astonishment at the audacity of the author which we would have felt regarding the conduct of Milton had the attempt remained undetected. As he spreads a deeper train of forgery and fraud round the memory of his victim, the author's indignation and passion increase, and from the simple accusation of copying a few ideas and sentences from others, passion and prejudice rouse him to accuse Milton of the most black and despicable designs in such terms as these: "I cannot omit observing here that Milton's contrivance of teaching his daughters to read, but to read only, several learned languages, plainly points the same way as Mr. Phillips' secreting and suppressing the books to which his uncle was most obliged. Milton well knew the loquacious and incontinent spirit of the sex, and the danger, on that account, of intrusting them with so important a secret as his unbounded plagiarism: he therefore wisely confined them to the knowledge of the words and pronunciation only, but kept the sense and meaning to himself." It is generally believed that a character for probity is so dear to every man, that nothing but the temptation of gain, mingled generally with a prospect of concealment, will prompt a man to dishonesty. Here, however, was a man whose object could not be gain, courting that which depends more than any other acquisition upon probity of mind—real or assumed fame; and doing so by a bold act of dishonesty, which could not escape discovery, and which, in proportion as he had traduced others, would be revisited upon himself. "As I am sensible," he solemnly says at the conclusion, "this will be deemed most outrageous usage of the divine, the immortal Milton, the prince of English poets, and the incomparable author of *Paradise Lost*, I take this opportunity to declare, in the most solemn manner, that a strict regard to TRUTH alone, and to do justice to those authors whom Milton has so liberally gleaned, without making the least distant acknowledgment to whom he stood indebted: I declare, I say, that these motives, and these only, have induced me to make this attack upon the reputation and memory of a person hitherto universally applauded and admired for his uncommon poetical genius: and not any difference of country, or of sentiments in political or religious matters, as some weak and ignorant minds may imagine, or some malicious persons may be disposed

to suggest." The violence of party spirit to which Lauder here alludes has been alleged as a partial excuse, or rather motive, for his audacious act: but it may be more charitably, if not more naturally, presumed, that the accidental discovery of a few of the parallel passages we have alluded to above had prompted him to form a theory of universal plagiarism on the part of Milton, which a more than ordinary perverseness in favour of the creation of his own mind prompted him rather to support by falsehood than resign; while, as he afterwards partially admitted, spleen and disappointment may have sufficiently blackened his heart to make him scruple at no means of gaining celebrity, and triumphing over the world that had oppressed him. Add to this the angry feelings which may have been roused, and the real injury done to his interest, by a ludicrous contrast of his favourite author Johnston with Milton, in that passage of the *Dunciad* which is levelled at the literary predilections of Benson:—

"On two unequal crutches propp'd he came;
Milton's on this, on that one Johnston's name."

There is no crime so severely punished by the world as injustice, which is always repaid by a repetition of itself; hence the learned world which applauded the courage and ingenuity of Lauder, on the appearance of a full and explicit detection of his crimes, by his countryman Dr. Douglas,¹ were seized with a confirmed hatred against the person who had duped them, and would not admit to his degraded name the talents and information he undoubtedly possessed and displayed. Lauder subscribed a confession, addressed to Dr. Douglas, explaining his whole conduct to have been caused by the neglect with which the world had looked on his previous labours. This confession is said to have been dictated by Dr. Johnson, who was one of those on whom Lauder had imposed, or rather of those who chose to submit to be imposed on, which we may safely trace, in his case, to the grudge he never ceased to bear towards the republican poet. The connection of Johnson with Lauder's work is indeed somewhat mysterious. In a manuscript note on the margin of Archdeacon Blackburne's remarks on the life of Milton, Johnson has said, "In the business of Lauder I was deceived, partly by thinking the man too frantic to be fraudulent."² But others have alleged, that he did more than believe the statements of Lauder, and even gave assistance to the work. Dr. Lort had a volume of tracts on the controversy, in which he wrote, "Dr. Samuel Johnson has been heard to confess, that he encouraged Lauder to this attack upon Milton, and revised his pamphlet, to which he wrote a preface and postscript." On the same subject Dr. Douglas remarks, "It is to be hoped, nay, it is expected, that the elegant and nervous writer whose judicious sentiments and inimitable style point out the author of Lauder's preface and postscript, will no longer allow one to plume himself with his feathers who appeareth so little to deserve assistance; an assistance which, I am persuaded, would never have been communicated, had there been the least suspicion of those facts which I have been the instrument of conveying to the world in these sheets."³ Boswell repels the insinuation that Johnson assisted in the preparation of the body of the work, assuring us that Douglas did not wish to create such a suspicion; while he acknowledges the preface and postscript to

¹ Milton Vindicated from the charge of Plagiarism brought against him by Lauder; and Lauder himself convicted of several forgeries and gross impositions on the public, in a letter addressed to the Right Hon. the Earl of Bath, 1751 (by Dr. Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury).

² Nichols' *Anecdotes*, ii. 551.

³ Second edition, 78.

have been the work of his hands.¹ On a first perusal of the book we were indeed struck with the sonorous eloquence and majesty of the commencement and termination, when compared to the bareness of the other portions of the work, and a slight hint is quite sufficient to convince us of the authorship. The postscript contains matter much at variance with the other contents of the book, and had it been the work of Lauder, it might have gone far to redeem at least the soundness of his heart from the opprobrium which has been heaped upon him. It called for the admirers of Milton's works to join in a subscription to the grand-daughter of Milton, who then lived in an obscure corner of London, in age, indigence, and sickness.

Notwithstanding his penitence, a desire to traduce the fame of Milton seems to have haunted this unhappy man like an evil spirit. In 1754 he published *The Grand Impostor Detected, or Milton detected of Forgery against King Charles I.* An answer to this pamphlet appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1754, supposed to be from the hand of Johnson. After this period Lauder quitted England, and for some time taught a school in Barbadoes. "His behaviour there," says Nichols, "was mean and despicable; and he passed the remainder of his life in universal contempt. He died some time about the year 1771, as my late friend Isaac Reed was informed by the gentleman who read the funeral service over him."² Chalmers mentions that there was published in 1754 (probably just after his retreat from London), a pamphlet entitled "*Furtus: or a Modest Attempt towards a History of the Life and Surprising Exploits of the Famous W. L., Critic and Thief-catcher,*" a somewhat inappropriate name for the traducer of Milton.

LAW, JOHN, of Lauriston, comptroller-general of the finances of France under the regency of Orleans, was born at Edinburgh, in the month of April, 1671. His mother, Jean Campbell, was descended from one of the numerous branches of the ducal house of Argyll. His father, William Law, was great-grandson of James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, and second son of James Law of Brunton in Fife. William Law acquired a considerable fortune by his profession as a goldsmith in the Scottish metropolis, and purchased the two estates of Lauriston and Randleston, a property of about 180 acres in the parish of Cramond and county of Edinburgh. He died shortly after making this purchase leaving an only son, the subject of the present memoir, then fourteen years of age.

John received his education at Edinburgh, and early evinced an uncommon aptitude for the more abstruse branches of study. He likewise became skilled in games of dexterity and hazard, and acquired an enviable reputation in the tennis-court, a place of amusement then much frequented by young men of fashion in Scotland. But the early death of his father had relieved him from many salutary restraints, and *Beau Law*—as he was commonly called by his companions—shortly after reaching majority, found his affairs in a state of embarrassment, from which they were only extricated by the kindness and excellent management of his mother, who having obtained a disposition of the fee of Lauriston from her son, paid his debts, relieved the estate of its encumbrances, and executed an entail of the property.

Law was now in London, where his personal accomplishments, fascinating manners, and devotion

to gambling, procured him admittance into some of the first circles. An affair of gallantry, however, with another dissolute young man, led to a hostile meeting, in which Law killed his antagonist on the spot. After a trial before the king and queen's commissioners in the Old Bailey, which lasted three days, the jury found the survivor in this duel guilty of murder, and sentence of death was accordingly passed upon him, 20th April, 1694. On a representation of the case to the crown, Law obtained a pardon; but was detained in the King's Bench in consequence of an appeal against this extension of royal clemency towards him having been lodged by a brother of the deceased. He found means, however, to make his escape, and got clear off to the Continent.³

Law was at this critical period of his life in the twenty-sixth year of his age. His dissipation had not destroyed the tone of his mind, nor enfeebled those peculiar powers which had so early developed themselves in him. He visited France, then under the brilliant administration of Colbert, where his inquiries were particularly directed to the state of the public finances, and the mode of conducting banking establishments. From France he proceeded to Holland, where the mercantile system of those wealthy republicans who had succeeded the merchant princes of Venice in conducting the commerce of Europe, presented to his mind a vast and most interesting subject of investigation. Amsterdam was at this period the most important commercial city in Europe, and possessed a celebrated banking establishment, on the credit of which her citizens had been enabled to baffle the efforts of Louis XIV. to enslave the liberties of their country; a treasury, whose coffers seemed inexhaustible, and the whole system of which was an enigma to the political economists of other countries. Law, with the view of penetrating into the secret springs and mechanism of this wonderful establishment, took up his residence for some time at Amsterdam, where he ostensibly officiated as secretary to the British resident.

About the year 1700 he returned to Scotland. He was now nearly thirty years of age, and had acquired a more accurate acquaintance with the theory of commercial and national finances, as well as with their practical details, than perhaps any single individual in Europe possessed at this time. The contrast which Scotland presented to those commercial countries which he had visited during his exile now struck him forcibly, and he immediately conceived the design of creating that capital to the want of which he attributed the depressed state of Scottish agriculture, manufacture, and commerce. Law's views were not without foundation; but unfortunately, he stumbled at the outset, by mistaking the true nature of capital. The radical delusion under which he laboured from the outset to the close of his financial career, originated in the idea which had got possession of his mind, that by augmenting the circulating medium of a country we proportionally augment its capital and productive energies. Now, money is not always convertible into capital, that is, into something which

³ On this occasion the following advertisement was published in the *London Gazette* of Monday, 7th January, 1695: "Captain John Law, a Scotchman, lately a prisoner in the King's Bench for murder, aged 26, a very tall, black, lean man, well shaped, above six feet high, large pocket-holes in his face, big high nosed, speaks broad and loud, made his escape from the said prison. Whoever secures him, so as he may be delivered at the said prison, shall have fifty pounds paid immediately by the marshal of the King's Bench." We may here observe, that this description was upon the whole inaccurate, and leaves room to believe that it was designed rather with the view of facilitating than impeding his escape.

¹ Boswell's *Johnson*. Croker's ed., i. 191.

² *Anecdotes*, ii. 157.

may be employed towards further production; for the creation of exchangeable products must, in the nature of things, precede the creation of a general medium of commerce, and it is quite evident, that if we double the amount of the circulating medium without doubling the products of industry, we just depreciate the currency in the degree of the excess, and do not increase the resources or industry of a country in the least. But Law conceived that to her overflow of money alone Holland owed her national prosperity; and he calculated that the increase of the circulating medium in Scotland would be absorbed by the increase of industry, and have no other effect than to lower the rate of interest. This view he developed in a publication entitled *Proposals and Reasons for Constituting a Council of Trade*, dated at Edinburgh, 31st December, 1700, and published at Glasgow in the following year; and in a second and more important work, entitled "*Money and Trade Considered*," printed at Edinburgh in 1703.

In the latter work Law developed his views of banking and the credit system. He proposed to supply Scotland with money by means of notes to be issued by certain commissioners appointed by parliament; which notes were to be given out to all who demanded them, upon the security of land. In answer to the supposition, that they might be depreciated by excess or quantity, he observed, that "the commissioners giving out what sums are demanded, and taking back what sums are offered to be returned, this paper-money will keep the value, and there will always be as much money as there is occasion or employment for, and no more." Here his project evidently confounds the quantity of good security in the country, and the quantity of money which people may wish to borrow at interest, with the quantity necessary for the circulation, so as to keep paper-money on a level with the precious metals and the currency of surrounding countries—a mistake which has prevailed to a very considerable extent in our own times. But notwithstanding of this capital error, Law has in the latter publication developed the principles and mechanism of banking in an astonishingly able and luminous manner for the period at which he wrote. The court party, and the *squadron*, headed by the Duke of Argyle and the Marquis of Tweeddale, entered warmly into Law's views; but parliament passed a resolution "that to establish any kind of paper-credit, so as to oblige it to pass, were an improper expedient for the nation."

Law now resolved to offer his system to some of those continental states whose finances had been exhausted by the wars of Louis XIV., and in which the principles of credit were imperfectly understood. With this view he went to Brussels, and from that city proceeded to Paris, where he won immense sums at play, and introduced himself into the good graces of the young Duke of Orleans. The Succession war was at this moment occupying the attention of the French court; Chamillart, unable to extricate himself from the difficulties of his situation in any other manner, was about to resign his functions as minister of finance; the moment appeared favourable to our projector, and he made offer of his services to the French monarch. But the leading men of the day were totally unable to comprehend the plans of the new financier, and the name of Huguenot was no passport to the royal favour: so that the unexpected result of this negotiation was an order from the intendant of police to quit Paris in twenty-four hours as a state-enemy. Law found himself in a similar predicament at Genoa and Turin, but not before he had pursued his usual run of luck at the gaming-

tables in these cities. After visiting several other continental cities, in all of which his fascinating manner procured him admission to the first circles, our adventurer found himself possessed of a tangible fortune of considerably more than £100,000—the fruits of his skill and success at play. The death of Louis XIV., the succession of the Duke of Orleans to the regency, and the deplorable state of the French finances, prompted Law to present himself once more to the attention of the French ministry.

During the war of Succession—now brought to a close—Demarest, who had succeeded Chamillart as comptroller-general, had exhausted every possible means of raising money; he had issued promissory notes under every conceivable name and form—*promesses de la caisse des emprunts, billets de Legendre, billets de l'extraordinaire des guerres*—but all without success; the credit of the government was gone, and its effects of every description had sunk from seventy to eighty per cent. in value. In this extremity the expedient of a national bankruptcy was proposed to and rejected by the regent, who also refused to give a forced circulation to the royal billets, but appointed a commission to inquire into the claims of the state-creditors. The commission executed its duties with great ability; but after reducing the national debt to its lowest possible form, and providing for the payment of the interest, amounting to 80,000,000 of livres, or about one-half of the revenue, there hardly remained a sum sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of the civil government, and that too, after having had recourse to a measure tantamount, in its effects at least, to a breach of faith, namely, a change in the nominal value of the currency. By the latter scheme the government foolishly imagined that they would pocket 200,000,000 of livres, but the sum on which they had calculated only went into the pockets of the Dutch and the clandestine money-dealers. At this critical juncture Law stepped forward, in the full confidence of being yet able to rescue the government from bankruptcy, by the establishment of a well-regulated paper-credit. His first proposal was to establish a national bank, into which was to be transferred all the metallic currency of the nation, which was to be replaced by bank-notes. Law regarded the whole nation as one grand banking company, and his reasoning was this:—If a bank may increase the issue of its notes beyond the amount of its funds in bullion without risking its solvency, a nation may also do the same. But the private fortunes of the individuals of a nation, it is quite evident, can never be held as security for the notes which the sovereign authority may choose to issue; and unless such security is to be found in the resources of the government itself, it is equally clear that a paper-currency might sink in the course of a few months fifty or a hundred per cent. below the value of the precious metals, and deprive individuals of half or the whole of their fortunes. Law seems to have regarded *credit* as everything—as intrinsic worth—as specie itself. Still, notwithstanding this capital delusion, the memoirs which he addressed to the regent on the subject contain many just observations on the peculiar facilities afforded to trade by the existence of a paper-currency; though they failed to remove the doubts of one sapient objector, who thought a paper-currency highly dangerous, on account of its liability to being cut or violently destroyed! The council of finance, however, rejected this scheme. The present conjuncture, they thought, was not favourable for the undertaking; and this reason, added to some particular clauses of the project, determined them to refuse it.

Law next proposed a private bank for the issue of

notes, the funds of which should be furnished entirely from his own fortune and that of others who might be willing to engage with him in the speculation. He represented the disastrous consequences which had resulted from a fluctuating currency, the enormous rate at which discounts were effected, the difficulties in the exchange between Paris and the provinces, and the general want of an increased currency; and succeeded in convincing the regent that these evils might be obviated by the adoption of his plans even in their limited modification. The bank was accordingly established by letters-patent, bearing date the 2d of May, 1716. Its capital was fixed at 1200 shares of 5000 livres each, or about £300,000 sterling. The notes were payable at sight in specie of the same weight and fineness as the money in circulation at the period of their issue; and hence they soon bore a premium above the metallic currency itself, which had been subjected to many violent alterations since 1689. The good faith which the bank observed in its proceedings, the patronage which it received from the regent, and the want of private credit, soon procured for it a vast run of business. Had Law confined his attention to this single establishment, he would justly have been considered as one of the greatest benefactors of the country, and the creator of a beautiful system of commercial finance; but the vastness of his own conceptions, his boundless ambition, and the unlimited confidence which the public now reposed in him, suggested more gigantic enterprises, and led the way to that highly forced and unnatural system of things which eventually entailed ruin upon all connected with it.

Law had always entertained the idea of uniting the operations of banking with those of commerce. Every one knows that nothing can be more hazardous than such an attempt; for the credit of the banker cannot be made to rest upon the uncertain guarantee of commercial speculations. But the French had yet no accurate ideas on this subject. Law's confidence in the resources of his own financial genius was unbounded, and the world at this moment exhibited a theatre of tempting enterprise to a comprehensive mind. The Spaniards had established colonies around the Gulf of Mexico—the English were in possession of Carolina and Virginia—and the French held the vast province of Canada. Although the coast lands of North America were already colonized, European enterprise had not yet penetrated into the interior of this fertile country; but the Chevalier de Lasalle had descended the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and taking possession of the country through which he passed in the name of the French monarch, gave it the appellation of Louisiana. A celebrated merchant of the name of Crozat had obtained the privilege of trading with this newly discovered country, and had attempted, but without success, to establish a colony within it. Law's imagination, however, was fired at the boundless field of enterprise which he conceived was here presented; he talked of its beauty, of its fertility, of the abundance and rarity of its produce, of the richness of its mines, outrivalling those of Mexico or Peru—and in the month of August, 1717, within five months after his embarkation in the scheme of the bank, our projector had placed himself, under the auspices of the regent, at the head of the famous Mississippi scheme, or West Indian Company. This company was invested with the full sovereignty of Louisiana, on condition of doing homage for the investiture to the King of France, and presenting a crown of gold, of thirty marcs, to each new monarch of the French empire on his accession to the throne.

It was authorized to raise troops, to fit out ships of war, to construct forts, institute tribunals, explore mines, and exercise all other acts of sovereignty. The king made a present to the company of the vessels, forts, and settlements which had been constructed by Crozat, and gave it the monopoly of the beaver trade with Canada for twenty-five years. In December following the capital of the West Indian Company was fixed at 100,000,000 livres, divided into 200,000 shares; and the *billets d'état*, were taken at their full value from those wishing to purchase shares. Government paper was at this moment vastly depreciated on account of the irregular payment of the interest; but although 500 livres nominal value in the public funds could not have been sold for more than 150 or 160 livres, the *billets d'état*, by this contrivance, soon rose to par. It was evident that these fictitious funds could not form stock for commercial enterprise; nevertheless, the advance of the government debts to a rate so advantageous to the holders, increased the value of the government securities that remained in circulation, and the depreciated paper rose to full credit with the astonished public, who now began to place implicit confidence in Law's schemes. The council of finance, however, looked with mistrust on these proceedings; and its president, the Duke de Noailles, gave in his resignation, and was replaced by D'Argenson, a man far less skilled in matters of finance. The jealousy of the parliament, too, was excited by the increasing influence of the Scottish financier, who had been heard imprudently to boast that he would render the court independent of parliamentary supplies. By an *arrêt* of the 18th of August, 1717, the parliament attempted to destroy the credit of the notes of the bank, by prohibiting the officers of the revenue from taking them in payment of the taxes; but the regent interposed, and Law was allowed to continue his operations. He, however, encountered another formidable rival in D'Argenson, who now proposed, with the assistance of the four brothers Paris, men of great wealth and influence in the commercial world, to form a company, which, with a capital as large as that of the West Indian Company, should advance large sums of money secured on the farms, posts, and other branches of the public revenue. This anti-system, as it was called, soon fell to pieces for want of the same energetic and fearless direction which characterized the schemes of its rival.

Law now prevailed on the regent to take the bank under royal guarantee, persuading him that it was quite possible to draw into it the whole circulating specie of the kingdom, and to replace it by the same amount of paper-money. The notes issued by the royal bank, however, did not promise, as those of Law's private establishment had done, to pay in specie of the same weight and fineness as the specie then in circulation, but merely to pay in silver coin. This opened a door for all the fluctuations which might occur in the real value of the coin called a livre, affecting the value of the paper-money. Law was made director-general of the royal bank, which, in a few months, issued 1,000,000,000 of livres in new notes; "less," says the royal *arrêt*, "not being sufficient for its various operations:" although this sum was more than all the banks of Europe could circulate, keeping good faith with their creditors. The director-general found it extremely difficult to support the credit of such an enormous issue, and for a while hesitated between the plan of insensibly transforming bank-notes into a real paper-money, by giving the latter a decided advantage over specie, which should be kept constantly fluctuating, and by receiving it in payment of the taxes; or of creating a

new and apparently lucrative investment for this paper, so as to prevent its returning upon the bank to be exchanged for specie. The latter plan appeared at last the preferable one. A colossal establishment was projected with a capital equal in amount to the public debt. This capital was to be divided into shares, which the regent was to buy with the paper-money that he was to manufacture; he was then to borrow this paper anew to pay the creditors of the state; and then by selling the shares, to retire the paper-money, and thus transfer the creditors of the state to the company.

Accordingly in May, 1719, the East India Company, established by Richelieu in 1664, the affairs of which were then at a very low ebb, was incorporated with that of the West Indies; and the conjoined companies received the name of the Company of the Indies, "with the four quarters of the world to trade in." "Moreover," says the edict issued on this occasion, "beside the 100,000,000 of public debts already subscribed into the Western Company's capital, there shall be a new subscription of 50,000 shares of 550 livres each, payable in specie." In a short time the newly created company engaged, by extending its capital to 624,000 shares, to lend the king the immense sum of 1,600,000,000, at three per cent. interest, and declared itself in a condition to pay a dividend of 200 livres upon each share. The public faith being yet unshaken, the shares hereupon rose to 5000 livres; and when the king began to pay off the state-creditors with the loan now procured, many not knowing how to employ their capital, a new competition for shares in the great company arose, and shares actually rose in consequence to 10,000 livres. The slightest consideration might have served to convince any cool speculator that the company had come under engagements which, in no circumstances however prosperous, it could fulfil. How was it possible that the company could raise annually 124,800,000 livres for the dividend upon 624,000 shares? Or supposing it able to make an annual dividend of 200 livres a share, still the rate of interest being at this time about four per cent., the shareholder who had bought in at 10,000 thus lost one-half of the revenue he might otherwise have drawn from the employment of his capital. The truth is, the whole scheme was designed for the sole purpose of relieving the state from its debts by the ruin of its creditors; but the immense fortunes which were realized by stock-jobbing at the very outset of the scheme led on others to engage in the same speculation; splendid fortunes were realized in the course of a single day; men found themselves suddenly exalted, as if by the wand of an enchanter, from the lowest station in life to the command of princely fortunes; 1200 new equipages appeared on the streets of Paris in the course of six weeks, half a million of people hastened from the country, and even from distant kingdoms, to procure shares in the Indian Company; and happy was he who held the greatest number of these bubbles. The negotiations for the sale and purchase of shares were at first carried on in the Rue Quincampoix, where fortunes were made by letting lodgings to the crowds who hastened thither for the purpose of speculating in the stocks. The murder of a rich stock-jobber, committed here on the 22d of March, 1720, by a young Flemish nobleman, occasioned the proscription of that street as a place of business, and the transference of the stock-jobbing to the Place Vendome, and finally to the Hotel de Soissons, which Law is said to have purchased from the Prince of Carignan for the enormous sum of 1,400,000 livres.

Innumerable anecdotes are on record of the extra-

ordinary vicissitudes of fortune which took place during this season of marvellous excitement; footmen stepped from the back to the inside of carriages; cooks appeared at the public places with diamond necklaces; butlers started their berlins; and men educated in poverty and of the lowest rank suddenly exchanged the furniture and utensils of their apartments for the richest articles which the upholsterer and silversmith could furnish. Law himself, now arrived *summa ad vestigia rerum*, shone super-eminent above all the other attractions of the day; princes, dukes, marshals, prelates, flocked to his levees, and counted themselves fortunate if they could obtain a smile from the great dispenser of fortune's favours; peeresses of France, in the excess of their adulations, lavished compliments upon the Scottish adventurer which set even decency at defiance; his daughter's hand was solicited by princes; and his lady bore herself with hauteur towards the duchesses of the kingdom. Land in the neighbourhood of Paris rose to eighty or a hundred years' purchase; the ell of cloth of fifteen livres sold for fifty; coffee rose from fifty sous to eighteen livres; stock-jobbers were known to treat their guests to green pease at a hundred pistoles the pint; every yard of rich cloth or velvet was bought up for the clothing of the new *élèves* of fortune; and the value of the silver-plate manufactured in the course of three months for supplying the demands of the French capital amounted to £7,200,000! The regent, sharing in the general delusion, wished to place the wonderful foreigner at the head of the finances of the kingdom; but then, in addition to his being an alien, he was a Protestant also; so l'Abbé de Tencin was charged with the important duty of his conversion, and this ecclesiastic succeeded so well in the task assigned to him, that on the 5th of January, 1720, all obstacles being removed, Law was elevated to the comptroller-generalship of the finances of France, and for some time after his elevation to the premier-ship governed France with almost absolute power. Law's fame had now reached its acmé; his native city of Edinburgh hastened to transmit to her illustrious son the freedom of citizenship in a gold box of the value of £300; the Earl of Ilay republished some of his works with an adulatory preface; British noblemen disdained not to pay their court to so successful an adventurer; even the Earl of Stair, then the British ambassador at Paris, trembled at the idea of Law's overweening influence in the affairs of France, and viewed his boastful speeches in so serious a light, as to deem them matter of grave communication and advice to his government—a piece of good faith for which the meritorious and discerning minister met with small thanks.

The great drama, however, which Law was now enacting before the astonished eyes of all Europe was soon to shift; the glittering bubble on which he had fixed the eyes and expectations of all France was rapidly attenuating to its explosion; the charm by which he had swayed the mind of the million lay not in the rod of the magician, but in the implicit faith which people reposed in the skill and the power of its master—and, that faith once shaken, the game of delusion was over.

We have said that the shares of the India Company had risen to 10,000 livres each in the month of November, 1719. So long as they kept at this elevation the credit of the bank remained unshaken. Its notes were found so very convenient in conducting the rapid negotiations of the Rue Quincampoix, that they were sought after with avidity, and even bore a premium of ten per cent. in exchange for specie! Notwithstanding, however, of the bound-

less delusion under which men acted at this moment, it could not escape the eyes of the vigilant financier, that a constant and enormous drain of specie was going on, either in the way of exportation to foreign countries, or for the consumption of the jewellers and goldsmiths. To answer the large orders of the wealthy Mississippians, and to guard against a run upon the bank in these circumstances, the master-projector had again recourse to forced measures. Edicts were issued declaring the value of bank-notes to be five per cent. above that of specie, and forbidding the use of silver for the payment of any sum exceeding 100 livres, or of gold in payments exceeding 300 livres. Law thought by these expedients to confine the use of specie to small transactions alone, while those of any magnitude could still be conducted by the fictitious currency which he had called into existence. At the same time, to give a fresh impulse to the stock-jobbing transactions, which had experienced a perceptible decline, he presented himself personally in his ministerial robes, and surrounded by a number of the nobility, in the Rue Quincampoix, where his presence instantly excited a lively sensation; and the report being industriously propagated that new edicts were about to be issued, conferring additional privileges on the great company, the actions which had fallen to 12,000 livres rose to 15,000. Still the public creditors hesitated to employ the notes now issuing in extinction of their debts in purchasing India stock; and the enormous sum of 1,000,000,000 remained floating in the form of bank-notes, for which no species of investment could be found.

A publication issued at this juncture by Law, under the title of *Lettre à un Créancier*, failed to satisfy their scruples, and actions again fell to 12,000 livres. Meanwhile specie, in spite of successive depreciations effected upon it at the suggestion of the minister of finance, entirely disappeared; still the government kept issuing notes to the immense amount of 1,925,000,000, between the 1st of January and the 20th of May, 1720, and the price of everything advanced in almost hourly progression. On the 11th of March a second letter from the minister of finance appeared, in which he employed the most ingenious sophistry in defence of the exaggerated value at which the paper-currency was attempted to be maintained. The choice of a standard value, the great financier contended, was wholly a matter of opinion. To support the value of any article in the opinion of the community, it is only necessary to decline selling it under a certain price. Houses, lands, and other articles of property, have a certain value in the opinion of mankind, just because some people desire to purchase them, and others will not part with them; but if all the proprietors of houses and land were willing to get rid of their property at one and the same time, what value would it have in the market? It is easy to answer such palpable sophistry as this. Houses and lands are possessions fit for certain purposes which men require; it is their fitness which constitutes their value; but in the case of those shares, whose value, Law contended, ought to be quite as real as that of any other article of property, it is most evident that they have no value, unless the profit to be derived from commerce in them be not proportioned to the price at which the stock was purchased; from the moment, in fact, that they cease to become marketable they are stripped of their value. A system supported by such desperate reasoning as Law had here recourse to must have appeared tottering to its fall in the eyes of every rational man; the public credit of France was about to give way; the Atlantean shoulders on which it had been hitherto

supported could no longer prop the mighty burden. Government at last perceived that too great an extension had been given to what Law called *credit*, and that to re-establish the value of paper, it would be necessary to diminish its amount. On the 21st of May the death-blow was given to the whole gigantic system of our Scottish projector, by an edict which announced that a progressive reduction of the India Company's actions, and of bank-notes, was to take place from that day till the 1st of December, when it was declared that the bank-notes should remain fixed at one-half of their present value, and the actions at four-ninths. Law, whose influence with the government was now rapidly sinking, or rather was annihilated, felt himself too weak to resist this measure, and actually consented to announce it himself. The public eye was now opened in one instant to the delusion which had been practised upon it, and the next day every one was anxious to get rid of his paper-money at any sacrifice. The catastrophe, though inevitable in the nature of things, was hastened by the artifices of the Cardinal Dubois, who used every means to injure Law in the opinion of the regent; and by the irritation of the finance-general and the parliament of Paris, who regarded the foreign projector as their bitter enemy. The united efforts of such a powerful party appear to have made a deep impression on the mind of the regent, who, in a letter of Lord Stair's, dated 12th March, 1720, is represented as abusing the comptroller cruelly to his face, and even threatening him with the Bastille. The same authority informs us that the minister himself was at this period reeling under the weight of that complicated and stupendous system of which he now found himself the prime support and mover. "Law's head is so heated," he writes, "that he does not sleep at nights, and has formal fits of frenzy. He gets out of bed almost every night, and runs stark-staring mad about the room making a terrible noise—sometimes singing and dancing, at other times swearing, staring, and stamping, quite out of himself. Some nights ago his wife, who had come into the room upon the noise he made, was forced to ring the bell for people to come to her assistance. The officer of Law's guard was the first that came, and found Law in his shirt, who had set two chairs in the middle of the room, and was dancing round them quite out of his wits."

The consequences of this rash edict were frightful; the government was upbraided for having been the first to impeach that credit to which it had itself given original existence, and charged with the design to ruin the fortunes of the citizens; seditious and inflammatory libels were posted throughout the streets; the mob assailed the hotels of Law and other members of the cabinet; and even the life of the regent himself was threatened. In this emergency the parliament assembled on the 27th of May, and terrified at the consequences of their own measures, were about to petition the regent to revoke the unfortunate edict; but while yet deliberating with this purpose, an officer announced to them that the paper had been restored to its former value by a new proclamation. However, if the first step had been bad, the second was little less weak and unwary. To declare that the actions and billets had resumed their full value, was doing nothing of real consequence to allay the ferment of the public mind; for such a measure was founded on no principle which could operate in the slightest degree to restore to paper-money the confidence it had lost; it was doing nothing to recompense those who had already suffered injury, and it was effectually securing the ruin of all others on whom the valueless paper could now be fixed as a

legal tender. And to add to all this confusion and distress, the repositories of the bank were sealed up the same day, under pretence of examining the books, but in reality to prevent the specie from being paid away in exchange for notes. At last, after the first moments of alarm and outrage were over, the regent ventured to resume those expressions of confidence towards Law which he had been compelled to withhold from him for a time; he received him in his own box at the opera, and gave him a guard to protect his hotel from the insult of the exasperated populace. The infamous Dubois, who had enriched himself by his speculations during the height of the Mississippi madness, now united with Law to expel Argenson from the cabinet; and the regent, whose character, though intrepid, was not without its weak points, was persuaded at their instigation to take the seals from his faithful minister, and bestow them upon Agnesseau, who tamely resumed the high office, from which he had been expelled by the very men to whose influence he now beheld himself indebted for his second elevation.

Nothing could now save the system of the great financier; his billets and actions were for ever stripped of their value in the eye of the public; and the most expedient measure that could now be adopted with regard to them, was to withdraw them as promptly as possible from circulation. To demolish in the most prudent manner the vast structure reared by his own labour was now the highest praise to which Law could aspire. By a series of arbitrary financial operations, which it would be tedious here to relate, the public creditors were reduced to the utmost distress, the national debt annihilated, and the whole affairs of the kingdom thrown into the utmost perplexity. "Thus ended," to use the words of Voltaire, "that astonishing game of chance played by an unknown foreigner against a whole nation." Its original success stimulated various individuals to attempt imitations of it—among which the most famous was the South Sea bubble of England, which entailed disgrace and ruin on many thousands of families. It would be doing injustice to Law's character were we to view him as the sole author of these misfortunes: his views were liberal beyond the spirit of the times in which he lived; he had unquestionably the real commercial interests of his adopted foster-country at heart; he did not proceed on speculation alone; on the contrary, his principles were to a certain degree the very same as those the adoption of which has raised Britain to her present commercial greatness, and given an impulse to trade throughout the world, such as was never witnessed in the transactions of ancient nations. His error lay in overestimating the strength and breadth of the foundation on which his gigantic superstructure rested. Unquestionably in his cooler moments he never contemplated carrying the principle of public credit to the enormous and fatal length to which he was afterwards driven by circumstances; it was the unbounded confidence of the public mind, prompted by the desire of gain and the miraculous effects of the system in its earliest development—the enthusiasm of that mind, transported beyond all bounds of moderation and forbearance by a first success eclipsing its most sanguine expectations, realizing to thousands of individuals the possession of wealth to an amount beyond all that they had ever conceived in imagination—the contagious example of the first fortunate speculators intoxicated with success, and fired to the most extravagant and presumptuous anticipations, by which men can be lured into acts of blinded infatuation or thoughtless folly—it was these circumstances, we say, over which Law had necessarily little control, that

converted his projects into the bane of those for whom they were at first calculated to serve as a wholesome antidote.

Law was in fact more intent on following out his idea than aggrandizing his fortunes. Riches, influence, honours, were showered upon him in the necessity of things; the man who had given birth to the wealth of a whole kingdom, whose schemes had for a while invested all who entered into them with imaginary treasures—by whose single mind the workings of that complicated engine which had already produced such dazzling results as seemed to justify the most extravagant anticipations of the future, were comprehended and directed—must have risen during the existence of that national delusion to the highest pinnacle of personal wealth and influence, and might, though only endowed with a mere tithe of the forecasting sagacity of Law, have provided for his retreat, and secured a sufficient competency at least beyond the possibility of loss or hazard, as thousands in fact did upon the strength of his measure. But Law, in deluding others, laboured under still stronger delusion himself; like the fabled Frankenstein, he had created a monster whose power he had not at first calculated, and the measure of which he now found he could not prescribe, and he awaited the result with mingled feelings of hope, fear, and distrust. It was the ignorant interference of others with his own mysterious processes which finally determined the fatal direction of those energies which he had called into being, and which he might have been able, if not to restrain, at least to direct in another and less ruinous manner. We are far from professing ourselves the unqualified apologists of our enterprising countryman. It was criminal in him to make use of remedies of such a desperate kind as those to which he had recourse when his system began to stagger under its first revulsions; doubtless his temptations were strong, but, invested as he was with authority, it was in his power to have resisted them, and adopted a less empirical mode of treatment. In estimating his moral character, it does not appear to us that his renouncing Protestantism, under the circumstances in which he was placed, ought to weigh much against the uprightness of his intentions. Religion was with him a matter of inferior moment. In his previous life he had manifested no symptoms of piety; an utter stranger to the faith and power of the gospel, Protestantism was superior to any other *ism* with him, just in as far as it favoured his worldly policy. He believed himself possessed of means to elevate a whole nation in the scale of wealth and power, with all their attendant benign influences, and to give an impulse by means of the fortunes of France to the destinies of the human species: and is it to be supposed that this consideration, thrown into the balance, should not have caused that scale in which was placed a mere nominal profession of a religion—the truth of which he neither knew nor respected—to kick the beam?

Before resuming the thread of our biography, let us for a moment compare the financial catastrophe we have now been considering with that of the assignats of revolutionary France, and the celebrated crisis of the Bank of England in 1797: we shall discover striking points of resemblance in the circumstances which led to these events, and draw from their comparison a few important truths. Credit is founded on the supposition of future value; it is this prospective value which is made to circulate as if it were existing value, in the form of a bank-note. Law founded his schemes upon the great basis of credit, which again he proposed to create by the profits arising from speculation in the shares of his

India Company. The financiers of revolutionary France wished to pay the national debt and the expenses of a universal war with the national funds; but, finding it impossible from the want of public confidence or credit to sell these funds, they anticipated their sale, and represented their supposed future value by paper-money called *assignats*. The Bank of England, in return for its loans to the government, supposed the existence of two species of value, and accepted of these species in payment: the effects themselves, namely, of commerce and the securities of the state; the former a certain value, and the latter necessarily fluctuating with the political aspect of the times. In these three cases we perceive three species of doubtful value; Law's share represented a future, but speculative and very uncertain, value; the *assignats* represented certain funds which might ere long pass from under the hands of their present administrators; and the notes of the Bank of England represented a value depending upon engagements regarding the ability of the state to fulfil which there existed no absolute certainty. Now the crisis produced by the fluctuation of these three species of credit corresponded to the difference of circumstances in the three cases. The sudden displacement of an enormous sum raised the shares of the East India Company to an enormous premium; but a rapidly established credit is exposed to an equally or still more precipitous decline; for that true credit which is founded on the solid basis of real success must necessarily be as slow in its growth as the success itself. The *assignats* again could not experience such a sudden rise in value, for they represented a certain portion of land, a species of value least of all exposed, in the nature of things, to rapid fluctuation. In proportion, however, as the public confidence in the permanence of the administration declined, the *assignats* declined in value; and in proportion as they declined in value, the existing government was compelled to supply the loss of funds by increasing the issue, which again operated to depreciate its paper-money. The notes of the Bank of England, depending on mercantile credit or the real security of responsible funds, as well as on government security, were only slightly affected in credit by the political aspect of the times. In all the three cases public credit was attempted to be supported by forcible measures, the injustice of which was just in proportion to the degree of suspicion attached to that false system of credit which they were designed to support. Law fixed the value of shares in notes, and thus forced a circulation for the latter. The French revolutionary government punished the refusal of its *assignats* at their nominal value with death. In England the bank was relieved of the obligation to cash its notes at sight. Law again endeavours to drive specie altogether out of the market, and render paper the only legal tender; the revolutionists fix the maximum of all exchange; and the Bank of England, whose security was less questionable, threw itself on the patriotism of the London merchants, who relieved it from its embarrassment by agreeing to accept of its notes in payment from their debtors. Thus we see, 1st, that every system of public credit ought to represent a certain real value, and not to be founded on mere anticipation of a value yet to be created; 2dly, that it is impossible by fixed measures to sustain an arbitrary value; and, 3dly, that where forced values are resorted to, they are rejected by all who are at liberty to reject them, and are followed by the ruin of those who are not in a condition to refuse them.

Law, at his last interview with the Duke of Orleans, is reported to have said:—"My lord, I

acknowledge that I have committed great faults; I did so because I am a man, and all men are liable to err; but I declare to your royal highness that none of them proceeded from knavery, and that nothing of that kind will be found in the whole course of my conduct;" a declaration which the regent and the Duke of Bourbon bore frank testimony to, at the same time that they suggested the expediency of his leaving the kingdom, for which purpose they offered to supply him with money, his whole property having been confiscated; but Mr. Law, though in possession of only 800 louis d'ors, the wreck of a fortune of 10,000,000 of livres, refused to receive any assistance from other funds than his own, and on the 22d of December, 1720, arrived at Brussels, where he was received with the greatest respect by the governor and resident nobility. Early in January, 1721, he appeared at Venice, under the name of M. du Jardin, where he is said to have had a conference with the Chevalier de St. George, and the famous Cardinal Alberoni, minister of Spain. From Venice he travelled through Germany to Copenhagen, where he had the honour of an audience with Prince Frederick. During his residence at the Danish capital he received an invitation from the British ministry to return to his native country, with which he complied, and was presented on his arrival to George I. by Sir John Norris, the admiral of the Baltic squadron. On the 28th of November he pleaded at the bar of the King's Bench his majesty's pardon for the murder of Edward Wilson, and was attended on this occasion by the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Ilay, and several other friends.

Mr. Law's reappearance in Britain excited some uneasy feelings on the part of various senators. The Earl of Coningsby, in particular, moved the House of Lords for an inquiry whether Sir John Norris had orders to bring over a person of his dangerous character. The affair, however, was hushed, and it is thought that he at first received some kind of pension or allowance from the British government. Meanwhile, he maintained a constant correspondence with the regent of France, who caused his official salary of 20,000 livres per annum to be regularly remitted to him, and held several consultations with the council respecting the propriety of recalling him. The sudden death, however, of the regent, on the 2d of December, 1723, was a fatal blow to the reviving hopes of the ci-devant minister of finance. His pension ceased to be remitted, his prospect of a reversion from the sale of his property in France was annihilated, his embarrassments at home increased, and demands were made upon him by the India Company to the enormous amount of 20,236,375 livres. On the 25th of August, 1724, we find him addressing a letter to the Duke of Bourbon from London, in which he writes:—

"Notwithstanding the confusion in which my affairs have become involved, one hour will suffice to put your highness in full acquaintance with them. The subjoined memoir explains by what means I purpose to fulfil my engagements and obtain a livelihood for myself. The means which I suggest are of the very simplest nature. It is likewise the interest of the state that my affairs should be wound up; for although the number of those who desire my return is not great, their confidence in me is considerable, and must either destroy or retard the success of those measures which have been adopted by those persons to whom the king has been pleased to intrust the management of the finances. If my matters were arranged, Madame Law, my daughter, my brother, and his family, would return to England, and I would fix myself here in such a manner as

should convince the public that I entertained no intention of ever again setting foot in France.

"Those who have set themselves to oppose me by retarding the decision in my case have acted thus upon a mistaken principle altogether, and against their own view of things; they accuse me of having done the thing which they would have done themselves if they had been in my place; and in examining into my conduct they are unintentionally doing me a great honour. There are few, perhaps no instances, of a stranger having acquired the unlimited confidence of a prince, and realized a real fortune by means perfectly honourable, and who yet on leaving France reserved nothing for himself and his family, not even the fortune which he had brought into the country with him.

"Your highness knows that I never entertained the idea of making my escape from France. I had made no provision for this purpose when it was announced to me that the regent had ordered me to be provided with passports; for I had indeed at one time thought of quitting the kingdom, when I requested his royal highness' permission to resign my office; but after that I had deliberated upon the reasons which the prince then urged against my taking this step, I renounced the idea altogether, although fully aware of the personal danger to which I would expose myself by remaining in France after having ceased to hold office in the administration.

"I have said that my enemies have advised measures opposed even to their own principles; for if what they allege had been true—if I had carried a great sum of money with me out of the kingdom—it would surely have been their truest policy to have induced me to return with my son. If they had acted dispassionately in this matter they would have afforded me every facility in arranging my affairs; and it is my belief that, had his highness the Duke of Orleans lived, I would have been invited back to France. A short time before the prince's death he was pleased to express his approbation of my conduct; to give me certain marks of his esteem; he was satisfied that my plans would have completely succeeded if the juncture of extraordinary circumstances had not compelled others to interfere with them; he felt that he yet required my assistance; he asked my opinion regarding the present situation of the kingdom; and he was pleased to say that he yet counted on my aid in raising France to her proper elevation and weight in Europe. These are facts with which I am persuaded your highness was made acquainted by the prince himself."

The late M. Law de Lauriston transmitted to Mr. Wood, the biographer of the comptroller-general, a complete copy of the memorial which accompanied this letter, and of which only some detached fragments are published in the *Œuvres de J. Law*, Paris, 1790. Mr. Wood supplies us with the following passage from this document:—"When I retired to Guermande," says the memorialist, "I had no hopes that the regent would have permitted me to leave the kingdom; I had given over all thoughts thereof when your highness sent to inform me of his intention to accord that permission; and the next day, immediately on receiving the passports, I set off. Consider, my lord, if being in the country, removed from any paper and books, it were in my power to put in order affairs that required not only leisure, but also my presence in Paris, to arrange properly; and if it is not a piece of great injustice for the India Company to wish to take advantage of the condition to which I was reduced; and of the dishonest conduct of clerks in requiring from me payment of sums I do not in fact owe, and which, even though I had been

owing, were, as I have shown, expended for their service, and payable in actions or notes, of which effects belonging to me they at that time had, and still have, on their books to the amount of double or treble the sum they demand. No, my lord, I cannot bring myself to accuse the company of so much as the intention to injure me. That company owes its birth to me. For them I have sacrificed everything, even my property and my credit, being now bankrupt, not only in France, but also in all other countries. For them I have sacrificed the interests of my children, whom I tenderly love, and who are deserving of all my affections; these children, courted by the most considerable families in France, are now destitute of fortune and of establishments. I had it in my power to have settled my daughters in marriage in the first houses of Italy, Germany, and England; but I refused all offers of that nature, thinking it inconsistent with my duty to, and my affection for, the state in whose service I had the honour to be engaged. I do not assume to myself any merit from this conduct, and I never so much as spoke upon the subject to the regent. But I cannot help observing that this mode of behaviour is diametrically opposite to the idea my enemies wish to impute to me; and surely all Europe ought to have a good opinion of my disinterestedness, and of the condition to which I am reduced, since I no longer receive any proposals of marriage for my children.

"My lord, I conducted myself with a still greater degree of delicacy: for I took care not to have my son or my daughter married even in France, although I had the most splendid and advantageous offers of that kind. I did not choose that any part of my protection should be owing to alliances; but that it should depend solely upon the intrinsic merits of my project."

These representations failed to produce the desired effect; the India Company refused to allow him credit for the notes and actions in their hands belonging to him, while they at the same time insisted on his making payment in specie of the sums owing to them; the government with equal injustice confiscated his whole property in France. In 1725 Mr. Law bade a final adieu to Britain, and retired to Venice, where he died in a state little removed from indigence, on the 21st of March, 1729, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He lies buried in one of the churches of the city, where a monument to his memory is still to be seen.

Such is a brief outline of the history of one of the most extraordinary projectors of modern times. That he deceived himself is, we think, quite evident from the whole tenor of his conduct; that he should have deceived others is not wonderful, if we consider the spirit and circumstances of the times in which he lived, the ignorance of the public mind respecting the great principles of credit and currency, and the personal advantages and experience which the master-projector possessed. He is said to have presented an uncommonly engaging external appearance. "*On peut,*" says the French historian of his system, "*sans flatterie, le mettre au rang des hommes les mieux faits.*" In Brunley's *Catalogue of British Portraits* four engravings of Law are noticed, by Anglois, Hubert, Des Rochers, and Schmidt. The best portrait of him was a crayon portrait by Rosalba in the Earl of Oxford's gallery. Of his moral character we have already spoken. Lockhart of Carnwath relates that, even before he left Scotland, he was "nicely expert in all manner of debaucheries."

Law never composed any treatise; his works are confined to memorials and justificatory statements, or explanations of his views and plans. Towards

the end of the year 1790, the epoch of the creation of the assignats, there appeared at Paris an octavo volume, entitled *Œuvres de J. Law, Contrôleur-général des Finances de France sous le Régent*. This work was ably edited by M. Senour, and is in high estimation in France. The writings relating to Law's system are very numerous; Stewart, Ganihl, and Storch have all commented with ability upon his measures; and Duclos and Marmontel have composed very interesting memoirs of the projector and his system. In general, however, all the French writers of the eighteenth century have commented with great severity upon Law and his proceedings. Fourbonais was the first to do justice to this great but unfortunate man. Dutot, in his *Réflexions Politiques sur le Commerce et les Finances*, printed at the Hague in 1738, has discussed the state of affairs at the giving way of the system, and the effect of the famous edicts of the 5th March and 21st May, with great sagacity; Duverney's *Histoire du Système des Finances sous la Minorité de Louis XV., pendant les Années 1719 et 1720*, is a most valuable collection of edicts and state-papers relative to French finances, in two volumes. Mr. John Philip Wood's *Memoir of the Life of John Law of Lauriston*¹ is the best account which has yet been given to the British public of this extraordinary man, and the rise and fall of his fortunes.

Law married Lady Catharine Knollys, third daughter of Nicholas, third Earl of Banbury, by whom he had one son, John Law of Lauriston, and one daughter, Mary Catharine, who married her first cousin, William Viscount Wallingford, who was afterwards called to the House of Peers by the title of Baron Althorp. Lady Wallingford survived her husband more than half a century, and died in London on the 14th of October, 1790, leaving no issue. Her brother succeeded his father in 1729, and died a cornet of the regiment of Nassau Friesland, at Maestricht, in 1734. William Law, third son of Jean Campbell of Lauriston, succeeded to the entail on the extinction of the issue male of her eldest son. His eldest son John rose to the rank of commandant-general and president of council of the French settlement in India, and died at Paris about 1796; and on the 21st of May, 1808, Francis John William Law, a merchant in London, of the reformed religion, was served nearest and legitimate heir of entail and provision of his father John Law, and entered into the possession of the estate of Lauriston, to the exclusion of his elder brothers, who were Roman Catholics. Law's grandson, Count de Lauriston, was one of the generals of Napoleon Bonaparte.

LEE, REV. DR. JOHN. This venerable clergyman, who filled so many high offices in our literary institutions and the church, and left behind him so high a reputation in ecclesiastical antiquarianism, was the son of parents in humble life, and born at Torwoodlee Mains, parish of Stow, on the Gala Water. Being intended for the medical profession, he was some time under the celebrated Dr. Leyden, and afterwards studied in the university of Edinburgh, where he took the degree of M.A. The Czar of Russia having resolved to establish a university at Wilna, in Russian Poland, its chair of moral philosophy was offered to Mr. Lee; but, perhaps fortunately for him, a change of the political relations between Russia and Great Britain prevented his appointment. Having finished his medical studies at Edinburgh, and graduated as M.D., he obtained an

appointment in the hospital department of the army, but did not hold it long, as he had now directed his views to the clerical profession; in consequence of which he returned to college, attended the usual courses of theology, and was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Edinburgh in 1807. His first clerical charge was one of the Scottish chapels in London in connection with the Church of Scotland; but in 1808 he was presented to the parish of Peebles, of which he became minister, and where, during a stay of four years, his rising talents began to bring him into notice. In 1812 he was appointed professor of church-history in the university of St. Andrews, by the crown, to which the patronage of the chair belongs, and from this he was transferred to the professorship of moral philosophy in King's College, Old Aberdeen, which charge he filled during the session of 1820-1. After this short stay in Aberdeen he was presented by the crown to the first charge of the Canongate Church, Edinburgh, where he had for his colleague the venerable Dr. Buchanan.

While he held this charge in the Canongate, Dr. Lee engaged in a bold and difficult enterprise, which will endear his memory to Scotland and the Christian world at large. It was the emancipation of the Scriptures from the monopoly of the royal printers. A single company enjoyed this privilege in Scotland, and the consequence of such restriction was that the price at which Bibles were sold weighed heavily upon the poor. Aware of this evil, Dr. Lee commenced an agitation for a free and cheap circulation of the Scriptures; and he was leader of the party who held that no British sovereign had the right to trammel the publication of the Bible, or confine its printing to any privileged company whatever. He also, with much trouble and expense, collected materials for several tratises which he wrote upon the subject—and the result was, that after a litigation of several years, this exclusive right of printing the Bible was abrogated. Having now become a person of some note and influence, he was in 1824 appointed one of the commissioners for inquiring into the state of the universities of Scotland, on which occasion he drew up the report on the university of Glasgow; and in the same year he was presented to the church and parish of Lady Yester's, Edinburgh. An appointment still more important to the Church of Scotland followed in 1827, when he was elected clerk of the General Assembly. It may be averred, that from his profound knowledge of the history of the church and its forms, no one was so well qualified for such a responsible situation; and in every doubtful question, when such subjects were at issue, his memory could readily produce those precedents by which all cavil or uncertainty was terminated. Another office which he admirably discharged, as clerk of the assembly, was to draw up the pastoral addresses in the name of the church to its several congregations; and these were pervaded with such apostolic simplicity and unction, that they continued to be remembered after the living voice of their writer had ceased to be heard. In the meantime, the various promotions of Dr. Lee were still going on, and with almost unexampled rapidity. In 1830 he was appointed one of the royal chaplains for Scotland. In 1835 he was inducted to the collegiate charge of the Old Church, Edinburgh, as successor to Dr. Brown, and colleague of Dr. Macknight; and in 1837 he received from the crown the appointment of principal of the united colleges of St. Salvador and St. Leonard, St. Andrews, which charge, however, he held only for a single session. In 1839 he was appointed principal of the university of St. Andrews, and in 1840 he was elected principal of

¹ Edinburgh, 1824, 12mo, pp. 234.

the university of Edinburgh by the town-council, who were its patrons. As an ecclesiastic he could rise no higher; and, resigning his charge in the Old Church, he continued in the principalship to the end of his days. Several offices, however, chiefly honorary, were added to it. In 1841 he was appointed one of the deans of the chapel royal; in 1843, the memorable year of the disruption, in consequence of the retirement of Dr. Chalmers from the Establishment, he was appointed professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh, which charge he held along with that of principal; and in 1844 he was chosen moderator of the General Assembly. He was doctor of every faculty except that of music, being M.D., D.D., and LL.D., but of the three last titles he had shown himself every way worthy, by his profound erudition, his varied attainments, and his manifold services as minister, clerk of assembly, professor, and principal.

From the extensive scholarship of Dr. Lee, and especially his profound and accurate knowledge in Scottish antiquarianism, it was expected that some great work commensurate with such attainments would have proceeded from his pen to endure as an evidence of his worth. Such was the yearly expectation of his friends, and it was encouraged by his avowed purpose to attempt such an undertaking. But it was never fulfilled. It may be that the nervous irresolution to make a beginning which sometimes besets even the highly intellectual, and persuades them to pause until the opportunity has gone for ever—or the rapid series of changes through which he passed, that kept his sandals continually girt and the pilgrim's staff in his hand—disinclined him to such an attempt, even when the season was favourable. As it was, his productions were chiefly pamphlets for the hour and the occasion, and his *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, which were published after his death by his son, the Rev. William Lee. After a short illness the principal died at his residence in the college of Edinburgh, on the 2d of May, 1859, having reached the seventy-ninth year of his age.

LEIGHTON, ROBERT, an ecclesiastic of singular learning, integrity, and benevolence, was born in 1611, and descended from an ancient and respectable family, who were long in possession of the estate called Ulyshaven, in Forfarshire. Their names are mentioned in several parts of history, and even so far back as *Doomsday Book*. In 1424 Dr. Henry Leighton, Bishop of Moray, and afterwards of Aberdeen, was deputed as one of the commissioners to negotiate for the release of James I., at that time a prisoner in England. The family estate of Ulyshaven was lost to the house of Leighton in the seventeenth century, as they had by that time decayed in wealth and interest.

Dr. Alexander Leighton, father of the subject of this memoir, was educated at St. Andrews, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He afterwards went to Leyden, and applied himself to the study of physic, and so far succeeded as to graduate there. The Scottish church at Utrecht being in want of a minister, and he being, according to all accounts, a man of great piety and learning, the charge was offered to him, which he accepted, and he continued to officiate there for some time; but not approving of the holidays observed by the Dutch church, and having some difference on the subject, he finally resigned. He was there styled Doctor of Medicine and Scottish minister. We shall compress, in the shortest limits possible, the most pro-

minent actions of this man's eventful life, as his name is conspicuous in history from the cruel persecution which he suffered.

On his arrival in London from Holland he saw with grief and indignation that the Presbyterian church, of which he was a stern defender, was likely to be subverted in Scotland, through the policy of Charles I. and his ministers—and being a man, according to Burnet, “of much untempered zeal,” and fond of polemics, he published several tracts against Episcopacy, which gave great offence to the members of that persuasion. He at this time intended to commence the medical profession in London; but the College of Physicians interdicted him from practice within seven miles of the city, as a person they considered disgraceful to their profession; an allegation he disputed and disproved, by claiming a right, in virtue of his having graduated in the college of Leyden. They did not deny his being a clergyman; but at that time he had no living. He soon after this drew down upon himself the vengeance of that tyrannical and unconstitutional court, the Star-chamber. The work for which he was prosecuted, according to Burnet, is entitled *Zion's Plea against Prelates*; the name of the author and printer were omitted, and instead of the date of publication, the following words were added—“Printed the year and month wherein Rochelle was lost,”—evidently intended as a stigma for that city being allowed to be taken by the French Catholics from the Protestants in 1628; an event which it was well known Charles might have prevented, if he had had the interests of Protestantism really at heart. There was also prefixed to this work—which it appears was printed in Holland—a hieroglyphical vignette, seemingly designed to recommend the subversion of Prelacy. This is described in the informations by Rushworth, “as a most seditious scandal upon the king, state, and kingdom, wickedly affirming that all that pass us spoil us, and we spoil all that rely upon us, and amongst the rest the black pining death of the famished Rochelles, to the number of 15,000 in four months; by which passages he did, so much as in him lay, scandal his majesty's person, his religious wife, and just government, especially the reverend bishops.” Soon after this offensive work was put into circulation Dr. Leighton was arrested by a warrant from the high-commission court, and committed to Newgate, where he was confined for fifteen weeks in a loathsome cell full of vermin, without a bed to rest upon, and openly exposed to the inclemency of the weather: none of his family or friends were permitted to see him; and in the meantime his house was forcibly entered, and not only his books and papers, but every article of furniture, carried away.

The cause was tried on the 4th of June, 1630. The defendant, in his answer, owned the writing of the book, but denied all intention of evil, his end being only to remonstrate against certain grievances in church and state, under which the people suffered, to the end that parliament might take them into consideration, and give such redress as might be for the honour of the king, the quiet of the people, and the peace of the church. Nevertheless, the court adjudged unanimously, that for this offence the doctor “should be committed to the prison of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of £10,000; that the high-commission should degrade him from his ministry, and that then he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the court was sitting, and be whipped; after whipping, be set in the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, and one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S., for *sewer of sedition*; that then





he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days be pilloried a second time in Cheapside, and be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in close prison for the remainder of his life;" a sentence only to be compared with the worst acts of the infernal inquisition of Spain. Archbishop Laud, on hearing the unfortunate man condemned, pulled off his hat, and holding up his hands, gave thanks to God who had given him the victory over his enemies. This barbarous sentence being given towards the end of Trinity term, and the court not usually sitting after the term unless upon emergent occasions, and it requiring some time in the ecclesiastical court in order to the degradation of the defendant, it was Michaelmas following before any part of the sentence could be put in execution. On the 10th of November he was to have undergone the punishment awarded to him; however, the night before he contrived, with the assistance of one Livingston and Anderson, to effect his escape. A hue and cry was immediately issued by order of the privy-council, ordering his apprehension, which described him as a man of low stature, fair complexion, high forehead, and yellowish beard, about forty or fifty years of age. He scarcely was at large one week when he was seized in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the Fleet. Rushworth, in his *Historical Collections*, says, "On Friday, the 16th of November, part of the sentence on Dr. Leighton was executed upon him in this manner, in the new palace at Westminster. He was severely whipped before he was put in the pillory. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, was branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron with the letters S. S., *sower of sedition*, and afterwards carried back again prisoner to the Fleet, to be kept in close custody. And on that day seven-night, his sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face not being cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside, and there had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of the nose, and branding the other cheek." His unfortunate companions who aided him to escape were also brought before the Star-chamber, and out of respect to their "penitency" they were only fined £500 each, and committed to the Fleet during the king's pleasure.

In that vile prison, in a filthy, dark, and unwholesome dungeon, the unhappy Leighton was incarcerated for upwards of eleven years, without once being suffered to breathe in the open air; and when at length released from his miserable confinement, he could neither walk, see, nor hear. His release was only effected when the sitting of the long parliament had changed the state of things in England. "At the reading of his petition in the House of Commons," says Brook, "giving an account of the dreadful barbarity with which he had been treated, the members were so deeply moved and affected, that they could not bear to hear it without several interruptions with floods of tears." A committee was appointed to investigate his case, and the result was, as might be expected, the exposure of one of the most unconstitutional and horrible pieces of barbarity that ever stained a nation's annals. The whole proceedings were declared illegal, and reversed, and "good satisfaction and reparation were ordered to be made to him for his great sufferings and damages." Six thousand pounds were voted on his account; but it is very uncertain in those distracted times if he ever received it.

In 1642 Lambeth House was converted into a prison, and he was made keeper of it, on account,

it is said, of his knowledge of the medical profession. He did not survive this unworthy appointment long, and the wonder only is, how human nature could have borne up against such dreadful inflictions as he had endured.

ROBERT LEIGHTON, some time Bishop of Dunblane, and afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, son to Alexander, and the proper subject of this memoir, was, according to Pearson in a late edition of his works, born in Edinburgh, and received his education at that university, which he entered as a student in 1627. From his earliest years he was conspicuous for exemplary piety and a humble disposition; with talents of the rarest description, and a happy facility of acquiring a knowledge of languages. He was, above all, fond of studying the Scriptures, and was profoundly skilled in every branch of theological learning. Two of the masters at that time in the university whose classes he attended, namely Robert Rankin, professor of philosophy, and James Fairley, professor of divinity, were strongly in favour of Episcopacy; the latter having afterwards become Bishop of Argyle. It is more than probable that their opinions, being early imbibed by Leighton, continued in after-life to exercise a considerable influence over him. This may in a great degree serve to explain why he seceded from the Presbyterian church. He became Master of Arts in 1631, and having by that time completed his course of academical studies, he was sent abroad for further improvement, and took up his residence at Douay in France, where some of his relations lived. There he formed an intimacy with many of the best educated of the Roman Catholic gentlemen who were attending the college, and being naturally fond of exploring every system of ecclesiastical polity, where he found men of worth adhering to forms of religion even at variance with his own, he loved them in Christian charity for the virtue they possessed, and thought less rigidly of their doctrine. While in France he acquired a perfect knowledge of the language, which he spoke with all the fluency of the most polished native. It is impossible to ascertain how he passed the intermediate ten years from the time he went to Douay. All we can gather with certainty is, that in 1641, on his return from the Continent, and immediately after the triumph of Presbytery in Scotland, he was, at the age of thirty, and in the very year of his father's liberation from his cruel confinement, settled as Presbyterian minister in the parish of Newbattle, in the county of Edinburgh. There he was most unremitting in the sacred duties of his office, preaching peace and good-will amongst all men, carefully avoiding to mix or interfere with the distractions of that stormy period, when the pulpit was made the vehicle of political disputes. It being the custom of the presbytery to inquire of the brethren twice a year, whether they had preached to the *times*: "For God's sake," answered Leighton, "when all my brethren preach to the *times*, suffer one poor priest to preach for *eternity*." This moderation could not fail to give offence;—the fact is, he seems to have regarded their disputes as trivial in comparison with the high and sacred duties he felt himself called upon to perform in his holy office. He seldom or never attended the meetings of the presbytery, which was undoubtedly part of his duty as a Presbyterian minister, but chose rather to live in strict retirement, alive only to the care of his own parish, in which he proved himself a faithful and zealous pastor. Of all the accounts of this eminent divine there is none so strictly correct as that left on record by his friend and illustrious contemporary, Bishop Burnet, which we shall here quote in full, as we are

persuaded that nothing could be given either so entertaining or so full of information.

"Robert, eldest son of Dr. Leighton, was bred in Scotland, and was accounted a saint from his youth up. He had great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He had the greatest command of the purest Latin I ever knew in any man; he was master of both Greek and Hebrew, and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was, he was possessed with the highest and boldest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man; he had no regard for his person, unless it was to mortify it by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had both a contempt of wealth and reputation: he seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, and to desire that all other persons should think as meanly of him as he did himself. He bore all sorts of ill usage and reproach like a man that took pleasure in it. He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper that in a great variety of accidents, and in the course of twenty years of intimate conversation with him, I never observed the least sign of passion but upon one single occasion. He brought himself into so composed a gravity that I never saw him laugh, and but seldom smile; and he kept himself in such a constant recollection, that I do not remember that I ever heard him say one idle word. There was a visible tendency in all he said to raise his own mind, and those he conversed with, to serious reflections. He seemed to be in a perpetual meditation; and, though the whole course of his life was strict and ascetical, yet he had nothing of the sourness of temper that generally possesses men of that sort. He was the freest from superstition, of censuring others, or of imposing his own methods on them, possible; so that he did not so much as recommend them to others. He said there was a diversity of tempers, and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the best manner he could. His thoughts were lively, oft out of the way and surprising, yet just and genuine. And he had laid together, in his memory, the greatest treasure of the best and wisest of all the ancient sayings of the heathens as well as Christians, that I have ever known any man master of, and he used them in the adapest manner possible. He had been bred up with the greatest aversion possible to the whole frame of the Church of England. From Scotland his father sent him to travel. He spent some years in France, and spoke the language like one born there. He came afterwards and settled in Scotland, and had the Presbyterian ordination; but he quickly bore through the prejudices of his education. His preaching had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity of his pronunciation was such, that few heard him without a very sensible emotion; I am sure I never did. His style was rather too fine; but there was a majesty and beauty in it that left so deep an impression, that I cannot yet forget the sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago; and yet with this he seemed to look on himself as so ordinary a preacher, that while he had the cure, he was ready to employ all others, and when he was a bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice beforehand. He had indeed a very low voice, and so could not be heard by a great crowd. He soon came to see into the follies of the Presbyterians, and to dislike their covenant, particularly their imposing it, and their fury against all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts; theirs were narrow as their tempers were

sour; so he grew weary of mixing with them. He scarce ever went to their meetings, and lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own parish at Newbattle, near Edinburgh. Yet all the opposition that he made to them was, that he preached up a more exact rule of life than seemed to them consistent with human nature; but his own practice did outshine his doctrine.

"In the year 1648 he declared himself for the engagement for the king. But the Earl of Lothian, who lived in his parish, had so high an esteem for him, that he persuaded the violent men not to meddle with him, though he gave occasion to great exception; for when some of his parish who had been in the engagement were ordered to make public profession of their repentance for it, he told them they had been in an expedition in which he believed they had neglected their duty to God, and had been guilty of injustice and violence, of drunkenness, and other immoralities, and he charged them to repent of these seriously, without meddling with the quarrel or the grounds of that war. He entered into a great correspondence with many of the Episcopal party, and with my own father in particular, and did wholly separate himself from the Presbyterians. At last he left them and withdrew from his cure, for he could not do the things imposed on him any longer. And yet he hated all contention so much that he chose rather to leave them in a silent manner, than to engage in any disputes with them. But he had generally the reputation of a saint and of something above human nature in him; so the mastership of the Edinburgh College falling vacant some time after, and it being in the gift of the city, he was prevailed on to accept it, because in it he was wholly separated from all church matters. He continued ten years in that post, and was a great blessing in it; for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction, that it had a great effect upon them. He preached often to them, and if crowds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his sermon in Latin, with a purity and life that charmed all who understood it. Thus he had lived above twenty years in Scotland, in the highest reputation that any man in my time ever had in the kingdom. He had a brother well known at court, Sir Elisha, who was very like him in face and in the vivacity of his parts; but the most unlike him in all other things that can be imagined. For though he loved to talk of great sublimities in religion, yet he was a very immoral man. He was a Papist of a form of his own; but he had changed his religion to raise himself at court, for he was at that time secretary to the Duke of York, and was very intimate with Lord Aubigny, a brother of the Duke of Richmond's, who had changed his religion, and was a priest, and had probably been a cardinal if he had lived longer. He maintained an outward decency, and had more learning and better notions than men of quality who enter into the church generally have. Yet he was a very vicious man; and that perhaps made him the more considered by the king [Charles II.], who loved and trusted him to a high degree. No man had more credit with the king; for he was in the secret as to his religion, and was more trusted with the whole designs that were then managed in order to establish it, than any man whatsoever. Sir Elisha brought his brother and him acquainted; for Leighton loved to know men in all the varieties of religion. In the vacation time he made excursions and came often to London, where he observed all the eminent men in Cromwell's court, and in the several parties then about the city of London; but he told me that they were men of unquiet and meddling tempers;

and that their discourses were very dry and unsavoury, full of airy cant or of bombast swellings. Sometimes he went over to Flanders to see what he could find in the several orders of the Church of Rome. There he found some of Jansenius' followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages; on which all his thoughts were much set. He thought controversies had been too much insisted upon, and had been carried too far. His brother, who thought of nothing but the raising himself at court, fancied that his being made a bishop might render himself more considerable; so he possessed Lord Aubigny with such an opinion of him, that he made the king apprehend that a man of his piety and his notions (and his not being married was not forgot) might contribute to carry on their designs. He fancied such a monastic man, who had a great stretch of thought and so many other eminent qualities, would be a mean at least to prepare the nation for Popery, if he did not directly come over to them, for his brother did not stick to say he was sure that lay at the root with him. So the king named him of his own proper motion, which gave all those who began to suspect the king himself great jealousies of him. Leighton was averse to this promotion as much as possible. His brother had great power over him, for he took care to hide his vices from him, and to make before him a show of piety. He seemed to be a Papist rather in name and show than in reality, of which I will set down one instance that was then much talked of. Some of the Church of England loved to magnify the sacrament in an extraordinary manner, affirming the real presence, only blaming the Church of Rome for defining the manner of it, saying Christ was present in the most inconceivable manner. This was so much the mode that the king and all the court went into it; so the king, upon some railery about transubstantiation, asked Sir Elisha if he believed it. He answered he could not well tell, but he was sure the Church of England believed it; and when the king seemed amazed at that, he replied, Do you not believe that Christ is present in the most inconceivable manner—which the king granted. Then said he, That is just transubstantiation, the most inconceivable thing that was ever yet invented. When Leighton was prevailed upon to accept a bishopric, he chose Dumblane, a small diocese as well as a little revenue. But the deanery of the chapel-royal was annexed to that see. So he was willing to engage in that, that he might set up the common prayer in the king's chapel, for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The English clergy were well pleased with him, finding him both more learned and more thoroughly versed in the other points of uniformity than the rest of the Scottish clergy, whom they could not much value; and though Sheldon did not much like his great strictness, in which he had no mind to imitate him, yet he thought such a man as he was might give credit to Episcopacy, in its first introduction to a nation much prejudiced against it. Sharpe did not know what to make of all this. He neither liked his strictness of life nor his notions. He believed they would not take the same methods, and fancied he might be much obscured by him, for he saw he would be well supported. He saw the Earl of Lauderdale began to magnify him, and so Sharpe did all he could to discourage him, but without any effect, for he had no regard to him. I bear still the greatest veneration for the memory of that man that I do for any person, and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, and my long

and intimate conversation with him, that continued to his death, for twenty-three years, among the greatest blessings of my life, and for which I know I must give an account to God in the great day, in a most particular manner; and yet, though I know this account of his promotion may seem a blemish upon him, I would not conceal it, being resolved to write of all persons and things with all possible candour. I had the relation of it from himself, and more particularly from his brother. But what hopes soever the Papists had of him at this time, when he knew nothing of the design of bringing in Popery, and had therefore talked of some points of Popery with the freedom of an abstracted or speculative man; yet he expressed another sense of the matter when he came to see it was really to be brought in amongst us. He then spoke of Popery in the complex at much another rate; and he seemed to have more zeal against it than I thought was in his nature with relation to any points in controversy, for his abstraction made him seem cold in all these matters. But he gave all who conversed with him a very different view of Popery, when he saw we were really in danger of coming under the power of a religion that had, as he used to say, much of the wisdom that was earthly, sensual, and devilish; but had nothing in it of the wisdom that is from above, and is pure and peaceable. He did indeed think the corruptions and cruelties of Popery were such gross and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that church under those just and visible prejudices but the several orders among them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world, and with all the work that was among them, maintained a face of piety and devotion. He also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses, and that course of life free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preserved; so that the Protestant churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers. I have dwelt long upon this man's character, but it was so singular that it seemed to deserve it; and I was so singularly blessed by knowing him as I did, that I am sure he deserved it of me, that I should give so full a view of him, which I hope may be of some use to the world."

Leighton remained ten years principal of the college of Edinburgh, where he conducted himself with a degree of diligence, wisdom, and prudence, that engaged universal respect and esteem, and proved of essential benefit to the students. The funds of that seminary were then very low, and Leighton did not scruple to go to London to appeal to the generosity of Cromwell in favour of his object. That extraordinary man ordered an annuity of £200 a year to be granted in 1658, a sum that at the time was of considerable use; but on the death of the Protector, which took place shortly after, it fell to the ground, as all his acts were rescinded at the Restoration. The state of the Presbyterian church in Scotland when Charles II. ascended the throne was extremely critical—betrayed by its own ministers, and secretly hated by the king, who had sworn to defend its rights. James Sharpe, who was commissioned to go to London to defend the rights of the Scottish church, was a man capable of any duplicity or baseness that would in the main advance his own interests, while his communications with his brethren at home were lying and deceitful. He had the effrontery to impress on the minds of the court that the people of Scotland were at heart unfriendly to Presbytery, and secretly attached to Episcopacy. However Charles may have doubted the truth of

such an account, he was glad to avail himself of Sharpe's duplicity to give ascendancy to Prelacy; and notwithstanding the memorials and remonstrances from the Scottish church, and the interference of men of rank and importance, he determined on the re-establishment of a hierarchy in Scotland.

Sharpe, as a reward for his perfidious apostasy, was to be elevated to the primacy. He had the recommendation also of other persons to fill the different vacant sees; but Leighton was the last man he would ever have thought of pointing out, as he shrunk from approaching a character so upright and virtuous, in every way superior to himself. But Sir Elisha Leighton, already referred to by Burnet, having an-eye to his own interests, considered that by having a brother, over whom he had already gained some ascendancy, high in the church, much might be expected. As he affected to be strongly attached to Popery to please the Duke of York, whose secretary he was, he vainly thought, as his relative was on many occasions known to evince a great respect for some good men connected with the Church of Rome, that in time he might be gained over to promote and adopt that faith. Blinded by selfish ambition, he was incapable of perceiving, like the illustrious Burnet, that of all men Leighton was the least likely to favour a religion which he characterized as "earthly, sensual, and devilish, with nothing in it of the wisdom that was from above, and was pure and peaceable." Indeed it was a matter of considerable difficulty, as it will appear, to prevail upon him to join the Episcopalians. The king, though pleased at finding Sharpe and others subservient in all points to his wishes, still knew that their characters must stand degraded in the eyes of the people, as they were men neither of piety nor moderation, and that it would be, above all, necessary to strengthen their ranks by those who stood high and worthy in the eyes of the world; for this reason he personally solicited Leighton to accept of a mitre. The Earl of Lauderdale and his brother, and some of the most moderate and respectable of his countrymen, exerted themselves to gain the same result, but all seemed of no avail. Leighton still refused, as he evidently mistrusted the men to whom the government of the new church was to be confided, and he could not but see that the methods they resorted to were violent and repugnant to the principles and desires of the people of Scotland. "It was at last mentioned to him that the king had issued positive orders for him to yield, unless in fact he regarded the episcopal office as unwarrantable." To that extreme he would not go, as he all along was favourable to that order, if divested of its useless pomp.

He was at length persuaded that a regard to the interests of the church rendered it his duty to accept it; but in order to demonstrate to the world that avarice was not his principle, he made choice of Dumblane, as of small extent and little revenue. He was consecrated, along with Sharpe and two other Scottish bishops, at the Abbey Church of Westminster, which occasion was celebrated with great feasting and pomp. Leighton could not help remarking, "that it had not such an appearance of seriousness or piety as became the new modelling of a church." It is with considerable hesitation we are obliged to remark, that in this instance the conduct of Leighton exhibits a want of the Christian consistency and simplicity generally displayed in his character. Admitting that his reason for joining the Episcopal church was the virtuous intention of softening down the asperities of two rival systems which had long struggled for ascendancy, yet the time was unseasonable, when selfish and bad men were endeavouring by all crooked means to build

their fortunes on the ruin of their country and their shameful apostasy. He was induced, too, to lend the weight of his virtuous name in countenancing the acts of a reckless and unprincipled tyrant, bent on the total subversion of those forms of religion connected with his earliest associations, and in whose defence his father had almost suffered martyrdom. That he was free from all interested motives every one must admit; and in justice to his character we shall quote from Pearson (p. 43) the following extract of a letter written by him in reference to his appointment:—"There is in this preferment something that would allow of reconciling the devout on different sides, and of enlarging those good souls you meet with from their little fetters, though possibly with little success. Yet the design is commendable—pardonable at least. However, one comfort I have, that in what is pressed on me there is the least of my own choice; yea, on the contrary, the strongest aversion that I ever had to anything in all my life; the difficulty, in short, lies in a necessity of either owning a scruple which I have not, or the rudest disobedience to the authority that may be. The truth is, I am yet importuning and struggling for a liberation, and look upward for it; but whatever be the issue, I look beyond it and this weary, wretched world, through which the hand I have resigned to, I trust, will lead me into the path of his own choosing: and, so I may please him, I am satisfied. I hope if ever we meet, you shall find me in the love of solitude and a devout life."

He lost no time in endeavouring to persuade Sharpe to join with him in some moderate plan, founded on Archbishop Usher's scheme for uniting the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, but to his astonishment he found him unwilling even to talk on the subject. He and the other newly made bishops seemed only anxious to get possession of their sees. This circumstance was discouraging to Leighton, who soon perceived that such men were not designed by Providence to build up the church. Soon after their consecration the Scottish bishops went down to Scotland in one coach; but when they came to Morpeth, finding that they intended to be received at Edinburgh with pomp and ostentation, Leighton parted company from them, and arrived at the capital some days before them. He would not even have the title of lord given to him by his friends, and was not easy when others used it in addressing him. Leighton soon perceived with deep regret that the government was resolved to enforce conformity on the Presbyterians by severe means. He laboured all in his power to show the impolicy of such proceedings, and in the session of parliament in April, 1662, when the ministers to whom the oath of allegiance and supremacy was tendered, consented to take it with an explanation, which they presented to the house, he pleaded strenuously that it might be accepted, and insisted that the conditions asked by the Presbyterians were just, and should in reason be granted. Sharpe with his usual vehemence answered that it was below the dignity of government to make acts to satisfy the scruples of peevish men, and "that it ill became those who had imposed their covenant on all people, without any explication, and had forced all to take it, now to expect such extraordinary favours." "For that very reason," replied Leighton, "it ought to be done, that all people may see the difference between the mild proceedings of the government and their rivals; and that it ill became the very same persons who had complained of that, now to practise it themselves, for thus, it may be said, the world goes mad at times." But the voice of violence prevailed. The Scottish bishops were

entitled to a seat in parliament on their consecration, and were one and all invited to avail themselves of the privilege. Leighton was the only one that declined the honour. He retired to his see, and resolved never to appear in parliament unless the interests of religion were called in question, or by his presence he might assist it. In his own diocese he set a bright example to his brethren by practising the moderation which he recommended. He studied to make his clergymen a well-informed, serious, and useful body of men; and he even tolerated the preaching of non-conforming ministers in districts where the people were particularly attached to them. He continued a private and ascetic course of life, and gave all his income, except the little he expended on his own person, to the poor. By these means he became generally beloved through his diocese, and even softened down the feelings of those who were most adverse to Episcopacy.

In the year 1665 the proceedings in Scotland by the ecclesiastical high-commission were so severe and illegal, that Leighton was prevailed on to go to court and lay before the king a true account of them. On this occasion he assured his majesty that the measures which Sharpe and other members of the court pursued were so violent, "that he could not concur in planting of the Christian religion itself in such a manner, much less a form of government. He therefore entreated leave to quit his bishopric, and to retire, for he thought he was in some sort accessory to the violence of others." The king seemed to be deeply affected with the complaints of the worthy prelate, and issued an order in council for discontinuing the ecclesiastical commission, and less rigorous measures were promised to be pursued with respect to Scotland; but the king would not hear of Leighton's resigning his see. Deceived by the specious conduct of Charles on this interview, and perhaps aware that if he retired he would lose all authority or chance of standing between the people of Scotland and persecution, he returned to his see, and resumed the charge of his sacred functions. It is almost needless to add that no reliance could be placed on the promise of protection from so deceitful a monarch. Matters in Scotland were driven to such dreadful extremities by the base and tyrannical authorities, that it was impossible to bear up much longer against them.

In 1667 Leighton was once more prevailed on to go to London, where he laid before the king the outrageous conduct of the former administrations of church affairs, and implored him to adopt more moderate counsels; in particular he proposed a comprehension of the Presbyterian party, by altering the terms of the laws a little, and by such abatements as might preserve the whole for the future by giving a little for the present. This audience had the good effect of inducing the king to write a letter to the privy-council, ordering them to indulge such of the Presbyterians as were moderate and loyal, so far as to suffer them to serve in vacant churches, though they did not submit to the ecclesiastical establishment. This small indulgence enraged the Episcopal party in Scotland; they thought it illegal and fatal to the interests of the church, and directed an address to be drawn up expressive of their sentiments, though they did not venture to present it. A copy, however, was privately sent up to the court, and drew down the king's resentment on the head of the Archbishop of Glasgow. When parliament assembled an act was obtained, a clause of which declared the settling of all things relating to the external government of the church to be the right of the crown. This clause, Leighton informed Burnet,

was surreptitiously inserted after the draught and form of the act was agreed upon, and was generally thought to be the work of Lauderdale. Such a fearful stretch of the prerogative alarmed both Episcopalians and Presbyterians; the former said it assimilated the king to a pope; the latter that it placed him in Christ's stead. The Archbishop of Glasgow thought it prudent immediately to resign his see, as he dreaded the coming storm, and knew he had no other chance of escaping its vengeance. Lauderdale and Lord Tweeddale fixed upon Leighton, and immediately offered to have him promoted to that high dignity; but though eagerly solicited by these noble lords, he respectfully declined the appointment. The king at last sent for him, and promised that he should be backed by the assistance of the court in his endeavours to accomplish his long-meditated and favourite scheme of a comprehension of the Presbyterians. He was at length persuaded to comply, and in 1670 he, without removing from Dumblane, undertook the administration of the see of Glasgow; nor was he at all willing to be consecrated archbishop until a year after. The plan of accommodation between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, the particulars of which may be seen in Burnet's *History*, was, by the king's direction, limited to certain instructions, by which Lauderdale was empowered to embody the concessions that were to be offered into laws. Encouraged even by this support, Leighton had frequent conferences with some of the most eminent Presbyterian ministers, but in vain; he found it impossible to gain them over even to the most moderate form of Episcopacy. It is evident the Presbyterians mistrusted the overture in question, and looked upon it as a snare to lull their vigilance; and they had already too many deceitful examples in a former reign to think that the friends of Prelacy were now either more humane or honourable. The result of these negotiations grieved Leighton very much, while they delighted Sharpe and all of the same party, to whom everything like liberality or concession in favour of peace and religion was alike unknown or despised. They even went so far as to hint, in very intelligible terms, that under the mask of moderation he was secretly undermining their cause. Being thus unhappily situated, and despairing of being able to carry his great designs of healing the divisions and reforming the abuses in the church, he resolved to relinquish his see and retire into seclusion. He said "that his work seemed to be at an end, and that he had no more to do, unless he had a mind to please himself with the lazy enjoying of a good revenue." His friend Dr. Burnet endeavoured all in his power to make him give up this idea, but all to no purpose; the good man was resolute. He repaired to London, and after much difficulty obtained the king's reluctant consent to his resignation on condition that he would remain in office for another year. The court thought it possible in the interval that he might be gained over to remain and assist a cause fast falling into hatred and contempt by his pious and venerable name. He returned "much pleased with what he had obtained, and said to Dr. Burnet upon it, that there was now but one uneasy stage between him and rest, and he would wrestle through it the best he could." He continued to perform his duties with the same zeal as before, and at the end of the year 1673 he hastened to London and tendered his resignation, and was succeeded by the former possessor of the see, Dr. Alexander Burnet.¹ After residing for some time in the

¹ The following paper was left by Leighton for the purpose of explaining his reasons for resigning the see of Glasgow. It

college of Edinburgh, where he had long been principal, amongst a set of select friends, equally distinguished for their learning and piety, he removed to Broadhurst, an estate in Sussex belonging to his sister, Mrs. Lightwater, for whom he entertained the strongest affection. Here he lived ten years, occupied in study, meditation, and prayer, and doing all the good in his power. He distributed through the hands of other persons whatever he possessed beyond the means of subsistence—so unostentatious was he in his charity. He was in every instance through life most generous in pecuniary matters. When principal of the college of Edinburgh he presented the city with £150, the income of which was destined for the support of a student in philosophy. The college of Glasgow is also indebted to him for two bursaries, or for a sum the interest of which is to be appropriated to support two students. On the hospital of St. Nicholas, Glasgow, he bestowed £150, the proceeds of which were to be given to two poor men of good character. Three such persons are now enjoying the benefit of that sum, which yields £4, 10s. annually to each of them. This forms but a small specimen of the good works he performed during his long and valuable life.

Five years after he had retired from the business of active life, he was surprised and alarmed at receiving from his sovereign the following epistle:

“Windsor, July 16, 1679.

“MY LORD,—I am now resolved to try what clemency can prevail upon such in Scotland as will not conform to the government of the church there; for effecting of which design I desire you may go down to Scotland with your first conveyancy, and take all possible pains for persuading all you can of both opinions to as much mutual correspondence and concord as may be; and send me from time to time characters of both men and things. In order to this design I shall send you a precept for two hundred pounds sterling upon my exchequer till you resolve how to serve me in a stated employment. Your loving friend,

“CHARLES R.”

“For the Bishop of Dumblane.”

has been preserved in the university of Edinburgh, over which he so long and ably presided.

“Whatever others may judge, that know what past before my engaging in this charge, will not (I believe), impute my retreat from it from levity or unfixedness of mind, considering how often I declared before hand, both by word and write, the great suspicion I had that my continuance in it would be very short; neither is it from any sudden passion or sullen discontent that I have now resigned it; nor do I know any cause imaginable for any such thing, but the true reasons of my retiring are plainly and briefly these:

“1. The sense I have of the dreadful weight of whatsoever charge of souls, and all kinds of spiritual inspection over people; but much more over ministers; and withal of my own extreme unworthiness and unfitness for so high a station in the church; and there is an episcopal act that is above all the rest most formidable to me—the ordaining of ministers.

“2. The continuing and deeply increasing divisions and contentions and many other disorders of the church, and the little or no appearance of their cure for our time; and the little hope, amidst those contentions and disorders, of doing anything in this station to promote the great design of religion in the hearts and lives of men, which were the only worthy reasons of continuing in it, though it were with much pains and reluctance.

“3. The earnest desire I have long had of a retired and private life, which is now much increased by sickness and old age drawing on, and the sufficient experience I have of the folly and vanity of the world.

“To add any farther discourse, a large apology in this matter were to no purpose; but, instead of removing other mistakes and misconstructions, would be apt to expose me to one more, for it would look like too much valuing either of myself or of the world's opinion, both of which I think I have so much reason to despise.”—*Baxter's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. App. No. 6.

Leighton was now in his sixty-eighth year; and however flattering such a notice might be to a mind of an inferior grade, to his, which was exclusively bent on preparing for a heavenly kingdom, it gave only pain and apprehension. What were the vain disputes of angry men to him? besides, he could have little or no hopes in succeeding in the mission. He was saved however the trouble of trying the experiment, as the Duke of Monmouth, with whom the humane plan originated, fell into discredit, and the offer made to Leighton was never again renewed. This was the only serious interruption he met with in his retirement. Burnet saw him two years after, and says, “I was amazed to see him at above seventy look so fresh and well, that age seemed as it were to stand still with him. His hair was still black, and all his motions were lively; he had the same quickness of thought and strength of memory; but above all, the same heat and life of devotion that I had ever seen him in.” “When I took notice to him,” continues this celebrated writer, “upon my first seeing him how well he looked, he told me he was very near his end for all that, and his work and journey were now almost done. This at the time made no great impression on me. He was next day taken with an oppression, and it seemed with cold and with stitches, which was indeed a pleurisy.” This disease he foretold was doomed to be his last; he grew so suddenly ill, that speech and sense almost immediately left him; and in twelve hours after the first attack he breathed his last, without a struggle, in the arms of his long-revered and faithful friend Dr. Burnet, on the 26th June, 1684, at the advanced age of seventy-four. The place in which his pure spirit departed from its earthly tenement was an inn in Warwick Lane, London; and it is somewhat singular that he often used to say, that if he had the power to choose a place to breathe his last in, it would be an inn. “It looked,” he said, “like a pilgrim's going home, to whom this world was all an inn, and who was weary of the noise and confusion of it.” He thought, too, that the distress of friends and relations at the time of death was apt to withdraw the mind from serious thoughts; to keep it from being wholly directed to God. He bequeathed his books to the cathedral of Dumblane, and the residue of his limited fortune to his sister, Mrs. Lightwater, and her son, to be distributed as they thought fit to charitable purposes. After the character already given of him by his friend Burnet, it would be superfluous to add anything here.¹

His body was interred in the burial-ground of Horstead Heynes, in the parish which for ten years had been honoured by his residence. A simple inscription marks the spot where his remains are laid.² The family of his sister is now extinct, and the estate is in the hands of another. His brother Sir Elisha, it may be here stated, died a few months before him, and was interred in the same place.

LEITH, GENERAL SIR JAMES, G.C.B., a hero of the Peninsular war, was the third son of John Leith, Esq. of Leithwall, Aberdeenshire, where he

¹ The writings of Archbishop Leighton are thus enumerated in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*:—“*Sermons*, London, 1692, 4to. *Prelectiones Theologicae*, 1693, 4to. *A Practical Commentary on the Two First Chapters of the First Epistle of St. Peter*, York, 1693, 2 vols. 4to; also in 2 vols. 8vo—an admirable commentary, which has been often reprinted. Three posthumous tracts; viz. *Rules for a Holy Life*; a *Sermon*; and a *Catechism*, London, 1708, 12mo.” The best edition of Leighton's whole works is that by Jarment, in 6 vols. 8vo, 1806.

² Depositu Roberti Leightounii, Archiepiscopi Glasguensis, apud Scotus, qui obiit xxv. die Junii anno Dni, 1684, ætatis suæ 74.

was born, on the 8th of August, 1763. He was educated first under a private tutor, and afterwards at the university of Aberdeen; and even in his boyish years was noted for an intrepidity and generosity of nature which gave promise of no common career. At Lisle he perfected himself in the studies suitable for a military life, and in 1780 entered the army, having been appointed to a second lieutenant's command in the 21st regiment, from which he was soon after raised to the rank of lieutenant and captain in the 81st Highland regiment. At the peace in 1783 he removed to the 5th regiment, then at Gibraltar, and was appointed aid-de-camp to Sir Robert Boyd, governor of the fort. Upon the appointment of General O'Hara to serve at Toulon, he was engaged in the defence of that station against the French republican army, as his aid-de-camp. He served Major-general David Dundas in a similar capacity, and upon the British forces being withdrawn from Toulon, he returned to England, being appointed major by brevet in 1794.

Major Leith raised a regiment of fencibles in Aberdeenshire, at the head of which he served in Ireland during the rebellion. He was there successively raised to the rank of colonel, brigadier-general, and major-general. He was next ordered to active service in the Peninsula. He joined the British army under Sir John Moore, being at first appointed to the command of the 26th and 81st regiments, which he afterwards exchanged for the brigade of the 51st, 59th, and 76th. Napoleon had now taken possession of Madrid, defeated the army of the Estremadura, and retiring to the north of Europe, left Marshals Soult and Ney to follow up the British army, which at this late season of the year, and under many disadvantages, had made good their retreat to Corunna. Sir John Hope's division had been ordered to keep in check the French corps, which had bivouacked on the heights opposite Lugo; and on 7th January, 1809, they attacked Major-general Leith's brigade, with four pieces of cannon, on the side of a ravine which separated the two armies; but were gallantly repulsed by General Leith, who, at the head of his light companies, drove them into the ravine, and dispersed them. When the British had reached Corunna, after one of the most arduous retreats ever undertaken, in the depth of winter, and the minds both of men and officers were cast down with the hardships of their situation, they encamped in front of the town, that they might afford protection to the harbour and the commissariat; the fleet not having yet arrived from Vigo. The French army, having passed the river on the 16th January, 1809, occupied the rising ground above the village of Burgos; their left was protected by the wood above the village of Elvina, and their right rested on the great road from Betanzos, under the command of Marshal Soult. The third column of the enemy, directing from its centre an attack against the left of the guards and the 81st regiment, General Leith being ordered to place himself at the head of the 59th, made a charge, principally with the grenadiers of the regiment, and forced the enemy to retreat upon his position; while Major-general Paget, with part of the reserve, bravely sustained an attack on the British right, and threatened to outflank the enemy. The heavy cannonade kept up by the French, in which they had a decided advantage, did fatal execution; but the village on the El Burgo road, that had been occupied by a column which prevented the British from sending succours to the chief points of attack, being carried by part of the 14th regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Nicolls, at the point of the bayonet, the enemy retired to his commanding position.

The advanced posts of the British took possession of their original station, and the darkness of the night put a stop to a battle in which the chief by his bravery, and the sacrifice of his own life, redeemed the honour of the British army from a retreat allowed to have been somewhat precipitate.

Having been in September, 1810, appointed to the command of a corps of 10,000 men, General Leith was next engaged in the affair of Busaco in Spain, where the whole French army, under Marshal Massena, was assembled. This corps was stationed between the division of Sir Rowland Hill on his right, flanked by the Mondego river and the third division on his left. At break of day the guns at the convent of Busaco opened a heavy fire, and a serious attack was made on the third division posted on that part of the sierra near the great road to St. Antonio de Cantara. General Leith moved to the support of this division, but meeting with a strong column of the enemy on their way to this point, he quickly brought up Colonel Barnes' brigade, the 9th and 38th regiments, to the head of the column, and after a well-managed fire, drove them, at the head of the 9th regiment, from their position. The light troops of the third division were already driven back from the heights, with loss, by the enemy; but with that promptitude and firmness for which he was distinguished, General Leith attacked them by a rapid movement, and, after a brilliant charge at the head of the 9th or 88th regiment, before they had time to form or collect in numbers, General Regnier was obliged to desist, while the column which attacked the left was driven into the valley of Mondego. In this engagement 7000 of the enemy were either slain or taken prisoners, and, in consequence of it, Massena's direct communication with Lisbon was obstructed. Had General Trant arrived in time at the position of Sardao, as Lord Wellington had expected, the French army would have been placed in a very critical situation, and with difficulty have escaped.

Lord Wellington was now reinforced by two divisions, the fifth, which was committed to the charge of Major-general Leith, consisting of Major-general Hay's, Major-general Dunlop's, and Brigadier-general Spry's brigades; and the sixth, commanded by Major-general Campbell. The British army was now encamped in the strongholds of the Torres-Vedras, covering the town of Lisbon, to take which the enemy found impracticable, and soon retreated. But General Leith, suffering a severe attack from the Walcheren fever, was under the necessity of leaving Lisbon and returning to England. The French now made a rapid retreat, and being pursued by Wellington, were speedily driven from Portugal, with the exception of one garrison at Almeida. Having rejoined the army which had taken possession of Ciudad Rodrigo, General Leith sat down before the fortress of Badajos. The siege of this fortified place had been commenced on the 16th March, and a fire being opened on the 25th, with 28 pieces of ordnance, the outwork called La Picurina was stormed by 500 men of the third division; the second parallel was opened, and 26 pieces of cannon were directed against the bastion of the south-east angle of the fort called La Trinidad, the flank of Santa Maria, and the curtain of La Trinidad, where three breaches were effected. The fourth and light divisions, which during the siege had occupied the ground that was now assigned to the fifth, under Major-general Leith, were appointed to attack the trenches on the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Maria. The Honourable Major-general Colville, with the fourth and light divisions under Colonel Barnard, proceeded by the

river Rivellas, descended without difficulty into the ditch, and advanced to the assault of the trenches with great bravery; but from the numerous explosions which took place at the top of the breaches, the whole place appearing to be one mine, and throwing out bullets, they were unable to enter. The governor, Philippon, allowed to be one of the best engineers in the French service, had provided for the defence of the breaches by placing a chevaux-de-frise, its beam a foot square, with points projecting a yard in every direction, across the gorge, and by fastening to the ground, around the mouth of the breach, pieces of wood with sword-blades and bayonets, besides placing a column of soldiers behind, eight deep. An incessant fire was kept up by the front ranks, which were supplied with loaded pieces by those who stood behind. Major Wilson, of the 48th regiment, which had been sent against the ravelin of San Roque, had carried it by the gorge, and with the assistance of Major Squire established himself in the place.

In the meantime Lieutenant-general Leith, who had been directed to make a false attack on the Pardaleras, and, if possible, escalate the bastion of San Vicente, had executed the former part of his order with the 8th cacadores under Major Hill. He now pushed forward Major-general Walker's brigade on the left, supported by the 38th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Nugent, with which he proceeded about eleven o'clock to the attack of this almost impregnable fortress. He forced the barrier on the road to Olivenza, and entering the covered way at the bastion of San Vicente, descended into the ditch, and was already at the foot of the scarp of the bottom, which was thirty-one feet six inches high, defended by a flank with four guns, with a counterscarp wall eleven feet nine inches deep, and a ditch. Of all the other divisions engaged in the reduction of this fortress, the third or fighting division alone had been able to execute their orders; this, under the gallant Lieutenant-general Picton, had forced the palisadoes, passed the ditches, surmounted the wall (twenty-six feet high) with ladders, and, exposed to a heavy fire and severe loss, fought its way to the castle, which eventually was taken. The fourth division, in endeavouring to mount the breach of La Trinidad and Santa Maria, was obliged to retire on its reserves in the quarries by means of a strong concentrated and cross fire. But General Leith, who set all calculation at defiance, and was exposed to a most destructive fire while yet on the glacis, neglecting entirely the flanks, escalated the bastion of San Vicente with less than twelve ladders, and in the face of the enemy, who lined the works, mounted the ramparts, thirty-one and a half feet high, drove the defenders before him, and thus gave the signal of victory, by taking possession of the town. He now silenced the batteries near the breach, which had greatly annoyed the third division, opened a communication at the breaches for the light and fourth divisions to enter, and the sound of the trumpets giving the signal of advance was now heard in every direction, while the enemy, distracted on all hands, were able to make but a feeble resistance. This escalate, which has been considered by the historians of the Peninsular war as an extraordinary instance of British valour and intrepidity, was decisive as to the fate of Badajos. The fortress quickly yielded to the allied troops, and the British flag was quickly seen waving over its battlements, the French eagle being trampled in the dust, but not before 700 alone of the fifth division were either killed or wounded.

Lord Wellington now pushed forward to Salamanca, the depot for the army of Portugal, where

the Duke of Ragusa had left a garrison of 800 men, and encamped his army on the plain of Villares, a position at no great distance. The convent of San Vicente was reduced by means of hot shot, Gayetano carried, and these, together with another fort, entirely destroyed. The French and British armies—the former of which was vastly superior—after several unsuccessful attempts to bring each the other into action, marched in column simultaneously along the heights, by parallel movements, in the direction of Salamanca, frequently cannonading and skirmishing. The Duke of Ragusa, on the left bank of the river Douro, occupied one of the Arapiles, his left resting upon an extensive forest; an important station, where he could readily annoy the communication with Ciudad Rodrigo, and otherwise embarrass the British army in its movements. In making a feint opposite the fifth division, however, and bringing forward his left wing in a direction parallel almost with the right of the British, and apparently to force their post on the Arapiles and annoy them on the right, he extended his army too far; and Lord Wellington, who had determined to retire into his stronghold at Ciudad Rodrigo, observing this favourable opportunity, resolved to give battle, and for this purpose rapidly moved the third division across the valley to the left of the enemy, from the extreme right on the Ciudad Rodrigo road, where it had commenced its retreat, and attacked them by surprise on the flank. The main body of Marmont's army had crossed the Tormes by the fords of Huerta. To the left of the British cavalry stood the fourth and fifth divisions, which extended in two lines to the foot of the Arapiles, near the Portuguese regiments; the first and light divisions being drawn up to the left of the Arapiles, and the sixth and seventh kept in reserve. Lieutenant-general Leith, having opened himself upon Brigadier-general Bradford's Portuguese brigade, when it came parallel with his front-line, was ordered to direct his march to the heights, and dislodge the enemy. In conjunction with the fourth and fifth divisions the front was attacked by Brigadier-general Bradford's brigade and the cavalry under the command of Sir Stapleton Cotton. This order was the more welcome as the fifth division had been for an hour exposed to a galling and murderous fire; and having equalized the two lines into which it had been divided, and regulated the advance, the gallant captain, afterwards Colonel Leith Hay, M.P., who had at this time a horse killed under him, was despatched as aid-de-camp with an order for the light infantry in front to clear the line of march of the enemy's voltigeurs, and secure, if practicable, some of the most advanced of their guns, which amounted to 20 opposite the fifth division alone. General Bradford's brigade, and the heavy cavalry of General Le Merchant, which had been on the right of the fifth, moved in unison with that division. The second line of the division was about a hundred yards in the rear of the first, and between these at one time Lord Wellington was stationed, while watching the progress of the attack. In front rode General Leith, directing its movements and regulating the approach of the troops, who had formed into squares; and when with his staff he reached the summit of the eminence where the artillery which had so annoyed them had been placed, about a mile from his former station, he found the enemy drawn up in contiguous squares, the front rank kneeling, and ready to pour their murderous shot into the British line. A heavy fire commenced as soon as they broke over the heights, and discharging their musketry when about thirty yards from the enemy, the fifth raised a shout of triumph, advanced to the charge, and at the point

of the bayonet pierced the enemy's squares, which were soon put into disorder and broken, the cavalry having cut in pieces a body of their infantry. The victorious fifth pressed forward, supported on the right flank by the heavy cavalry of Le Merchant, while General Pakenham, brother-in-law to Lord Wellington, at the head of the third division and the Portuguese cavalry of D'Urban, turned the enemy's left in four columns, and attacking them in flank overthrew everything that opposed them. For a time the fourth division was unable to drive back Bonnet's column, which outflanked it; but on the approach of the fifth and sixth divisions, which came to their assistance, the other parts of the French army being already in disorder, they were driven back in confusion on their own centre, and the third and fifth pressing forward, had the honour of deciding the battle of Salamanca, although the other parts of the British army fought bravely, and upheld the glory of the British name. General Leith, who had stationed himself in front of the colours of the 38th regiment, still maintained his position between the two hostile fires, and drove the enemy before him; but during this tremendous charge, while in the act of breaking the French squares, he received a severe wound which eventually caused him to quit the field. The right wing of the enemy's army was the last to give way, but being charged by the sixth, third, and fifth divisions in front, and pressed on the right by the fourth, light, and Portuguese divisions, it at length fled through the woods towards the Tormes, and was pursued by a brigade of the fourth, and some squadrons of cavalry, until night put a stop to the chase. The loss of the fifth division alone was 800 killed and wounded. The loss of the other divisions of the British army was equally severe, amounting in all to 840 killed, and 4723 wounded; but that of the enemy under Marmont, who was himself wounded by a howitzer shell, was 22,000 killed, and 7000 prisoners, out of an army amounting to between 46,000 and 50,000 men.

General Leith and his aid-de-camp, Captain Leith Hay, who was also severely wounded, were carried to the village of Las Torres, and from thence to the house of the Marquis Escalla in Salamanca, where the victory was celebrated by song and seguidillas, and every demonstration of joy. The distinguished merit of Lieutenant-general Leith during the Peninsular war was rewarded by the insignia of the Bath, as a special mark of the prince-regent's favour "for his distinguished conduct in the action fought near Corunna and in the battle of Busaco; for his noble daring at the assault and capture of Badajoz by storm; and for his heroic conduct in the ever-memorable action fought on the plains of Salamanca, where, in personally leading the fifth division to a most gallant and successful charge upon a part of the enemy's line, which it completely overthrew at the point of the bayonet, he and the whole of his personal staff were severely wounded." Several other marks of royal favour, in the spirit of ancient chivalry, were conferred upon him. His majesty gave his royal license and command "that to the armorial ensigns of his family, being a cross crosslet fitchée between three crescents in chief, and as many fusils in base, he may bear the following honourable augmentation, viz. on a chief, a bastion of a fortification intended to represent San Vicente, the British ensign hoisted on the angle, and the two faces near the salient angle surmounted each by two scaling ladders; and the following crest of honourable augmentation, viz. out of a mural crown inscribed with the word 'Salamanca,' a demi-lion, regardant quite de sang, in

the mouth and sinister paw an eagle, or standard reversed, the staff broken, intended to represent the French standard taken by the said fifth division of his majesty's army in the said ever-memorable battle of Salamanca, to be borne and used with the motto 'Badajos,' by the said Sir James Leith, and by his descendants, as a memorial to them and to his majesty's beloved subjects in general, of the sense which his royal highness entertains of his loyalty, ability, and valour; provided the said armorial distinction be first duly exemplified, according to the law of arms." The hero of Badajos and Salamanca, for so he is virtually acknowledged to be by this mark of royal favour, was also permitted to wear the insignia of an honorary knight-commander of the Portuguese royal military order of the Tower and Sword, conferred upon him as a mark of distinction for his bravery by the government of that country.

In April, 1813, the subject of our memoir, from the effects of the Walcheren fever, which he still felt, and the severe wound which he had received, was obliged to retire to England. Subsequently to this period the British army, under its renowned leader the Marquis of Wellington, took the offensive, and defeated the army of the south, the army of Portugal, and the army of the centre, under Marshal Jourdan in the battle of Vittoria, and compelled Joseph Bonaparte, who had been crowned King of Spain, to retire and quit that country. The marquis was successful in the battles of the Pyrenees, and resumed the siege of San Sebastian, which had been interrupted by the advance of the enemy. San Sebastian is situated in a peninsula, on the extremity of which rises a conical rock, of remarkable appearance, called Monte Orgullo, where the castle stands, distinctly separated from the town by an outer line of defence. The town, previously to the siege, contained a large population; its northern wall being washed by the river Urumea, the southern by the sea; and the western defences consist of a double line of works. It was a place of great strength, and possessed a garrison of 4000 troops. The siege had been commenced by the fifth division of the army and two Portuguese brigades, under Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham; but it was not till the 23d of July that two breaches, one of them 100 feet in length, had been effected, when an attempt was made to take the citadel, and the British were driven back, after they had penetrated into the town, with the loss of 900 men. Lord Wellington ordered another assault, after reconnoitring the breaches on the 31st of August, and as Sir James Leith had now joined the army, the immediate command of the storm was intrusted to this brave officer. The sea-wall having been levelled to the ground, the storming commenced at the two breaches, which were in the same curtain, at eleven in the forenoon, when the fall of the tide had left the wall dry; and in approaching, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, as the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of at least twenty feet to the level of the streets, and every point which bore upon the narrow passage was covered with men protected by intrenchments and traverses, who poured their destructive and successful fire upon the assailants as they approached. Many volunteers from the other divisions of the army had joined the fifth division, and notwithstanding the bravery of the troops, and the judicious arrangements of Sir James Leith, as they advanced they were mowed down like grass by the musketry of the defenders, particularly from the hornwork, and the shell and grape-shot from the batteries of the castle. The storm had now become a desperate one; but the presence of their commander,

who stood in a commanding and most exposed situation, about thirty yards in advance of the debouche from the trenches, and who conducted the attack in a truly heroic style, inspired them with unshaken confidence as they threaded their way through the large masses of the wall thrown down by the explosion of two mines; and General Robinson's brigade advanced to the breach, although for a long time no one outlived the attempt to gain the ridge of the wall. As they filed onwards they stumbled over their prostrate companions; and so great was the slaughter, that Sir James was obliged to send a staff officer with directions to remove the dead and the dying for the passage of the troops. About the same time Sir James Leith was thrown to the earth in an insensible state by the rebound of a plunging shot which had struck the ground; but refusing to quit the field, he continued to issue his orders in his usual precise and energetic manner, and while he was himself stooping to the ground cheered forward his troops.

Major-general Hay's division, consisting of the royals, 9th and 38th regiments, and a column of Portuguese infantry, forded the Urumea, and reached the lesser breach, under a very heavy and destructive fire. The British had persevered under a most murderous shower of round shot, grape, and musketry, to force an entrance into the town for two hours; and General Robinson's brigade had ascended to the crest, where he was severely wounded, whilst a fire of artillery had been directed against the curtain, passing only a few feet over their heads on the breach, which produced an immediate and advantageous effect. But although the exterior wall was completely beaten down, together with the houses fronting the interior, the inner retaining wall, which added greatly to the strength of the curtain, was as perfect and perpendicular as at first, varying from sixteen to thirty-five feet of altitude from the level of the town. Forty-seven pieces of heavy ordnance playing from the choffres and hills over the heads of the British troops, a mode of attack which evinced the resolution and self-confidence of Colonel Dickson and Sir Thomas Graham, who had recourse to it, as well as the skill of the British artillery, dispersed the fire of musketry, soon dismounted all the guns but two, and had the effect of driving the enemy back. To descend into the town by the breaches was yet found impracticable, for the enemy had constructed traverses, behind which were stationed French grenadiers, who put to death in safety the gallant soldiers as they attempted the passage, capable of admitting only one at a time; and yet their commander was convinced, and by his personal courage had shown that he was so, that British troops were invincible, and would do what human power could accomplish. A great explosion had taken place along the line of the wall, of fire-barrels, live shells, and hand-grenades, which had been placed in rear of the traverses by the besieged, and cleared it of the enemy. Under the panic occasioned by this catastrophe, the soldiers of General Hay's brigade, now commanded by Colonel Greville, the Royal Scots, and 9th regiment, under Colonel Cameron, entered by the passage along the curtain, close to the exterior wall, which was capable of admitting only one at a time; and charging the enemy at the point of the bayonet, down the flight of steps which led from the cavalier bastion, entered the town, and maintained their ground. Sir James Leith, who had long directed the progress of the assault from the strand at no great distance from the great breach, and who was completely exposed to the fire of the enemy, while in the act of directing additional sup-

port from the trenches, had before this time been wounded by the bursting of a shell near him, which broke his arm in two places, tearing the flesh from his left hand, and was reluctantly carried from the field, after fainting from loss of blood. In passing through the trenches he was recognized by the 9th regiment, whose dangers he had so often shared, who spontaneously cried out, that they should not return until the fifth division was crowned with victory, and the citadel of San Sebastian was taken. Soon afterwards Sir Richard Fletcher, the chief engineer, who had continued with Sir James during the siege, was killed by a musket-ball, which pierced his heart.

The command was now taken by Major-general Hay, who conducted with ability the attack to the last; and the issue was no longer doubtful, for the troops easily rushing forward, the hornwork was carried; the ruined fragments of the houses poured forth the assailants; the Portuguese detachments carried the lesser breach; and although the commander of the brave garrison, General Roy, had raised traverses across the streets, which were defended by cannon, one street was taken after another, till the allies gradually gained possession of the town, and at three o'clock this awful and murderous struggle terminated, which had raged with unabated fury during a period of four hours, and was maintained by both parties with desperate gallantry and resolution.

A barbarous scene of pillage and plunder now took place, unworthy of the British name and the high character of her soldiers; while on the 18th of September the castle surrendered, and thus the allies obtained possession of this northern Gibraltar of Spain, as it has been termed, with the loss of 500 killed and 1500 wounded.

Sir James Leith remained for two months in the country, trusting that an early recovery would permit him to resume his command; but it was at length found more advisable to return to England, which he did in November. He was now appointed commander of the forces in the West Indies and captain-general of the Leeward Islands, and, sailing to assume his important duties, arrived at Barbadoes on the 15th of June, 1814. The revolutionary spirit which broke out in France on the restoration of Napoleon soon extended itself to the French islands in the West Indies, and Martinique and Guadeloupe, which Sir James had restored to the crown of France, now at peace with Britain, soon manifested symptoms of revolt. The former, agreeably to instructions, was kept in awe by the presence of 2000 British troops, which were landed at Fort Royal; but at Guadeloupe the tricoloured flag was soon displayed, and the entire colony declared for the emperor. Transports, conveying troops, ammunition, and stores, immediately sailed from Barbadoes, and landed at Saintes, in the neighbourhood of Guadeloupe, which is upwards of 200 miles in circumference, and contains a population of 110,000 people. Preparations for war were then made, and Marie-galante was secured by a detachment of troops. The Comte de Linois, the French governor, who had organized a large body of militia, and never believed that the French army could be ready for action before the commencement of the hurricane months, was somewhat taken by surprise; and the commander of the forces having despatched 800 of the York rangers near Pautrizel, and an additional reinforcement, they drove the enemy from Dolet. Captain Leith Hay, aid-de-camp to Sir James Leith, obtained possession of Mome Boucannier, a height which commanded their position at Palmiste, from which they were dislodged, rapidly pressed their rear near Morne Honel,

and the heavy rains being now set in, on the 10th of August Sir James Leith was prepared to give battle, when they agreed to capitulate and surrender the island.

As a reward for these important services, the privy-council voted £2000 for the purchase of a sword, and the King of France, as a mark of the sense which he entertained of his great zeal, ability, and bravery, conferred upon him the grand cordon of the order of Military Merit. The object of these honours was soon, however, to be insensible to the pleasure which they were calculated to bestow. His constitution, shaken by the wounds which he had received, sank under the sultry climate of the West Indies; and he died of fever, after six days' illness, on the 16th of October, 1816.

Sir James Leith is invariably allowed to rank among the very highest of the excellent officers who seconded the efforts of Wellington during the Peninsular contest, and to whom that illustrious commander, who has now followed so many of his companions in arms to the grave, was himself the readiest to attribute the better share of the success which attended him in those memorable campaigns. He possessed all the qualities which form a great military character—intrepidity unbounded, or bounded only by the soundness of his judgment; skill in taking advantage of every contingency; and a genius for contriving, as well as perseverance and dexterity in executing, the most brilliant enterprises. To all these characteristics Sir James added that spirit of humanity which forms the crowning grace of this, even more peculiarly than any other, profession.

LESLIE, ALEXANDER, the celebrated military leader of the Covenanters during the civil wars of Charles I., created Lord Balgonie, and afterwards Earl of Leven, was the son of Captain George Leslie of Balgonie, by his wife Anne, a daughter of Stewart of Ballechin. Of the place of his birth, or the extent of his education, little can be said with certainty. Spalding says he was born in Balveny, which Gordon of Straloch affirms was never possessed by the Leslies, and of course, according to him, could not be the place of his birth. This he supposes to have been Tullich, which lies over against Balveny, on the east side of the water of Fiddich; or perhaps Kininvie, which lies a mile to the north of Tullich, on the same water of Fiddich. Gordon adds, that he "was a natural son of Kininvie's, and that his mother, during her pregnancy, could eat nothing but wheat bread, and drink nothing but wine, which Kininvie allowed her to be provided with, although she was nothing but a common servant." There is, however, much reason to suppose that this account of his birth is only a cavalier fiction.

Educated for the military profession, Leslie very early in life obtained a captain's commission in the regiment of Horatio Lord de Vere, then employed in Holland as auxiliaries to the Dutch in fighting for their liberties against the overwhelming power of Spain. In this service he acquitted himself with singular bravery, and obtained the reputation of a skilful officer. He afterwards, along with many thousands of his countrymen, passed into the service of Sweden, under Gustavus Adolphus, by whom, after many heroic achievements, he was promoted to the rank of field-marshal, with the approbation of the whole army.

In the year 1628 he defended Stralsund, which was besieged by the whole force of the Imperialists, at that time masters of all Germany, that fortress excepted. Here he acquitted himself with the utmost bravery and skill. The plague had already

broken out in the city, and the outworks were in a most deplorable condition; yet he compelled Count Wallenstein, with a formidable army and flushed with victory, to raise the siege, after having sustained a severe loss. The citizens of Stralsund were so sensible of the services of the field-marshal on this occasion, that they made him a handsome present, and had medals struck to perpetuate their gratitude, and the honour of their deliverer. In the year 1635 he had charters granted to him, his wife, and son, of the barony of Balgonie, and other lands in the counties of Fife, Berwick, and Roxburgh. He was at this time serving in Lower Saxony. In the year 1639, when the Covenanters were preparing to resist their sovereign in the field, Leslie returned from Sweden, where he had continued after the death of Gustavus in the service of Christina. "This Leslie," says Spalding, "having conquest from nought wealth and honour, resolved to come home to his native country of Scotland and settle himself beside his chief, the Earl of Rothes, as he did indeed, and bought fair lands in Fife; but the earl foreseeing the troubles, whereof himself was one of the principal beginners, took hold of this Leslie, who was both wise and stout, acquainted him with the plot, and had his advice for the furtherance thereof to his power."

It was a fortunate circumstance for the Covenanters that the oppressions to which they had been subjected, and the persecutions that were evidently preparing for them, were well known on the Continent, where thousands of their fellow-countrymen had been shedding their blood in the defence of the religion and liberties of their fellow-Protestants, and excited the deepest interest in their favour. Leslie had undoubtedly been invited home, and he brought a number of his countrymen along with him, who, having perilled their lives for the same cause among foreigners, could not reasonably be considered as indifferent to its success among their own countrymen. Half a century had, for the first time since it was a nation, passed over Scotland without anything like general warfare. The people had, in a great measure, become unaccustomed to its hardships and its dangers, and the chieftains, such as had been abroad excepted, were unacquainted with its practice, and ignorant of its details. This defect, by the return of so many who had been in the wars of Gustavus, was amply supplied. Leslie was, by the committee of estates, appointed to the chief command;—many of his fellow-adventurers of less celebrity, yet well acquainted with military details and the equipment of an army, were dispersed throughout the country, where they were employed in training the militia, which in those days comprehended every man that was able to bear arms from the age of sixteen to sixty. By these means, together with a manifesto by the Tables (committees of the four estates assembled at Edinburgh), entitled *State of the Question, and Reasons for Defensive War*, which was circulated so as to meet the eye or the ear of every individual in the nation,—the Covenanters were in a state of preparation greatly superior to the king, though he had been meditating hostilities long before he declared them. Though now an old man, little in stature, and deformed in person, Leslie was possessed of ceaseless activity, as well as consummate skill; and in both he was powerfully seconded by the zeal of the people in general. Early apprised of the intentions of Charles, he so managed matters as to render them entirely nugatory. It was the intention of the latter, while he advanced with his main force upon his ancient kingdom by the eastern marches, to enter it previously, or at least simultaneously, on the western side, with a body of

Highlanders and Irish, and by the Firth of Forth with a strong division of his English army, under his commissioner the Duke of Hamilton. To meet this formidable array everything that lay within the compass of their limited means was prepared by the Covenanters. Military committees were appointed for every county, who were to see to the assembling and training of the militia generally, and to forward to the army such levies and such supplies as might be from time to time demanded. Smiths were everywhere put in requisition for the fabrication of muskets, carbines, pole-axes, Lochaber-axes, and halberds; magazines to supply the troops were also provided; and to call them together when occasion should require beacons were provided, and placed in every shire. Arms to the amount of 30,000 stand were provided from Holland, in addition to those of home manufacture, and a foundry for cannon was established in the Potter Row, at that time one of the suburbs, now a street of Edinburgh. Leith, the port of the capital, was, however, still defenceless; but, aware that the Duke of Hamilton proposed to land there with hostile intentions, it was immediately resolved to put the place in a posture of defence. The plan of a new fort, the old defences of the town being in ruins, was laid down by Sir Alexander Hamilton, who acted as engineer to Leslie; and several thousands came spontaneously forward to assist in its erection. Noblemen, gentlemen, and citizens—men, women, and children—even ladies of quality—claimed the privilege of assisting in forwarding the good work, and in less than a week it was finished, and the security of Edinburgh was considered complete. Along the coast of Fife, too, every town was surrounded with batteries mounted with cannon carried on shore from the ships; and with the exception of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, which were somehow neglected, there was not a resting-place in the Firth for an enemy till he should win it at the point of the pike.

In the meantime the Duke of Hamilton, lying in Yarmouth Roads, was commanded to sail for the Forth, and by all or any means to "create an awful diversion." His first sail was no sooner discovered as a speck in the distant horizon, than the beacons were in a blaze from the one extremity of the country to the other, and ere he approached the shores of Leith they were lined by upwards of 20,000 intrepid defenders, among whom was his own mother, mounted on horseback at the head of her vassals, with a pair of pistols in the holsters before her, with which she declared she would shoot her son with her own hand the moment he set a hostile foot on shore. Hamilton now found that he could do nothing. The troops on board his fleet did not exceed 5000 men, all raw young peasants, miserably sea-sick, and many of them labouring under the small-pox. Instead of attempting hostile operations, he landed his men upon the islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, which served him for hospitals, and contented himself with sending into the town-council some more of Charles' proclamations, which were promised to be laid before the states, who were expected to meet in a few days. This, as the measure of their obedience, Hamilton was for the time obliged to accept. Of this circumstance, with the strength which they mustered, he failed not to acquaint his master, advising him at the same time to negotiate.—We are not detailing the history of the war, but the part performed in it by an individual, or we should have stated that Argyle had been sent to the west, where he had seized upon the castle of Brodick in Arran, where the Earl of Antrim was to have first headed his Irish bands, in consequence of which they were

for a time unable to come forward. The castle of Dumbarton had also been seized by a master-stroke of policy, as that of Edinburgh now was by the same in war. In the afternoon of the 23d of March, Leslie himself, with a few companies which he had been, according to his usual custom, training in the outer courtyard of Holyrood House, some of which he secretly disposed in closes at the head of the Castle Hill, approached to the exterior gate of the castle, where he called a parley with the captain or governor, demanding to be admitted. This being refused, he seemed to retire from the gate, when a petard which he had hung against it burst and laid it open. The inner gate was instantly assailed with axes, and scaling-ladders were applied to the wall, by which the Covenanters gained immediate admission; while the garrison, panic-struck with the sudden explosion and the vigour of the attack, surrendered without offering any resistance. The castles of Dalkeith, Douglas, and Strathaven in Clydesdale, and, in short, all the castles of the kingdom, with the exception of that of Carlaverock, were seized in the same manner. Huntly, who was making dispositions in the north to side with Charles, had also in the interim been kidnapped by Montrose, so that he had actually not the shadow of a party in the whole kingdom. Towards the end of May, the king beginning to move from York, where he had fixed his head-quarters, towards the north, the army under Leslie was ordered southward to meet him. The final muster of the army previous to the march took place on the Links of Leith, on the 20th of May, 1639, when from 12,000 to 16,000 men made their appearance, well armed in the German fashion, and commanded by native officers, whom they respected as their natural superiors, or by their own countrymen celebrated for their hardihood and that experience in military affairs which they had acquired abroad. With the exception of one German trumpeter there was not a foreigner among them: all were Scotsmen, brought immediately from the hearths and the altars which it was the object of the war to defend. The private men were, for the most part, ploughmen from the western counties; stout rustics whose bodies were rendered muscular by healthy exercise, and whose minds were exalted by the purest feelings of patriotism and religion. It was on this day that they were properly constituted an army by having the articles of war read to them. These had been drawn out by Leslie with the advice of the Tables, after the model of those of Gustavus Adolphus, and a printed copy of them was delivered to every individual soldier. The general himself, at the same time, took an oath to the estates, acknowledging himself in all things liable both to civil and ecclesiastical censure. Leslie had by this time acquired not only the respect and confidence, but the love, of the whole community, by the judgment with which all his measures were taken, and the zeal he displayed in the cause; a zeal, the sincerity of which was sufficiently attested by the fame of his exploits in Germany, and by the scars which he bore on his person in consequence of these exploits. He was deformed, old, and mean in his appearance; but the consummate skill which he displayed, and the piety of his deportment, rendered him, according to Baillie, who was along with him, a more popular and respected general than Scotland had ever enjoyed in the most warlike and beloved of her kings. With the van of this army, which was but a small part of the military array of Scotland at this time, Leslie marched for the borders on the 21st of May, the main body following him in order. He was abundantly supplied on his march, and at every successive stage found

that his numbers were increased, and his stock of provisions becoming more ample. The first night he reached Haddington, the second Dunbar, and the third Dungglass, a strong castle at the east end of Lammermoor, where he halted and threw up some intrenchments. Charles in the meantime advanced to the borders, indulging in the most perfect assurance of driving the Scottish insurgents before him. Learning from his spies, however, that they were within a day's march of him, and so well marshalled that the result of a contest would be at best doubtful, he ordered a trumpet to be sent with letters from himself to the Scottish army, conveying overtures of a friendly nature, but forbidding them to approach within ten miles of his camp, and on this demonstration of their temporal obedience promising that all their just supplications should be granted. Finding them disposed to an amicable agreement, Charles advanced his camp to the Birks, on the banks of the Tweed, and directed the Earl of Holland, his general of horse, to proceed with thirteen troops of cavalry, 3000 foot, and a number of field-pieces, to drive some regiments of the Covenanters which had been stationed at Kelso and Jedburgh under Colonel Robert Monro, for the protection of the borders, from their station, as being within the limits stipulated with the noblemen who commanded the main body. Proceeding, in the execution of his order, to Dunse, the first town that lay in his way within the Scottish border, the Earl of Holland found it totally deserted of its inhabitants, except a very few, who heard him read a proclamation declaring the whole Scottish nation, especially all who were in arms and did not immediately lay them down, traitors. Proceeding westward to Kelso, and having reached a height overlooking the town, he found the Scottish troops in the act of being drawn out to receive him. Startled at their appearance, Holland sent forward a trumpet, to command them to retire, according to the promise of their leaders. His messenger was met by a stern demand whose trumpeter he was, and on answering that he was Lord Holland's, was told that it would be well for him to be gone. Displeased with this reception of his missionary, his lordship ordered a retreat, and the Scottish soldiers were with difficulty restrained from pursuing them to their camp. What share Leslie had in the proposed submission to Charles is not known; but he no sooner heard of the above affair than he broke up his encampment at Dungglass, and set forward to Dunse, where he ordered Monro to join him. Finding here an excellent position commanding both roads to Edinburgh, he formed his camp on the law behind the town, where he could see the royal camp at Birks, on the other side of the Tweed. This movement was made without the knowledge of the English, whose camp Leslie, had he been left to himself, would most probably have surprised and secured with all that was in it. Charles himself, walking out after an alarm from the Scottish army, was the first to descry their encampment on Dunse Law, and he rightly estimated their number to be from 16,000 to 18,000 men; they were soon, however, increased to 24,000 by the reinforcements that hastened up to them on the report of the English incursions at Dunse and Kelso; and never was an army led to the field better appointed, or composed of better materials. "It would have done your heart good," said an eye-witness, "to have cast your eyes athwart our brave and rich hills as oft as I did, with great contentment and joy. Our hill was garnished on the top toward the south and east with our mounted cannon, well near to forty, great and small. Our regiment lay on the sides; the crowners [superior

officers of regiments] lay in canvas lodges, large and wide; their captains about them in lesser ones; the soldiers about all in huts of timber, covered with divot or straw. Over every captain's tent door waved the flag of his company, blue, with the arms of Scotland wrought in gold, with the inscription 'For Christ's Crown and Covenant.' Leslie himself lay in the castle of Dunse, at the bottom of the hill, whence he issued regularly every night, rode round the camp, and saw the watches regularly set." Throughout the whole army there was the most perfect harmony of opinion, both as to matters of civil and ecclesiastical polity; and there was a fervour in the cause they had undertaken, that burned with an equal flame in the bosom of the peasant and the peer. The latter took their full share in all the fatigues of the camp; slept, like the common soldiers, in their boots and cloaks on the bare ground; and in their intercourse with their inferiors used the language of affection and friendship, rather than that of command. Ministers of the gospel attended the camp in great numbers, carrying arms like the rest, and many of them attended by little parties of their friends and dependants. There were sermons morning and evening in various places of the camp, to which the soldiers were called by beat of drum; and while the day was devoted to the practice of military exercises, its rise and its fall were celebrated in every tent with the singing of psalms, reading the Scriptures, and prayer. The general tone of the army was ardent, full of devotion to God and of the hope of success against the enemy. "They felt," says Baillie, "the favour of God shining upon them, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement feeling leading them along. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all that time since I came from home, for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return." While they were thus strengthened in spirit, the body was equally well attended to. The regular pay of the common men was sixpence a day; fourpence purchased a leg of lamb, and all of them were served with wheaten bread; a luxury which it is probable many of them never enjoyed either before or after. Leslie kept open table daily at Dunse Castle for the nobility and for strangers, besides a side-table for gentlemen waiters; and as there had been an extraordinary crop the preceding year, and the people were zealous to offer supplies, the camp abounded with all the necessities of life. An amicable arrangement, however, having been entered into between Charles and the Covenanters, peace was proclaimed in both camps on the 18th of June, 1639.

In the month of April, 1640, it was found necessary by the Covenanters to reassemble their army, and Leslie was again appointed general; but from various causes it was the beginning of August before the general armament could be collected at Dunse, where, in the early part of that month, it was reviewed by the general. It amounted to 23,000 foot, 3000 horse, and a train of heavy artillery, besides some light cannon, formed of tin and leather corded round, capable of sustaining twelve discharges each. This was a species of artillery used by Gustavus Adolphus, and which the Scottish general had adopted in imitation of his master. This army was composed of the same men who had last year occupied Dunse Law. The horse were chiefly composed of respectable citizens and country gentlemen lightly armed; some of them having lances, and generally mounted on the small but active horses of the country. Their attire and accoutrements were the same

as in the preceding year, including the broad Lowland blue bonnet. Their march over the border was, however, delayed for some weeks for the want of money and necessaries. "It was found," says Mr. John Livingston, who accompanied the army in the capacity of chaplain to the Earl of Cassilis' regiment, "when the whole army was come up, that there was want of powder and of bread, the biscuit being spoiled, and of cloth to be huts to the soldiers. This produced some fear that the expedition might be delayed for that year. One day when the committee of estates and general officers and some ministers were met in the castle of Dunse, and were at prayer and consulting what to do, an officer of the guard comes and knocks rudely at the door of the room where we were, and told there was treachery discovered; for he, going to a big cellar in the bottom of the house, seeking for some other thing, had found a great many barrels of gunpowder, which he apprehended was intended to blow us all up. After search it was found that the powder had been laid in there the year before, when the army had departed from Dunse Law, and had been forgotten. Therefore, having found powder, the Earls of Rothes and Loudon, Mr. Alexander Henderson and Mr. Archibald Johnston, were sent to Edinburgh, and within a few days brought as much meal and cloth to the soldiers by the gift of well-affected people there, as sufficed the whole army. With the same readiness that these people had parted with their cloth and their meal, others parted with their plate, and to such an extent was this carried, that for many years afterwards not even a silver spoon was to be met with in the best houses." "It was very refreshing," adds Livingston, "to remark that after we came to a quarter at night, there was nothing to be heard almost through the whole army but singing of psalms, prayer, and reading of the Scriptures by the soldiers in their several tents; and I was informed there was much more the year before, when the army lay at Dunse Law. And indeed, in all our meetings and consultations, both within doors and in the fields, always the nearer the beginning there was so much the more dependence upon God, and more tenderness in worship and walking; but through process of time we still declined more and more."

General Leslie crossed the Tweed on the 20th of August with his army in three divisions; the College of Justice's troop of horse, consisting of 160 gentlemen, under Sir Thomas Hope, riding on the right wing in order to break the stream for the foot; all of whom got safely through but one man, who was drowned. In their march the officers of the Scottish army were greatly embarrassed by a fear of offending the English nation, with which they had no quarrel, and with which they knew well they were not able to contend. With all the difficulties imposed on him by his situation, however, Leslie continued his march till the 28th, when he completely defeated the king's troops, who had been sent to defend the fords at Newburn. This success put him in possession of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Shields, and Durham, together with several large magazines of provisions, and again reduced Charles to the last extremity—a crisis which ultimately produced the treaty of Ripon, afterwards transferred to London. The king had now, however, the parliament of England upon his hands, and was less occupied with Scottish affairs than formerly. Ten months elapsed before the English parliament saw fit to allow the treaty to be concluded, the Scottish army being all the time quartered in Newcastle, that they might be at hand to assist, in case of matters coming to extremities between the king and the lords

of St. Stephen's Chapel. Embarrassed and controlled by his parliament, Charles now attempted to conciliate the Scots by conceding to them all their demands; hoping thereby to engage them to take part with him against the former. With this view he came himself to Scotland in the month of August, 1641, when, passing through the Scottish army at Newcastle, he was received with the utmost respect, and entertained by the general, who was created Lord Balgonie, and on the 11th of October, 1641, Earl of Leven by patent to him and his heirs whatsoever. In the following year the earl was sent over to Ireland in command of the forces raised for suppressing the rebellion there. In the next year he was recalled to take the command of the forces sent into England to the assistance of the parliament, in pursuance of the Solemn League and Covenant. He commanded the left of the centre division of the parliamentary forces at the battle of Marston Moor, and was driven out of the field, though the honour of his own name and that of his country was gallantly sustained by David Leslie, whose valour contributed in a great degree to the victory there obtained. He afterwards, assisted by the Earl of Calander, took the town of Newcastle by storm; but treated both the town and the garrison with lenity. The king having made overtures to the Scottish generals, Leven sent a copy of them to the parliament, which in return awarded him a vote of thanks, accompanied by a present of a piece of plate. He now laid siege to Harford, but being left by David Leslie, who had marched with all the horse into Scotland to oppose Montrose, and the king approaching in great force, he raised the siege, and marched northward. He was appointed to command, at the siege of Newark, an army composed of both Scottish and English troops, where the king came to him privately on the 5th day of May, 1646. He was afterwards one of a hundred officers who on their knees besought his majesty to accept the propositions offered him by the parliament, and thus be merciful to himself and to the nation. When the engagement for the king's rescue was entered into, the Earl of Leven resigned the command of the army in disgust, pleading the infirmities of old age. On the failure of that project he was again restored to the place he had so honourably filled; but before the battle of Dunbar he again resigned on account of his great age, but appeared in the field as a volunteer. The year following, at a meeting of some noblemen for concerting measures in behalf of Charles II. at Eliot in Angus, he was, along with the rest, surprised by a detachment from the garrison of Dundee, carried to London, and thrown into the Tower. At the request of Christina, Queen of Sweden, he was liberated, had his sequestration taken off, and no fine imposed upon him. He returned to Scotland in the month of May, 1654, and shortly after went to Sweden, to thank Christina for the favour she had done him by interceding with Cromwell on his behalf. How long he remained in Sweden is not known; but he died at Balgonie on the 4th of April, 1661, at a very advanced age. He was buried on the 19th of the same month in the church of Markinch. Few men have been more fortunate in life than Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven. He appears to have entered upon its duties without fortune and with a scanty education, and by the force of his talents, seconded by habits of religion and persevering industry, raised himself to the highest honours which society has to confer, both in his own and in foreign countries. His services were at the time of immense value to his country, and would have been much more so, had they not been shackled by the pre-

judices, the prepossessions, and the ignorance of those whom the circumstances of birth placed over him as directors. His lordship acquired extensive landed property, particularly Inchmartin in the Carse of Gowrie, which he called Inchleslie. He was twice married: first to Agnes, daughter of Renton of Billy in Berwickshire, and by her had two sons, Gustavus and Alexander, the latter of whom succeeded him as Earl of Leven, and five daughters. After the death of his first wife, which took place in 1651, he married Frances, daughter of Sir John Ferriars of Tamworth in Staffordshire, relict of Sir John Parkington, Baronet of Westwood, in the county of Worcester, by whom he had no issue. His peerage finally became merged by a female with that of Melville, in conjunction with which it still exists.

LESLIE, DAVID, a celebrated military commander during the civil wars, and the first Lord Newark, was the fifth son of Patrick Leslie of Pitcairly, commendator of Lindores, by his wife, Lady Jean Stuart, second daughter of Robert, first Earl of Orkney. Of his early life little more is known than that, like many others of his countrymen, he went into the service of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, where he distinguished himself by his military talents, and attained to the rank of colonel of horse. Returning from the Continent at, or shortly after, the commencement of the civil wars, he was appointed major-general to the army that was sent into England under the command of the Earl of Leven to the assistance of the parliament. This army, which marched for England in the month of January, 1644, after suffering greatly from the state of the roads and want of provisions, joined the parliamentary forces at Tadcaster, on the 20th of April, with whom they were united in the siege of York, which was raised on the night of Sunday, the 30th of June, by the advance of Prince Rupert, with all the strength of the royal army. Determined to give him battle, the confederates took post on Marston Moor, on the south side of the Ouse, about five miles distant from the scene of their former operations. Here they hoped to have interrupted the march of the prince towards the city, which he was desirous of gaining; but permitting their attention to be engrossed by a party of horse which he despatched for this purpose, to contest the passage of a river, he in the meantime succeeded in throwing the whole of his army into the town. His immediate object thus gained, he was advised by his colleague, the Marquis of Newcastle, to rest satisfied till he should receive reinforcements, or till the dissensions which now appeared among the confederates should rise to such a height as to destroy the unanimity of their proceedings. Rupert, however, was not of a disposition to wait for remote contingencies when he conceived the chances to be already in his favour; he therefore hastened to Marston Moor, the position the enemy themselves had chosen, and came upon their rear when they were already on their march for Tadcaster, Cawwood, and Selby, by occupying which they intended to cut off his supplies, and to hem him in till the arrival of additional forces should render his capture easy, and his escape impossible. The Scottish troops in advance of the army were already within a mile of Tadcaster, when about nine o'clock of the morning of the 22d of July, 1644, the alarm was given that Prince Rupert's horse, to the number of 5000, were pressing on the rear of the confederates, while the main body of his army occupied the moor which they had just left. The march was instantly countermanded, and preparations for an engagement made with the least possible delay. The prince,

however, having full possession of the moor, they were compelled to draw up part of their troops in an adjoining field of rye, their right bearing upon the town of Marston, and their line extending about a mile and a half fronting the moor. By three o'clock in the afternoon both armies, amounting to 25,000 men each, were formed in order of battle. The royal army was commanded on the right by Prince Rupert in person; on the left by Sir Charles Lucas, assisted by Colonel Harvey; while the centre was led by Generals Goring, Porter, and Tilyard. The Marquis of Newcastle was also in the action, but the place he occupied has not been ascertained. The parliamentary army was composed on the right of horse, partly Scottish, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax; on the left, likewise horse, by the Earl of Manchester, and Cromwell his lieutenant-general, assisted by Major-general David Leslie; and in the centre by Lord Fairfax and the Earl of Leven. The battle commenced with a discharge of great guns, which did little execution on either side. A ditch, separating the combatants, rendered the assault a matter of difficulty and peculiar danger, and both stood for some minutes in breathless expectation waiting the signal for attack. On that signal being made, Manchester's foot and the Scots of the main body in a running march cleared the ditch, and advanced boldly to the charge, accompanied by the horse, who also rushed forward to the attack. The fiery Rupert with his squadrons instantly advanced upon the no less fiery, but far more cautious, Cromwell. The conflict was terrible; every individual, being under the eye of his leader, exerted himself as if the fate of the day had been intrusted to his single arm. The troops of Cromwell, however, supported by David Leslie and the Scottish horse, charged through the very flower of the cavaliers, putting them completely to flight, while Manchester's foot, keeping pace with them, cut down and dispersed the infantry. The Marquis of Newcastle's regiment alone disdained to flee, and their dead bodies, distinguished by their white uniforms, covered the ground they had occupied when alive. On the other extremity of the line Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Lambert, with a few troops of horse, charged through the royal army, and met their own victorious left wing. The remainder, however, were completely defeated, and even Fairfax's victorious brigade was thrown into confusion by some new raised regiments wheeling back upon it, and treading down in their flight the Scottish reserve under the Earl of Leven, who, driven from the field, fled to Tadcaster, carrying with them the news of a total defeat. Cromwell, Leslie, and Manchester, perceiving the rout of their friends, returned to the field as the victors were about to seize upon the spoil. The fate of the day was now reversed. The royal troops occupied the field of rye, and the parliamentary forces the moor. Each, however, determined if possible to preserve the advantage they had gained, and both once more joined battle. The struggle now, however, though bloody, was short and decisive. The shattered remains of the royal army sought shelter in York; leaving all their baggage, artillery, military stores, and above a hundred stand of colours, in the hands of the conquerors. Upwards of 3000 men were left dead on the field; and upwards of 1500 prisoners—more than 100 of whom were principal officers—fell into the hands of the conquerors. This victory was the death-blow to the affairs of the king, and greatly added to the reputation of Cromwell and Leslie, between whom the whole merit of the affair was divided; the Independents claiming the largest share for Cromwell, and the Presbyterians for Leslie. The combined

army immediately laid siege to York, which surrendered by capitulation in a few days. The confederates, after the capture of York, separated; the Scottish troops marching northward to meet the Earl of Callander, whom they joined before Newcastle in the month of August.

General Baillie, in the meantime, had been recalled from England to command the raw levies that were raised for the defence of the country; but he was accompanied in his progress by a committee of the estates, who controlled all his movements; and, contrary to the opinion of the general himself, commanded him to leave a strong position and expose himself with an army of inexperienced soldiers to certain destruction on the fatal field of Kilsyth, August 15th, 1645. The issue of this battle left the kingdom entirely in the power of Montrose and his army. In this emergency David Leslie, with the whole of the cavalry attached to the Scottish army, then lying before Hereford, was recalled. Arriving at Berwick, whither the estates had fled from the plague, which was then raging in Edinburgh, Leslie took measures for cutting off the retreat of Montrose to the north, amongst whose mountains he had formerly found refuge. For this purpose he proceeded as far as Gladsmuir, about three miles to the west of Haddington, where he learned that Montrose was lying secure in Ettrick Forest, near Selkirk. Leslie was no sooner apprised of this than he wheeled to the left, and marched southward by the vale of Gala. The darkness of the night concealed his motions, and the first notice Montrose had of his approach was by his scouts informing him that Leslie was within half a mile of him. A sanguinary encounter soon followed; but Montrose's troops, though they fought with a desperation peculiar to their character, were completely broken and driven from the field, leaving 1000 dead bodies behind them. Their leader, however, had the good fortune to escape, as did also the Marquis of Douglas, with the Lords Crawford, Sir Robert Spotswood, A. Leslie, William Rollock, Erskine, Fleming, and Napier. The Lords Hartfield, Drummond, and Ogilvy, Philip Nisbet, William Murray (brother to Lord Tullibardine), Ogilvy of Innerquharie, Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthrie (son to the Bishop of Moray), and two Irish colonels, O'Kean and Lauchlin, were made prisoners, and reserved for trial in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. Upwards of 100 Irish soldiers taken were, in conformity to a decree of the legislatures of both kingdoms, shot upon the field.

Leslie now proceeded with his victorious army to Lothian, and from thence, accompanied by the committee of estates, to Glasgow, where, in conjunction with the committee of the church, they deliberated on the measures necessary for completing the reduction of Montrose, and securing the internal peace of the kingdom. Some of the prisoners taken at Philiphaugh were here tried and executed; and as a mark of gratitude, the committee, out of a fine they imposed on the Marquis of Douglas, voted to Leslie 50,000 merks, with a gold chain, and to Middleton, who was second in command, 30,000. Montrose, restless and intriguing, in the meantime wandered from place to place, endeavouring to raise a new army. Leslie now returned to his station in the Scottish army under the Earl of Leven, whom he joined in the siege of Newark-upon-Trent. It was here that Charles, baffled in all his projects, came into the Scottish camp a helpless fugitive, on the 5th of May, 1646. He was received with great respect, the commander-in-chief, the Earl of Leven, presenting him with his sword upon his knee. On the return of the Scottish army it was reduced to about

6000 men, of whom Leslie was declared lieutenant-general, with a pension of £1000 a month over and above his pay as colonel of the Perthshire horse. With this force Leslie proceeded to the north, where the Gordons still kept up a party for the king. These men, who had been so formidable to Argyle, Hurry, and Baillie, with the parliamentary commissioners, scarcely made the shadow of resistance to Leslie. He seized upon all their principal strengths, and sent their leaders prisoners to Edinburgh. The lives of the inhabitants, according to his instructions, he uniformly spared; but upon the Irish auxiliaries he as uniformly did military execution. Having gone over the northern districts, and secured every castle belonging to the disaffected, he left Middleton to garrison the country, with instructions to seize upon the person of Huntly, who had taken refuge among the hills. These arrangements made, he passed into the peninsula of Kintyre, to look after Montrose's colleague, Alaster M'Coll. This chieftain, after making some ineffectual resistance, took to his boats with his followers, and sought safety among the western isles, leaving his castle of Dunavertie to the care of a body of Irish and Highlanders, to the number of 300 men. As this force, however, was wholly inadequate to the defence of the fort, it was taken, and the garrison put to the sword. Alaster himself was pursued by Leslie, with eighty soldiers, to his castle in Isla. He had, however, fled to Ireland, leaving 200 men under the command of Colkittoch, his father, to defend his castle of Dunavey. This stronghold Leslie also reduced, the garrison having surrendered, on condition of having their lives spared, but to be sent to serve under Henry Sinclair, a lieutenant-colonel in the French service. Colkittoch, being given to the Campbells, was hanged. Having gone over the other islands with the same success, Leslie returned to the low country in the month of September, where he was honoured with the approbation of his party for the fidelity, diligence, and success with which he had executed his commission. The king, in the meantime, had been delivered up to the English parliament, and passed through that series of adventures which ended in his taking refuge in the Isle of Wight. When the Duke of Hamilton in 1648 raised an army of moderate Scottish Covenanters, to attempt the rescue of his royal master, Leslie was offered the command; but, the church being averse to the undertaking, he declined accepting it. After the duke had marched on his unfortunate expedition, the remaining strength of the country was modelled into a new army under the less moderate Covenanters, and of this the Earl of Leven was appointed commander, and David Leslie major-general, as formerly. Immediately after the death of Charles I., when the cavaliers rose in the north for his son, in what was called "Pluscardine's Raid," Leslie sent a party against them in the month of May, 1649, under the command of Charles Ker, Hacket, and Strahan, by whom they were totally dispersed. On the resignation of the Earl of Leven, Leslie was appointed to the chief command of the army raised on behalf of Charles II., after he had accepted the covenant, and been admitted to the government. In this situation he showed himself an able general, repeatedly baffling by his skill the superior forces of Cromwell, whom he at last shut up at Dunbar; and but for the folly of the church and state committee, which had been the plague of the army during all the previous troubles, had undoubtedly cut off his whole army. Yielding to the importunities of this committee, he rashly descended from his commanding position, and was signally defeated on the 3d of September, 1650.

Upwards of 3000 men were left dead on the field, 10,000 were taken prisoners, 200 colours, 15,000 stand of arms, with all the baggage and artillery, fell into the hands of the English. Leslie, with the wreck of his army, retired upon Stirling, and again made such dispositions for defending that important line of defence as Cromwell found himself unable to force. Here he was joined by Charles, who himself assumed the command of the army, having the Duke of Hamilton and Leslie for his lieutenants. In this capacity Leslie accompanied the king to Worcester, where, on the 3d of September, 1651, Cromwell completely routed the royal army. Leslie was intercepted in his retreat through Yorkshire, and committed to the Tower of London, where he remained till the Restoration in the year 1660. By Cromwell's act of grace he was fined in £4000 in the year 1654. After the Restoration he was created, in consideration of his services and sufferings in the royal cause, Lord Newark, by patent dated the 31st of August, 1661, to him and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, with a pension of £500 per annum. His lordship, however, does not seem to have been without enemies, as the following letter from the king, assuring him of his unabated confidence, sufficiently implies:—"Although we have, on all occasions, both abroad and since our happy return, declared ourself fully satisfied with your conduct and loyalty in our service, and although, in consideration of the same, we have given you the title and honour of a lord; yet, seeing we are told that malice and slander do not give over to persecute you, we have thought fit to give you this further testimony, and to declare under our hand, that while you was the lieutenant-general of our army, you did, both in England and Scotland, behave yourself with as much conduct, resolution, and honesty as was possible or could be expected from a person in that trust: and as we told you, so we again repeat it, that if we had occasion to levy an army fit for ourself to command, we would not fail to give you an employment in it fit for your quality." His lordship died in the year 1682. He married Jean, daughter of Sir John York, by whom he had a son, David, who succeeded him as Lord Newark, and three daughters; the eldest of whom, Elizabeth, was married to Archibald Kennedy of Cullen, and was mother to Susanna, the celebrated Countess of Eglintoune.

LESLEY, GEORGE, of Monymusk, a Capuchin friar of the earlier part of the seventeenth century. The introduction of this individual as an illustrious Scotsman, and the manner in which we intend to treat the events of his life, require some explanation. John Benedict Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, published in Italian the life and marvellous adventures of his friend George Lesley, a Scotsman of rank, who had been miraculously converted to the Roman Catholic faith.¹ A work on so pleasing a subject did not remain long in obscurity; it was translated into French, in which language it was published at Rouen in 1660, at Paris in 1682, and again at Rouen in 1700. In 1673 it was dramatized at Rome, and the decent inhabitants of Monymusk, a remote hamlet in Aberdeenshire, were clothed in names suited for an audience in the imperial city; such as Lurcanio a Calvinist clergyman, the parish minister of Monymusk; Forcina, his servant; Theophilus, an old cottager; besides an angel, Pluto, and

Beelzebub, in the form of Calvin.² The work, even in its primitive form, is a pure romance, manufactured for the laudable purpose of supporting the holy Catholic church; while in the midst of the absurd topography, and still more absurd displays of character, it is evident from names and circumstances, that the whole is founded on fact, and that George Lesley must have been a man remarkable for enthusiasm, eccentricity, villany, or some other qualification on which it is difficult to determine. There have already been published two abridged translations of his life, one by Lord Hailes in his *Sketches of Scottish Biography*, the other in the *Scots Magazine* for 1802. A search into such contemporary records as we thought might throw any light on the real adventures and merits of this wonderful man, has proved vain; and, unable to separate the truth from the falsehood, we are compelled to follow the steps of those who have already treated the subject by giving an abridgment of the French translation, without omitting any of its marvels.

The author commences with an account of the city of Aberdeen, which, as we know it to be incorrect, and can "separate the truth from the falsehood" in it, we omit. In its neighbourhood lived James Count Lesley, and Jean Wood his wife, the father and mother of George, who received from them all the treatment of a beloved son, with the exception, that along with his mother's milk he sucked in the dawning doctrines of Calvinism. Count Leslie died soon after the birth of his son, leaving him vast wealth, and the lady afterwards married the baron de Torry.³ In his eighth year the young count was sent to pursue his studies in France, with a train and equipage suited to his rank, a heretic preceptor, and a fund of advice steadfastly to maintain the faith he had been taught. He applied diligently to his studies, and became acquainted with two noble Parisian brothers, whose society, contrary to the usual expectation of the world regarding such associates, confirmed him in his studious disposition, and, like St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen, he knew no other street in Paris save that which communicated with their house and the school. The Parisian youths, compassionating the state of their companion's soul, proceeded to effect his conversion, in which they were assisted by their father, who, instead of the ordinary method of balancing the doctrines of the two religions with each other, appears to have merely contrasted Calvinism, the affection of his relations, and eternal damnation, with the Catholic faith, eternal felicity, and the loss of his near relations. The discussions were conducted at the old gentleman's country-house, beneath the shadow of an oak, and as a recreation from the pastimes of hunting and fishing. The effect of the whole was irresistible; young Lesley submitted to become a member of the holy Catholic church, and was immediately conducted to a confessional, after which his companions beheld in his face a glimpse of that glory which formerly appeared in the face of Moses. Meanwhile the heretic preceptor was naturally displeased with what he saw; he argued, and threatened, and represented the grief of the young count's mother, but in vain. He then sent an account of the matter to Monymusk, and the lady in great trepidation demanded the return of her son; but he, anxious for the safety of his new faith, declined, and

¹ Not having been so fortunate as to meet with a copy of the Italian edition, we cannot give a copy of the title-page, or even of the date.

² Il Cappuccino Scozzese, in Scena, con la seconda parte, e sua morte, non ancor mai piu stampata. Data in luce dal Signor Francesco Rozzi d'Alatri. In Roma, per il mancini, 1673.

³ Probably the laird of Torry, a village near Aberdeen.

the enraged parent disowned him. "Alas!" groans the archbishop, "to what an extent will bigotry drive us in matters of religion." The young count, who had now reached the mature age of sixteen, put himself under the protection of his new friends, and accompanied them on a pilgrimage to Loretto. Here he formed an acquaintance with the Capuchin fathers of St. Francis, and particularly with Ange Joyeuse, a noble Frenchman, who had exchanged rank and wealth for the cord of St. Francis. On the departure of his friends he intimated his intention of remaining at Rome to prepare for the conversion of his miserable family; he expressed a desire to enter the fraternity of St. Francis, but was horrified to discover that certain bulls prohibited the reception of newly-converted heretics. The ingenuity of his friend Ange attempted to relieve him from this dilemma. It was represented that there was a rational distinction betwixt heretics in a Catholic country and the children of Huguenots, who had no means of knowing the true faith. The distinction, however, was not satisfactory to the general of the order, and Lesley formed the bold design of bursting into the papal presence, and enforcing his request. When the youth lifted up his adoring eyes, to look at the countenance of the viceregent of God, the whole chamber beamed with a dazzling light, more luminous than the sun, the brighter rays of light being there accumulated to form a tiara for the majesty of the sacred head;—a phenomenon which we are confidentially assured by the biographer always attends the pontifical presence, although it is not often visible to the naked eye. By the intervention of the pope he was received into the order, and became a Capuchin, and assuming the ecclesiastical name of Archangel, he preached with edification. Twenty years had elapsed since his departure from Scotland, when his mother, hearing that he had disgraced his family by joining a fraternity of beggars, at first (according to the charitable presumption of the archbishop) wished to assassinate him, but preferred the more humane alternative of sending her second son, the Baron of Torry, to convert him. It would be tedious to tell how the brothers met, and how the reverse of what was expected took place, by the baron joining the true faith, and both forming a project for the conversion of their mother and the other inhabitants of Scotland. The baron was the first to return to Scotland, and accident soon revealed the change in his faith; in the meantime Lesley was chosen Capuchin preacher at the court of Mary of Medicis, Queen-regent of France, and on the institution of the college *de propaganda fide*, by Gregory XV., he was appointed papal emissary to Scotland, to procure the restoration of that lost land to the true faith, at the same time accepting the additional situation of interpreter to the Spanish ambassador in England. Lesley, or as his biographer at this period commonly terms him, Archangel, wrote a letter to his mother, which with much discretion he delivered himself. He was received with considerable cold politeness, and entertained in the castle; where, however, he could not eat his dinner in peace from being compelled to sit beside a heretic clergyman, who pocketed 300 crowns annually for teaching the doctrines of damnation, to whom, says his author, whenever he turned his eyes, he thought the banquet assumed the aspect of a funeral meal. Archangel kept his secret about six days, when a remark which he made connected with a change in the establishment, proved him not to be a stranger, and he was compelled to make himself known. The rejoicings at this event can scarcely be described in words. The old lady received *thousands* of visits of congra-

tulation, the fame of the event reached even to Aberdeen (about twenty-five miles), fires of rejoicing were lighted up on the castle of Monymusk,¹ and the inhabitants of the town² discharged culverins and let off sky-rockets. He commenced a vigorous discharge of the duties of his mission; he led the people to an adjoining mountain, where he had not been preaching half a quarter of an hour, when the people shuddered, changed colour, and knelt at his feet—he converted 4000 to the true faith in eight months. He now naturally turned his eyes towards the salvation of his mother, to which he was resolved to make his way through the heretical priest. The reverend gentleman at first declined any discussion, but he was at length compelled to come to issue. He was asked what was the denomination of his peculiar faith, and with much simplicity answered, it was the church of Geneva. Archangel then asked if the church of Geneva was ever mentioned in Scripture? this was a home-thrust to the minister, who had seen no more in Scripture about the church of Geneva than about the stipend of Monymusk. Like a prudent man, however, he promised to produce what was wanted if he could get time; but after repeated delays having failed, Archangel triumphantly pointed to the epistle to the Romans as a proof of the existence of his church; the heretic was dismissed for incapability and error, and his mistress' faith ceded to the victor. The conversion of the mother was followed by that of the other members of the family and the whole establishment of the castle. A splendid chapel was fitted up for the celebration of the rites of the Roman Catholic church, and the object of the mission made rapid progress for two years, at the end of which period one of King James' edicts against Roman Catholics compelled Archangel to retire to England, and there prosecute his mission in secrecy, having been compelled to leave his books and papers as a prey to the enemy. His mother's goods were confiscated, and she was reduced to the utmost misery by Protestant persecution. In these circumstances her son resolved to visit her, and dressing himself as an itinerant vender of herbs, passed through the streets of Monymusk, vociferating "Buy my greens;" he obtained an interview with his mother, who was reduced to the necessity of being compelled to purchase some of his commodity, and a scene ensued, which our limits will not permit us to describe. Being interrupted in his visit by the Protestant "inquisitors," he was compelled to return to England, whence he was summoned to Italy to attend the head of his order, on the ground of some alleged malversation, the cause of which is not very lucidly explained. The plague raged in Italy during his journey, and he for some time occupied himself in attending the sick at Cremona. He was then appointed guardian of the convent of Mount George in the diocese of Fermo. Here he became acquainted with the archbishop who has so lucidly written his memoirs, and through a mutual miracle a second mission to Britain was concocted between them. Archangel set out, accompanied by another Scottish Capuchin called Epiphane; their vessel was overtaken by a violent storm, and after a few amiable discussions about tossing overboard some useless hands, in order to lighten her, she was wrecked, the two Capuchins being miraculously saved, along with some passengers, among whom were two English gentlemen, whom Archangel converted by the following comfortable argument: "*We hold that you cannot be saved, you admit that we may; judge, then,*

¹ The castle of Monymusk is a neat old Flemish building, which would make a rather diminutive modern mansion.

² The hamlet of Monymusk contains about fifty inhabitants.

which is the safest religion."¹ He after this met a young Scotsman, who gave him the pleasing intelligence, that, notwithstanding the persecutions suffered by the true faith in Scotland, one influential family in the neighbourhood of the *large* town of Monymusk had been spared, the influence of the King of France having procured the restoration of their estates, and permission to exercise their religion. This gentleman turned out to be his younger brother Edward, from whom he learned also the sad intelligence that their mother had fallen into a fever, and died, from the dread that her son had been drowned in his voyage. After this many adventures happened to Archangel, among which some too curious remarks made by him on the fortifications of Newport caused his apprehension as a spy. His zeal not decreasing, he wore out the patience of the monarch, and becoming again amenable to the laws against Papists, was commanded to quit the kingdom. On his journey southward he made many miraculous conversions, and particularly on the persons of noblemen in the neighbourhood of the city of Torfecan (Torphichen). While near the borders of England, his exertions produced a fever, of which he died, and a Jesuit in the neighbourhood performed over him the last offices of charity. So terminate the adventures of Le Capuchin Ecossois, of which we are sorry we are compelled to omit many choice portions.

LESLIE, JOHN, Bishop of Clogher, was born at Balquhain, in the north of Scotland, after the middle of the sixteenth century. He was of an ancient and highly respectable family. The earlier part of his education he received at Aberdeen, the latter part at Oxford. He afterwards travelled into Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, and acquired such a proficiency in the languages of all these countries, excepting the last, that he spoke them with the fluency of a native. In the Latin language he particularly excelled, and was so familiar with it, that it was said of him in Spain when he resided there, *Solus Lesleius Latine loquitur*. He remained on this occasion twenty-two years abroad, and during that time was present at the siege of Rochelle. He also accompanied the Duke of Buckingham on the expedition to the Isle of Rhé.

Leslie stood high in favour with Charles I., and was by that monarch admitted a member of his privy-council. In 1633 he was appointed to the bishopric of Raphoe, in Ireland, where he built a handsome palace. This building he afterwards held out against Cromwell, adopting the loyal alternative of enduring a siege rather than submit to the usurper.

On the death of his royal patron he went abroad, where he remained till after the Restoration. He then returned to England, and in 1661 was translated to the see of Clogher. Here he remained till his death, which took place in 1671, when he was upwards of one hundred years of age. He was then the oldest bishop in the world, having filled that dignified station for fifty years.

LESLIE, CHARLES, a celebrated non-juring divine, was the second son of the Bishop of Clogher. He was born in the year 1650. He commenced his education at Inniskillen, Ireland, and was admitted a fellow-commoner in Trinity College, Dublin, in 1664. Here he continued till he commenced Master of Arts, and during this period acted as tutor to Mr. Michael Ward, afterwards Bishop of Derry. After the death of his father in 1671, he came over to

England, and entered himself in the Temple at London, and for some years studied the law. Finding this an uncongenial pursuit, he relinquished it and applied to divinity. In 1680 he was admitted into holy orders, and in 1687 became chancellor of the cathedral church of Connor, and also acted as a justice of the peace. Soon after his appointment he distinguished himself in a public religious controversy with Patrick Tyrrel, a Roman Catholic, who had been appointed to the see of Clogher. The disputation was numerously attended by persons of the persuasions of both the champions, and each assigned the victory to the defender of his own faith; but it is beyond doubt that Leslie had greatly the advantage of his antagonist. He afterwards held another public disputation with two eminent Popish divines in the church of Tynan, diocese of Armagh. The controversy was maintained in the presence of a large assembly, composed, as in the former case, of persons of both religions; and here again the talents of Leslie brought him off triumphantly. He was now become exceedingly popular in the country for his theological acquirements, and a circumstance soon afterwards occurred which procured him equal celebrity for his political knowledge, and for his intrepidity of character. A Roman Catholic high-sheriff having been appointed for the county of Monaghan, the gentlemen of the county, in great alarm at this indication of Catholic ascendancy, hastened to wait upon him for his advice as to how they should act with regard to the newly-appointed officer, whose religion disqualified him by law for the situation. Mr. Leslie told them that it would be equally illegal in them to permit the sheriff to act, and in him to attempt it; that though appointed by the authority of the crown, he, being of the Roman Catholic persuasion, could not have taken the oaths necessary to qualify him for the office, and that therefore his nomination was illegal. This doctrine he afterwards held at the quarter-sessions, where the case came to be decided, and so effectually did he urge his objections, and that in the presence of the sheriff himself, that the bench unanimously agreed to commit the pretended officer for his intrusion. Mr. Leslie thus placed himself in conspicuous opposition to the dominant party, and openly declared that he no longer considered James as the defender of the faith.

Notwithstanding, however, of his hostility to the Papists, he continued a staunch supporter of the exiled family at the revolution in 1688, and refused to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary. The consequence of this fidelity was the loss of all his preferments.

When Ireland became disturbed in 1689, Mr. Leslie removed with his family to England, where he employed himself in writing political pamphlets to serve the cause which he had embraced; but though opposed to the existing government, he continued a zealous and active supporter of the Church of England. About this time he entered into a controversy with the Quakers, which is said to have arisen from the circumstance of his lodging with a family of that persuasion. This family he converted. The first of the several treatises which he wrote against the Quakers is entitled *The Snake in the Grass*. It appeared in 1696, and soon ran into a second edition. It was answered by George Whithead, in a pamphlet entitled *An Antidote to the Snake in the Grass*. In his second edition Mr. Leslie noticed this answer; but he was again assailed in a production called *Satan Dissolved from his Disguises of Light*, which also appeared in 1696. To this and several other attacks Mr. Leslie replied at great

¹ A favourite argument with Roman Catholics, to which Jeremy Taylor made a well-known and unanswerable answer. VOL. II.

length, in *A Defence of a Book entitled the Snake in the Grass*. This again provoked a host of answers, amongst which was one by the Quakers entitled *A Switch for the Snake*. To this Mr. Leslie again replied, in *A Second Defence, or the Third and Last Part of the Snake in the Grass*.

The most celebrated works of Mr. Leslie, though these just enumerated discovered singular ability, were those which he wrote against the Deists. The first of these was published in 1697 in a letter to a friend, and was entitled *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists*. The friend alluded to in the title was a lady, though the work bears that it was a gentleman. Having been thrown accidentally into the company of infidels, she applied to Mr. Leslie for "some short topic of reason, without running to authorities and the intricate mazes of learning." The treatise was effectual, and Mr. Leslie, although it was not his original intention, was prevailed upon to publish it. This work he enlarged considerably in a second edition. No answer appeared to the *Short and Easy Method* till 1710, when it was replied to in a treatise entitled *A Detection of the True Meaning and Wicked Designs of a Book entitled, &c.* Mr. Leslie replied to this attack in *The Truth of Christianity Demonstrated*, to which was prefixed *A Vindication of the Short Method with the Deists*. These works against Deism produced a powerful effect, and amongst others the conversion of a person of the name of Gildon, who had acquired considerable celebrity as a member of that persuasion. This man not only professed himself convinced of his errors, and publicly retracted them, but wrote a book against the opinions which he had formerly entertained, entitled *The Deist's Manual, or a Rational Inquiry into the Christian Religion*.

Encouraged by the success of his attack on Deism, Mr. Leslie in 1699 produced his *Short Method with the Jews*, a work which was first suggested by a similar circumstance with that which had given rise to his *Short Method with the Deists*. An eminent Jew had been converted by his reasoning, and had intimated his intention of publicly owning his conviction. The convert, however, died during Mr. Leslie's absence, without exhibiting the recantation which he had proposed.

The next controversy in which Mr. Leslie was engaged was with the Socinians. It began in 1694. In 1697 he published the first of the six dialogues, entitled *The Socinian Controversy Discussed*. This was answered in a short tract, entitled *Remarks on Mr. Charles Leslie's First Dialogue on the Socinian Controversy*. Mr. Leslie replied, and was again answered by his opponent in *A Vindication of the Remarks*. Mr. Leslie now published *A Reply to the Vindication*, and with this ended the first part of the controversy.

His principal works against the Papists were, "*The True Nature of the Catholic Church*, in answer to the Bishop of Meaux's Letter to Mr. Nelson," printed in 1703; *The Case Stated between the Church of Rome and the Church of England*, published in 1713; and *Of Private Judgment and Authority in Matters of Faith*. These works are said to have made several converts from Popery.

Although thus earnestly and laboriously employed in the cause of religion, Mr. Leslie did not neglect the interests, so far as any efforts of his could serve them, of the exiled family. He wrote several political tracts during this period, and made several journeys to Bar le Duc, to visit the Pretender, who was then residing there. These journeys, however, and his political treatises, especially one entitled *The Good Old Cause*, published in 1710, gave such

offence to the ruling party, that it is said a warrant for his apprehension was actually issued against him. However this may be, he found it necessary to quit the kingdom in 1713, when he proceeded to Bar le Duc, and took up his residence by invitation with the Pretender, who procured a room to be fitted up for him in his own house. While here Mr. Leslie was permitted to officiate in a private chapel after the manner of the Church of England, and it is even said that the Pretender had promised to listen to his arguments concerning his religion, and that Mr. Leslie had in vain endeavoured his conversion. This, however, is contradicted by Lord Bolingbroke, who asserts that he not only refused to listen to Mr. Leslie, but forbade all discussion on religious matters. Notwithstanding of this, however, and of several other subjects of dissatisfaction with the Chevalier, whose conduct towards him does not appear to have been altogether adjusted to his deserts, Mr. Leslie continued to remain with him, and in 1716 accompanied him into Italy after his unsuccessful attempt upon England. Here he remained till 1721, when he found his situation so exceedingly disagreeable that he determined on returning to his native country. This he accomplished, but died in the following year, on the 13th April, in his own house at Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan.

The list of Mr. Leslie's works, political and theological, is exceedingly voluminous. The theological works, in seven volumes, were printed in 1832 at the Oxford university press.

LESLIE, JOHN, Bishop of Ross, and distinguished for his indefatigable exertions in behalf of Queen Mary, was born in 1526, being the son of Gavin Leslie, an eminent lawyer descended from the Barons of Balquhain, one of the most respectable branches of the ancient family of Leslie. He received his education at the university of Aberdeen, and in 1547 was made canon of the cathedral church of that diocese. He subsequently pursued his studies in the universities of Toulouse, Poitiers, and Paris, at which last place he took the degree of Doctor of Laws. In 1554 he was ordered home by the queen-regent, and made official and vicar-general of the diocese of Aberdeen. In the turmoil of the Reformation, which soon after commenced, Leslie became a noted champion of the Romish faith, and appeared on that side in the famous disputation at Edinburgh in 1560. When it was resolved to bring over the young queen from France to assume the government of her native country, Leslie was the chief deputy sent to her by the Catholics, to gain her exclusive favour for that party; but though he had the dexterity to arrive before the Protestant deputation, he was not successful. Leslie, however, returned to Scotland in the queen's company, and was appointed by her a privy-councillor and one of the senators of the College of Justice. In 1564 the abbey of Lindores was conferred upon him, and he was soon after promoted to the bishopric of Ross; offices catholic in form, but which now referred to little more than certain temporalities to which they conferred a title. Leslie was one of the sixteen commissioners appointed in this reign to revise the Scottish laws, and it was chiefly owing to his care that the volume of the acts of parliament, usually called the Black Acts, from its being printed in the old English character, was given to the world in 1566.

The name of the Bishop of Ross derives its chief lustre from the steadfastness and zeal with which he adhered to the fortunes of his royal mistress after they had experienced the remarkable reverse which is well known to have befallen them. When Mary

had become an almost hopeless captive in England, this amiable prelate, at the hazard of all his temporal enjoyments, continued to adhere to her, and to exert himself in her behalf, with a fidelity which would have adorned any cause. He was one of her commissioners at the conference of York in 1568; on which occasion he defended her with a strength of reasoning which is allowed to have produced a great impression, though it did not decide the argument in her favour. He afterwards appeared as her ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, to complain of the injustice done to her; and if the English princess had not been a party interested in the detention of his mistress, his solicitations could have hardly failed of effect. When he found that entreaties and appeals to justice were of no avail, he contrived means for the escape of the queen, and planned the project for her marriage to the Duke of Norfolk, which ended in the execution of that unfortunate nobleman. Leslie was examined in reference to this plot, and notwithstanding his privileges as an ambassador, which he vainly pleaded, was committed prisoner, first to the Isle of Ely, and afterwards to the Tower of London. It appears to have been during this confinement that he wrote the historical work by which his name is now chiefly known. In 1573 he was liberated from prison, but only to be banished from England. He then employed himself for two years in soliciting the interference of the continental princes in behalf of his mistress, but without obtaining for her any active assistance. Even with the pope, whom he requested to use his influence with these princes, he met with no better success. While at Rome he published his history in Latin, under the title of *De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Sæclorum*. This appeared in 1578: next year, having removed to France, he was made suffragan and vicar-general of the archbishopric of Rouen in Normandy; and while visiting the diocese, was apprehended and thrown into prison, and obliged to pay 3000 pistoles to prevent his being given up to Elizabeth. During the remainder of the reign of Henry III. he lived unmolested; but on the accession of the Protestant Henry IV., who was the strict ally of Elizabeth, he fell again into trouble. In the course of his visitation of the diocese in 1590 he was once more thrown into prison, and forced to purchase his freedom at the same expense as before. In 1593 he was made Bishop of Constance, but being now apparently tired of life, which for many years had presented only disappointments and vexations, he soon after retired into a monastery at Gurtenburg, about two miles from Brussels, where he spent the remainder of his days in tranquillity. He died May 31st, 1596, and lies buried in the monastery, under a monument erected to his memory by his nephew and heir, John Leslie.

Bishop Leslie is generally allowed the praise of great learning and of high diplomatic abilities, though it is almost as generally regretted that he did not turn them to a better use. His fidelity to a declining cause is also allowed, even by its enemies, to have been a sentiment as free from the dross of worldly or selfish views as the motives of a line of public conduct ever are. The isolation of a Catholic church dignitary in society seems favourable to the development of such sentiments; and there are not many cases in which the principle is observed to have been more powerful than in the history of this Scottish prelate. His tongue, his pen, the travel of his body, his temporal fortune, were all devoted with the most generous unreserve to the cause which he thought that of justice and true religion; and what more can any man do to show the superiority of his nature to the meaner passions?

The works of Bishop Leslie are as follow:

1. "*Defence of the Honour of Mary Queen of Scotland*;" with a Declaration of her Right, Title, and Interest to the Crown of England;" Liège, 1571, 8vo, which was immediately suppressed.
2. *Afflicti Animi Consolationes et Tranquilli Animi Conservatio*; Paris, 1574.
3. *De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Sæclorum*; Romæ, 1578, 4to.
4. *A Treatise showing that the Regiment of Women is Conformable to the Law of God and Nature*.
5. *De Titulo et Jure Maris Scoticarum Regina; quo Angliæ Successionem Jure sibi vindicat*; Rheims, 1580, 4to.
6. "*The History of Scotland*, from the Death of James I. in 1436 to the year 1561; Edinburgh, 1830, 4to.

The volume last mentioned was printed from a manuscript in the possession of the Earl of Leven and Melville. It is in the Scottish tongue, and forms the original of the three latter books of the Latin history, which differs from it in no respect except in being a little more ample. It appears to have been composed in the vernacular tongue in order that it might be of use to his captive mistress, who, it is to be presumed, was not so good a Latinist as her cousin Elizabeth. The reason of his presenting her with only this detachment of the history of her country was, that the preceding part was already to be had in Bellenden's version of *Boece*. That work stops at the death of James I., and it would naturally occur to Bishop Leslie that a continuation to his own time was a desideratum, both to the people and to her whom he maintained to be their sovereign. He finished his work in March, 1570, and presented the unfortunate queen with the manuscript in 1571; but it never saw the light till the date above mentioned, when 100 copies were printed for the Bannatyne Club, with fifty additional for sale to the public. The style of the work, though it could not fail to sound rudely in the ears of a modern Englishman, is highly elegant and dignified, forming a wonderful improvement upon the rude simplicity of Bellenden. The worthy bishop informs us that he stops at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, because the transactions subsequent to that period contain much that he does not think would reflect honour upon his country: there could be few whose words were more worth listening to respecting that important and greatly controverted part of our history.

The volume alluded to contains a portrait of Leslie, representing him as a grave and venerable man, with an aquiline nose, a small beard, and a very lofty and capacious forehead. As a specimen of the Scottish which a learned prelate would then write, and a queen peruse, we may quote the bishop's character of James V.:-

"Their was gryt dule and meane maid for him throw all the partis of his realme, because he was a nobill prince, and travaillet mekill all his dayis for manitening of his subjectis in peace, justice, and quietnes. He was a man of pearsonage and stature convenient, albeit nichtie and strong theirwith; of countenance amiable and lufely, specially in his communication; his eyes graye and scharp of sicht, that quhomsoever he did ones see and marke, he wald perfytly knawe in all tymes thairefter; of witt in all things quick and prompt, of a princely stomacke and heich courage in greit perillis, doubtfult affairis and materis of weichtie importance; he had in a maner a divine foresicht, for in sic thingis as he went about to doo, he did them advisedlye, and with grit deliberacion, to the intent that amangis all men his witt and prudence might be noted and regardit, and alsfarre excell and pas all uthers in estait and dignitie. Besides this, he was sober, moderate, honest, effaill, curteous; and so farr abhorrit pride and arrogance,

that he was ever sharpe and quick to thame quihlk were spotted or nottit with that crime. He was alsua a good and suir justiciar, be the quihlke one thing he allurit to him the hartis of all the people, because they lived quietlie and in rest, out of all oppressioun and molestacioun of the nobilitye and riche persones; and to this severte of his wes joint and annexit a certane merciful pitye, quihlk he did oftymes shaw to sic as had offendit taking rather composicions of money nor menis lyvis. . . . This gude and modest prince did not devoure and consume the riches of his country, for by his heich pollicye marvellouslie riched his realme and himselfe, both with gold and silver, all kinds of riche substance, quahairof he left greyt stoir and quantitie in all his palices at his departing. And so this king, living all his tyme in the favour of fortune, in heich honour, riches, and glorye, and for his nobill actis and prudent pollicyes, worthye to be registrat in the buike of fame, gaif up and randerit his spreit into the hands of Allmichty God, quhair I doubt not bot he hes suir fruition of the joye that is preparit for these as sell sitt on the richt hand of our Salveour."

LESLIE, SIR JOHN, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, and distinguished by his valuable writings and discoveries, was born at the kirk-town of Largo, in Fife, on the 16th of April, 1766. His father, Robert Leslie, by profession a joiner and cabinet-maker, and originally from the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, was a much respected and worthy man, and seems, in point of education and general attainments, to have been superior to the majority of persons in his station at that period. The mother of Sir John Leslie was Anne Carstairs, a native of Largo. When very young he was sent to a woman's school in the village, but remained only a short time there. Afterwards he was placed under a Mr. Thomson at Lundin Mill, with whom he learned to write; and lastly he went to Leven school and began to learn Latin; but being a weakly boy and unable to walk so far, he was obliged after about six weeks to give up attendance. As these were the only schools he attended before going to college, it is evident that his elementary acquirements must have been exceedingly imperfect. He received however, while at home, some lessons in mathematics from his elder brother Alexander, and soon began to show a surprising aptitude for that branch of science. His manners at this period of life were remarkably reserved and shy. He seemed bent on devoting himself entirely to study, and read with peculiar avidity all the books that came within his reach on mathematics and natural philosophy. To Latin he took a strong dislike, and could not be induced to resume the study of it till after his first year at college.

His extraordinary proficiency in geometrical exercises, joined to a consideration of the unfavourable circumstances under which he had acquired it, brought him at an early period under the notice of Professors Robison and Stewart, of the university of Edinburgh, who were much impressed by the extraordinary powers which he displayed. It was at length resolved by his parents that he should be sent to the university of St. Andrews, in order to fit himself for a learned profession, and he was accordingly entered there as a student of mathematics in 1779. At the first distribution of prizes he attracted some attention by his proficiency, which was the means of introducing him to the patronage of the Earl of Kinnoul, then chancellor of the university. Being now destined for the church, he went through the regular routine of instructions for that purpose. After at-

tending for six sessions at St. Andrews, he removed to Edinburgh, in company with another youth—destined like himself to obtain a high niche in the temple of fame, and to be honoured, at the same moment with himself, more than forty years after, with a royal favour expressive of his equal merit—James (afterwards Sir James) Ivory. At St. Andrews he had also formed an acquaintance with Dr. William Thomson, the continuator of Watson's *Life of Philip II.*, and latterly a professed author of no small note in London. At the university of Edinburgh Mr. Leslie studied three years, during which time he was introduced to Dr. Adam Smith, and employed by that eminent man in assisting the studies of his nephew, afterwards Lord Reston. He now gave up his intention of adopting the clerical profession, which he found to be in a great measure incompatible with the strong bent which his mind had taken towards physical studies.

In 1788 he went to Virginia, as tutor to two young college friends, Messrs. Randolph; and after spending more than a year in America, returned to Edinburgh. In January, 1790, he proceeded to London, carrying with him some commendatory letters from Dr. Smith; he has been heard to mention, that one of the most pressing injunctions with which he was honoured by that illustrious philosopher, was to be sure, if the person to whom he was to present himself was an author, to read his book before approaching him, so as to be able to speak of it, if there should be a fit opportunity. His first intention was to deliver lectures on natural philosophy; but being disappointed in his views, he found it expedient to commence writing for periodical works, as the readiest means of obtaining subsistence. For obtaining employment of this kind he was mainly indebted to his friend Dr. William Thomson, who engaged him upon the notes of a new edition of the Bible, which he was then publishing in numbers. About three months after his arrival in London he made an agreement with Mr. Murray, the bookseller, to translate Buffon's *Natural History of Birds*, which was published in 1793, in nine octavo volumes. The sum he received for it laid the foundation of that pecuniary independence which, unlike many other men of genius, his prudent habits fortunately enabled him early to attain. The preface to this work, which was published anonymously, is characterized by all the peculiarities of his later style; but it also bespeaks a mind of great native vigour and lofty conceptions, strongly touched with admiration for the sublime and the grand in nature and science. During the progress of the translation he fulfilled an engagement with the Messrs. Wedgwood of Etruria in Staffordshire, to superintend their studies; he left them in 1792. In 1794 Mr. Leslie spent a short time in Holland; and, in 1796, he made the tour of Germany and Switzerland with Mr. Thomas Wedgwood, whose early death he ever lamented as a loss to science and his country. About this period he stood candidate for a chair at St. Andrews, and subsequently for that of natural philosophy in Glasgow, but without success. The fortunate candidate on the latter occasion was Dr. James Brown of St. Andrews, with whom Mr. Leslie to the end of his life maintained a constant intimacy. In 1799 he travelled through Norway and Sweden in company with Mr. Robert Gordon, whose friendship he had acquired at St. Andrews College.

At what period Mr. Leslie first struck into that brilliant field of inquiry where he became so conspicuous for his masterly experiments and striking discoveries regarding radiant heat, and the connection between light and heat, we are unable to say.

But his differential thermometer—one of the most beautiful and delicate instruments that inductive genius ever contrived as a help to experimental inquiry, and which rewarded its author by its happy ministry to the success of some of his finest experiments—must have been invented before the year 1800, as it was described in Nicholson's *Philosophical Journal* some time during that year. The results of those fine inquiries, in which he was so much aided by this exquisite instrument, were published to the world in 1804, in his celebrated *Essay on the Nature and Propagation of Heat*.¹ The experimental devices and remarkable discoveries which distinguish this publication far more than atone for its great defects of method, its very questionable theories, and its transgressions against that simplicity of style which its aspiring author rather spurned than was unable to exemplify; but which must be allowed to be a quality peculiarly indispensable to the communication of scientific knowledge. The work was honoured, in the following year, by the unanimous adjudication to its author, by the council of the Royal Society, of the Rumford medals, appropriated to reward discoveries in that province whose nature and limits he had so much illustrated and extended.

Mr. Leslie had thus distinguished himself by his acquirements, when, early in 1805, in consequence of the translation of Professor Playfair from the chair of mathematics to that of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, the former became vacant, and the subject of this memoir appeared as a candidate for the situation. It might have been expected that, where the qualifications of the individual were so decidedly above all rivalry, there could have been no hesitation in his native country to confer upon him the honour which he sought. Such there might not have been, if what is called the moderate party in the Scottish church had not been inspired by a jealousy of his liberal principles in politics, accompanied by a desire of advancing one of their own number to oppose his election. The person brought forward as the rival candidate was Dr. Thomas Macknight, one of the ministers of the city, and son of the venerable commentator on the epistles—a gentleman highly qualified, no doubt, not only for this, but for almost any other chair in the university; but who, nevertheless, could not be matched against an individual so distinguished for the benefits he had conferred on science as Mr. Leslie; and who was moreover liable to the disqualifying consideration that he was already engaged in an office which, to be well done, requires the whole man, while Mr. Leslie stood in the light of a most useful member of society in a great measure unprovided for.

The electors in this case were the magistrates and town-council of Edinburgh, and to them Mr. Leslie was recommended not only by fame, but by the warmest testimonials from Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Dempster of Dunnichen, Dr. Hutton of Woolwich, Baron Masseres, and Dr. Maskelyne. In the supposition that these electors were disposed to discharge their trust with fidelity, they could have no hesitation in preferring Mr. Leslie; and it is to be related to their credit, that they had no such hesitation. On learning the bent of their resolution, the ministers of Edinburgh held various private meetings, as if to indicate the more pointedly that they had a peculiar interest of their own in the matter; and it was resolved to oppose Mr. Leslie's election on the

grounds of what they deemed an infidel note in his *Essay on Heat*; employing for this purpose a clause in the fundamental charter of the college, directing the magistrates to take the advice of the Edinburgh clergy in the election of professors.

The note alluded to was one in reference to the unphilosophical theories which once attempted to explain the phenomena of gravitation by means of invisible ethers. Mr. Leslie, in treating this point, found it convenient to refer to Mr. Hume's theory of cause and effect, in which, as is well known, he makes use of certain generally received doctrines to invalidate the argument for the existence of the Deity. In making the reference it did not seem to Mr. Leslie to be necessary that he should condemn the ultimate use made of these doctrines by Mr. Hume, since he was only engaged in a physical examination. His note, therefore, stands as follows: "Mr. Hume is the first, so far as I know, who has treated of causation in a truly philosophic manner. His *Essay on Necessary Connection* seems a model of clear and accurate reasoning. But it was only wanted to dispel the cloud of mystery which had so long darkened that important subject. The unsophisticated sentiments of mankind are in perfect unison with the deductions of logic, and imply at bottom nothing more in the relation of cause and effect than a constant invariable sequence." From these words, however, it was evident, in the opinion of his clerical opponents, "that Mr. Leslie, having, with Mr. Hume, denied all such necessary connection between cause and effect as implies an operating principle in the cause, has of course laid a foundation for rejecting all argument that is derived from the works of God to prove either his being or attributes."

When Mr. Leslie was informed of the grounds on which the Edinburgh ministers rested their opposition, he addressed a letter to the Rev. Dr. Hunter, professor of divinity, and one of the few clergymen of the city who were not opposed to him, laying before him some explanations of the note, to which he begged him to call the attention of his brethren. These explanations were chiefly what are stated above, and are thus followed up: "I have the fullest conviction that my ideas on the question to which the note refers would appear to coincide, in every essential respect, with those of the most enlightened adversaries of Mr. Hume's philosophy. But, limited as I am to a few moments of time, I can only disavow (which I do with the greatest sincerity and solemnity) every inference which the ingenuity of my opponents may be pleased to draw from the partial view I have taken of the general doctrine, to the prejudice of those evidences on which the truths of religion are founded. If I live to publish another edition of my work, I pledge myself to show in an additional paragraph how grossly and injuriously I have been treated on this occasion. . . . It is painful to be called on, after the habits of intimacy in which I have lived with the most exemplary characters in both parts of the island, to repel a direct charge of atheism; but whatever may be the effect of such calumnies on the minds of strangers, it affords me much consolation to think that they will be heard with contempt and indignation by those who know the real state of my sentiments, and particularly by such as are acquainted with the strictness of those religious principles in which I had the happiness to be educated from my earliest years."

This letter was laid before the ministers at a meeting held by them on the 12th of March, 1805; but being, to use their own phrase, by no means satisfied with it, they appointed a committee, con-

¹ Previous to this period Mr. Leslie, when not otherwise or elsewhere engaged, used to live with his brothers at Largo; and there were the experiments for his *Essay on Heat* carried on, and the book written.

sisting of Dr. Grieve, Mr. David Black, Mr. David Dickson, and Dr. Inglis, to proceed to the town-council and protest against the election of Mr. Leslie. As the council was to be that day engaged in the election, the committee went accordingly to their chamber, and presented a protest which had been prepared, in which, besides stating the grand objection of the note and their inferences from it as to Mr. Leslie's religious principles, they stated that, "in the event of his being elected, notwithstanding this representation, they reserved to themselves full power of questioning the validity of such election, and of employing whatever means may to them be found competent for preventing Mr. Leslie's induction into the office of professor; with full power, in the event of his induction, to prosecute for his ejection from said office in any competent court, civil or ecclesiastical." Immediately after this paper was given in and its bearers had left the hall, the council elected Mr. Leslie.

At the meeting of the presbytery of Edinburgh on the 27th, the committee of the city clergy gave in a representation stating these transactions, along with a copy of their protest, and requested the reverend court to take such steps in the matter as they might judge proper. It was here determined by vote to carry the affair before the synod; a step formally necessary for bringing it under the decision of the highest national church-court, the General Assembly.

At the meeting of this court on the 22d of May, the case of Mr. Leslie came before it in the shape of a complaint by the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff and other members of the synod, against the reference of the case to the General Assembly. It was thus apparent that the leaders of the more zealously pious party of the church had taken the part of Mr. Leslie against their accustomed opponents. The interest which the public could not have failed to entertain respecting the question, even if confined to its native merits, was excited to an uncommon degree by this complication of the phenomenon. The case, nevertheless, furnished only an unusually striking example of what must always be the result of a party system in any deliberative body. It happened to be convenient for the "moderate" party on this particular occasion, to show an anxious desire for the purity of faith and doctrine; and for this purpose they raked up a negative title in the Edinburgh clergy to be consulted in the exercise of the town-council patronage, which had not been acted upon for twenty-six years, during which time several of the very men now prosecuting had been elected to chairs in the university without regard to it. It was equally convenient for the evangelical party, though adverse to all their usual principles, to regard the suspected infidelity of Mr. Leslie with a lenient and apologetic spirit, in order that they might be in their usual position regarding their opponents, and because they hoped to gain a triumph for themselves in the non-success of a prosecution which they could easily see rested upon no valid grounds, and could hardly, in the face of public opinion, be carried to its utmost extent, even though a majority of servile votes could have been obtained for the purpose.

In the course of the long debate which followed the introduction of the case, some very strong testimonies were brought forward in favour of Mr. Leslie's moral and religious character; and the speeches on either side, which occupied two days, were characterized by a metaphysical depth and an amount of scientific knowledge which perhaps no other church-court in Europe could have equalled. Near midnight on the second day of the debate, it was determined by 96 against 84 to dismiss this vexatious case with-

out further notice. On the vote being announced, a shout of applause—an unwonted sound in the General Assembly—burst from the crowd assembled in the galleries.

Mr. Leslie entered without further opposition upon the duties of his chair, and upon a course of experimental discovery by which he was to confer lustre upon the university. Through the assistance of one of his ingenious contrivances—his hygrometer—he arrived in 1810 at the discovery of that singularly beautiful process of artificial congelation, which enabled him to convert water and mercury into ice. "We happened," says a brother professor, "to witness the consummation of the discovery—at least, of the performance of one of the first successful repetitions of the process by which it was effected; and we shall never forget the joy and elation which beamed on the face of the discoverer, as, with his characteristic good nature, he patiently explained the steps by which he had been led to it."

In 1809 Mr. Leslie published his *Elements of Geometry*, which immediately became a class-book, and has since gone through four editions. He also published, in 1813, an *Account of Experiments and Instruments depending on the relation of Air to Heat and Moisture*. In 1817 he produced his "*Philosophy of Arithmetic*, exhibiting a Progressive View of the Theory and Progress of Calculation," a small octavo; and, in 1821, his "*Geometrical Analysis and Geometry of Curve Lines*, being volume second of a Course of Mathematics, and designed as an Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy."¹ In 1822 he published *Elements of Natural Philosophy* for the use of his class—reprinted in 1829—and of which only one volume appeared. *Rudiments of Geometry*, a small octavo, published 1828, and designed for popular use, was his last separate work. Besides these separate works he wrote many admirable articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, three profound treatises in *Nicholson's Philosophical Journal*, a few in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, and several very valuable articles on different branches of physics in the Supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1819, on the death of Professor Playfair, whose promotion had formerly made room for him in the chair of mathematics, he was elevated to the professorship of natural philosophy, by which his powers were of course brought into a far wider field of display and of usefulness than they had been for the preceding fourteen years. Among the preliminary treatises of the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which began to be published in 1830, he wrote a "Discourse on the History of Mathematical and Physical Science during the Eighteenth Century," which may be described as one of the most agreeable and masterly of all his compositions.

The income enjoyed by Mr. Leslie was for many years so much above his necessities, that he was able, by careful management, to realize a fortune not far short of ten thousand pounds. Part of this he expended, in his latter years, upon the purchase and decoration of a mansion called Coates, near his native village, where he spent all the intervals allowed by his college duties. Early in the year 1832, at the recommendation of the lord-chancellor (Brougham), he was invested with a knighthood of the Guelphic

¹ The *Elements of Geometry* included trigonometry and geometrical analysis in one volume, for the three first editions; and the curve lines of the second order was a small separate work. In the fourth edition of the *Geometry*, 1820, one volume included geometry and trigonometry, and the second, published some time after, consisted of geometrical analysis, including the curves of the second order formerly published, with the addition of the higher curves.

order, at the same time that Messrs. Herschel, C. Bell, Ivory, Brewster, South, and Harris Nicolas, received a similar honour. Sir John Leslie was not destined long to enjoy the well-merited distinction. In the end of October, while superintending some of the improvements about his much-loved place, he incautiously exposed himself to wet, the consequence of which was a severe cold. Among the various foibles which protruded themselves through the better powers and habitudes of his mind, was a contempt for medicine, and an unwillingness to think that he could be seriously ill. He accordingly neglected his ailment, and was speedily seized with erysipelas in one of his legs; a disorder at that time raging in Scotland with all the symptoms and effects of a malignant epidemic. On Wednesday, October 31st, he again exposed himself in his grounds, and from that day the malady advanced very rapidly. On the evening of Saturday, November 3d, he breathed his last.

The scientific and personal character of Sir John Leslie has been sketched with so bold and free a pencil by Mr. Macvey Napier, his brother in both academic and literary labours, that we make no apology for presenting it to the reader, in lieu of anything of our own:—

“It would be impossible, we think, for any intelligent and well-constituted mind to review the labours of this distinguished man, without a strong feeling of admiration for his inventive genius and vigorous powers, and of respect for that extensive knowledge which his active curiosity, his various reading, and his happy memory had enabled him to attain. Some few of his contemporaries in the same walks of science may have excelled him in profundity of understanding, in philosophical caution, and in logical accuracy; but we doubt if any surpassed him, whilst he must be allowed to have surpassed many, in that creative faculty—one of the highest and rarest of nature’s gifts—which leads and is necessary to discovery, though not all-sufficient of itself for the formation of safe conclusions; or in that subtlety and reach of discernment which seizes the finest and least obvious relations among the objects of science—which elicits the hidden secrets of nature, and ministers to new combinations of her powers. There were some flaws, it must be allowed, in the mind of this memorable person. He strangely undervalued some branches of philosophical inquiry of high importance in the circle of human knowledge. His credulity in matters of ordinary life was, to say the least of it, as conspicuous as his tendency to scepticism in science. It has been profoundly remarked by Mr. Dugald Stewart, that ‘though the mathematician may be prevented, in his own pursuits, from going far astray, by the absurdities to which his errors lead him, he is seldom apt to be revolted by absurd conclusions in other matters. Thus, even in physics,’ he adds, ‘mathematicians have been led to acquiesce in conclusions which appear ludicrous to men of different habits.’ Something of the same kind was observable in the mind of this distinguished mathematician, for such also he was. He was apt, too, to run into some startling hypothesis, from an unwarrantable application of mathematical principles to subjects altogether foreign to them; as when he finds an analogy between circulating decimals and the lengthened cycles of the seasons. In all his writings, with the exception perhaps of his last considerable performance, the discourse prefixed to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, even in the sober field of pure mathematics, there is a constant straining after ‘thoughts that breathe and words that burn,’ and a love of abstract, and figurative, and novel modes of

expression, which has exposed them to just criticism by impartial judges, and to some puny fault-finding by others, more willing to carp at defects than to point out the merits which redeem them. But when even severe criticism has said its worst, it must be allowed that genius has struck its captivating impress deep and wide over all his works. His more airy speculations may be thrown aside or condemned; but his exquisite instruments, and his original and beautiful experimental combinations, will ever attest the fruitfulness of his mind, and continue to act as helps to farther discovery. We have already alluded to the extent and excursiveness of his reading. It is rare, indeed, to find a man of so much invention, and who himself valued the inventive above all the other powers, possessing so vast a store of learned and curious information. His reading extended to every nook and corner, however obscure, that books have touched upon. He was a lover, too, and that in no ordinary degree, of what is commonly called anecdote. Though he did not shine in mixed society, and was latterly unfitted by a considerable degree of deafness for enjoying it, his conversation, when seated with one or two, was highly entertaining. It had no wit, little repartee, and no fine turns of any kind, but it had a strongly-original and racy cast, and was replete with striking remarks and curious information.

“He had faults, no doubt, as all ‘of woman born’ have: he had prejudices, of which it would have been better to be rid; he was not over charitable in his views of human virtue; and he was not quite so ready, on all occasions, to do that justice to kindred merit as was to be expected in so ardent a worshipper of genius. But his faults were far more than compensated by his many good qualities—by his constant equanimity, his cheerfulness, his simplicity of character almost infantine, his straightforwardness, his perfect freedom from affectation, and, above all, his unconquerable good nature.¹ He was, indeed, one of the most placable of human beings; and if, as has been thought, he generally had a steady eye, in his worldly course, to his own interest, it cannot be denied that he was, notwithstanding, a warm and good friend, and a relation on whose affectionate assistance a firm reliance could ever be placed.

“There is one other matter which, in justice to the illustrious dead, we cannot pass over in silence; we mean the permanent service rendered to the class of natural philosophy by the late Sir John Leslie in the collection of by far the finest and most complete set of apparatus in the kingdom. Augustus boasted that he found Rome built of brick, and left it a city of palaces and temples constructed of marble. Without any exaggeration, something analogous may be predicated of Sir John Leslie in regard to the apparatus of this class. He found it a collection of antiquated and obsolete rubbish; he left it the most complete and perfect of its kind in this kingdom; and if it had pleased God to spare him a few years longer, it would, beyond all doubt, have been rendered the

¹ The person of Sir John Leslie was, in later life, far from gainly. He was short and corpulent, with a florid face and somewhat unsightly projection of the front teeth, and tottered considerably in walking. He was, moreover, very slovenly in his mode of dressing—a peculiarity the more curious, as it was accompanied by no inconsiderable share of *self-respect*, and an anxiety to be thought young and engaging. The mixture of great intellectual powers with the humbler weaknesses of human nature can seldom have been more strikingly exemplified than in his case; though it is evident that, as his weaknesses were very much those to which unmarried men in advanced life are supposed to be most peculiarly liable, they might have probably been obviated in a great measure if he had happened to spend his life in the more fortunate condition of matrimony.

first in Europe or the world. The renovation which he effected was, indeed, most radically complete. The whole of the old trash was thrown aside, and its place supplied by new instruments, constructed on the most improved principles by the most celebrated artists both in this country and on the Continent; while its absolute amount was increased tenfold, and adapted in the happiest manner to the present advanced state of science. His perseverance and enthusiasm in this respect were indeed boundless; and as his predecessors were not experimentalists, in the same sense in which he was, and had made little or no effort to accommodate the apparatus to the progress of science, or even to repair the wear and tear of time, he had the whole to create, in the same way as if the class had only been founded when he was first promoted to the chair. By his own continued and admirably-directed efforts, aided by the liberality of the patrons, who generously made him several grants in furtherance of the object which he had so much at heart—and also by very considerable pecuniary sacrifices upon his own part, for which he has never as yet got the credit that is so justly due to him—he at length succeeded in furnishing the apparatus-room in the manner in which it may now be seen by any one who chooses to visit it, and thus conferred upon the university a benefit for which it ought to be for ever grateful to his memory. This may sound strange in the ears of those who have been accustomed to hear it said, as it has often been, most falsely, that Sir John Leslie was a bad experimenter. The truth is, that of all his great and varied gifts, none was more remarkable than the delicacy and success with which he performed the most difficult experiments, excepting perhaps his intuitive sagacity in instantly detecting the cause of an accidental failure; and it is a known fact, that, after he had discovered and communicated to the world his celebrated process of artificial congelation, particularly as applied to the freezing of mercury, some of the first men of science in London failed of performing it, till the discoverer himself, happening to be on the spot personally, showed them wherein consisted the fault of their manipulation, and at once performed the experiment which had previously baffled all their efforts. It is equally well known to those who were acquainted with him, that the most elegant in form as well as the most delicate in operation of the beautiful instruments invented by himself were constructed by his own hand, and that this, to him most agreeable employment, constituted the recreation of his leisure hours. The apparatus-room, indeed, contains many specimens of his workmanship in this line, and they are of such a description as would not do any discredit to the most practised and skilful artist. To his immediate successor his acquisitions and his labours will therefore be of incalculable importance; but the merit which really belongs to him can only be duly estimated by those who know what he found when he became professor of natural philosophy, and can compare it with the treasures which he has left behind him."¹

¹ Some further particulars respecting his various talents and acquisitions may be gathered from the following notice which appeared in the *Edinburgh Courant*, and seems to be the production of one qualified in more ways than one to speak upon the subject.—“Sir John Leslie has been for many years known in this country, and over all Europe, as one of the most eminent characters of the age. As a mathematician and philosopher—a profound and accomplished scholar—as a proficient in general literature, and in history and many other branches of knowledge—he had few rivals. But it was for mathematical science and its kindred studies that he discovered, at a very early period, a decided predilection; and it is in the successful illustration of scientific truth and of all the complicated phenomena of physics that his great reputation has been acquired. In

LEVEN, EARL OF. See LESLIE (ALEXANDER).

LEYDEN, JOHN, a man of singularly varied genius and accomplishment, was born on the 8th of September, 1775, at Denholm, a village on the banks of the Teviot, in the parish of Cavers and county of Roxburgh. His parents were John Leyden and Isabella Scott, who had three sons and two daughters younger than himself. His ancestors in both lines had been farmers on the estate of Cavers for several generations; but his father, though skilful in rural affairs, declined to engage on his own account in the same occupation, thinking even the fortunate pursuit of gain a poor compensation for the anxiety that attends it. About a year after the birth of their first child, he removed to Henlawshiel on the farm of Nether Tofts, which was then occupied by Andrew Blythe, his wife's uncle, whom he first served as shepherd, and subsequently as overseer, his master having had the misfortune to lose his sight. The

these pursuits he was eminently qualified to excel by the great original powers of his mind, which were further stimulated by an ardent enthusiasm, and an early desire of distinction among the illustrious names of his day. Along with a profound knowledge of his subject, he possessed great inventive powers, which not only enabled him to sound the depths of science, but to expound its important problems with a simplicity and elegance rarely equalled. In making his way through the intricacies of physical research, his severe judgment guided him in the right path; and hence his demonstrations always afford a striking and beautiful display of pure reason, without any tendency to that spirit of metaphysical subtlety which occasionally perplexes the speculations of Laplace, Legendre, with others of the continental philosophers; and it is worthy of remark that, along with the penetrating force of his judgment, he carried into those studies that taste and fancy—that predilection for the beautiful—which may be recognized in all his speculations, whether in literature or in science. His taste in geometry was founded on the purest models of Grecian philosophy; he delighted to expound to his pupils the simplicity and elegance of the demonstrations by the great masters of antiquity; he commended them to their imitation, and expatiated on the subject in a manner well fitted to inspire a kindred enthusiasm; so that we might have fancied that he was dilating, not on the merits of a mathematical problem, but on some of those beautiful forms and classic models of ancient art which have been the wonder of all succeeding times. Nor was this admiration of ancient geometry a mere pedantic or barren speculation. The great philosopher of whom we are speaking carried his principles into practice, and applied the abstract properties of figures with the happiest success to experimental philosophy; many branches of which he greatly extended by his discoveries; and in all of them he developed the most original views, which may yet be traced to important results. The range of his studies was amazingly extensive; and he had accumulated vast stores of knowledge, especially on scientific subjects. He was deeply versed in the history of science, which he had traced from its earliest dawnings in the times of Greece and Rome, through all the subsequent vicissitudes which it experienced during the dark ages of barbarism, till it was revived by the Arabians in the East, and was afterwards improved and perfected by the more brilliant discoveries of modern times. We speak literally when we say, that we doubt if there is a single publication relating to this subject, either in the ancient or the modern languages, which he had not diligently perused; and his knowledge, minute and accurate on every point, and, once acquired, never forgotten, overflowed in his conversation and in his writings. The date of any great discovery was familiar to him; he could give anecdotes or biographical sketches of all the great promoters of science in every age; and the prodigality of his information was not more surprising than the ease with which he preserved its disposition and arrangement, under certain great leading principles, which were the landmarks of his mind, by which the store of facts which he had been treasuring up for years was reduced into order, and each distributed into its proper place in the great system of which it formed a part. For the truth of this remark we may refer to his ‘History of the Barometer’ in the *Edinburgh Review*, and to his papers on meteorology and other subjects in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to his continuation of Playfair’s *Introductory Discourses* prefixed to that work, as well as to many of his other productions, which display the great extent of his researches. On other subjects also, not connected with his peculiar studies, his information was minute and extensive. He was deeply read in Scottish history and antiquities; and on all modern questions of politics or political economy he had his own original ideas, which he was always ready to express and expound in a fair and temperate strain.”

cottage in which the family resided was of a humble construction; its internal accommodations were equally simple; but it was situated at the foot of the majestic hill of Rubislaw, and there, among the "dun heathy slopes and valleys green," did Leyden imbibe that enthusiasm and manliness of character which afterwards displayed themselves so strongly in his domestic affections, in his love of country, and in his unwearied pursuit of knowledge.

With the inmates of his father's house dwelt intelligence, cheerful content, and piety; and in this scene of the domestic virtues Leyden was taught to read by his grandmother, under whom he soon acquired a familiar acquaintance with the events recorded in the sacred volume, the historical passages in the Old Testament having first attracted his attention. His taste for reading, once kindled, spread like the *moorburn* on his native heaths, first over the books in his father's possession, and then to the shelves of the neighbours. Some popular works on Scottish history supplied the inspiring recital of the deeds of Wallace and Bruce, which, beyond their immediate benefit, have continued as examples through succeeding ages to cherish sentiments of independence in every generous bosom. Among the other productions with which he was greatly delighted, have been enumerated the poems of Sir David Lindsay, *Paradise Lost*, Chapman's translation of *Homer*, and the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*. An odd volume of the last-named work he obtained, when he was about eleven years old, by a resolute perseverance of solicitation quite commensurate with the ardour of his subsequent literary career. He had received from a companion some account of its contents, and been told that the treasure belonged to a blacksmith's apprentice who resided at some miles' distance from his father's house. The very next morning Leyden waded through the snow in the hope of being allowed to peruse a part of the volume in the owner's presence—for he had no title to expect a loan of it in any other way; and that he might have leisure to do so, he set out betimes. On reaching the smithy, learning that the lad had gone from home to do some work, he proceeded to the place, and, having preferred his request, met with a refusal. But he was not to be so dismissed; and continuing beside the lad the whole day, he either succeeded in gaining his good graces, or prevailed by the mere force of pertinacity, so that he got the book as a present, and returned home by sunset, "exhausted by hunger and fatigue," says Sir Walter Scott, "but in triumphant possession of a treasure for which he would have subjected himself to yet greater privations."

At nine years of age Leyden had been sent to the parish school of Kirktown, where, to writing and arithmetic, he added a little knowledge of Latin grammar. He continued here three years, with the interval of two very long vacations, in consequence of the death of one teacher and the removal of another. At these times he assumed the plaid, and looked after his father's flock when his assistance was needed. His parents now clearly perceived that the bent of their son's mind was for learning, and he was accordingly placed under the charge of Mr. Duncan, a Cameronian minister at Denholm, who instructed a few pupils,—he could not usually draw together more than five or six—in Greek and Latin. "Of the eagerness of his desire for knowledge," says the Rev. James Morton, "it may not be improper to relate an anecdote which took place at this time: Denholm being about three miles from his residence, which was rather too long a walk, his father was going to buy him an ass to convey him to and from

school. Leyden, however, was unwilling, from the common prejudice against this animal, to encounter the ridicule of his school-fellows by appearing so ignobly mounted, and would at first have declined the offered accommodation. But no sooner was he informed that the owner of the ass happened to have in his possession a large book in *some* learned language, which he offered to give into the bargain, than his reluctance entirely vanished, and he never rested until he had obtained this literary treasure, which was found to be the *Calepini Dictionarium Octolingue*."

After he had enjoyed the advantage of Mr. Duncan's instructions for two years, it was judged that he was qualified for college; and in November, 1790, his father accompanied him half-way to Edinburgh, with a horse which they rode alternately; he performed the rest of the journey on foot. His views being directed to the church, he began the usual course of study by attending the Greek and Latin classes; in the preparations for which he was assiduous, allotting a stated portion of time daily to the tasks of each professor, and employing the remaining hours in desultory reading, from which, having the command of the college library, he was not deterred, like some young men, by any difficulty of determining which books it would be most proper and advantageous for him to read first. His public appearances threatened at the outset to draw down upon him some degree of ridicule; but Professor Dalzell used to describe, with some humour, the astonishment and amusement excited in his class when John Leyden first stood up to recite his Greek exercise. The rustic yet undaunted manner, the humble dress, the high harsh tone of his voice, joined to the broad provincial accent of Teviotdale, decomposed on this first occasion the gravity of the professor, and totally routed that of the students. But it was soon perceived that these uncouth attributes were joined to qualities which commanded respect and admiration. The rapid progress of the young rustic attracted the approbation and countenance of the professor, who was ever prompt to distinguish and encourage merit; and to those among the students who did not admit literary proficiency as a shelter for the ridicule due since the days of Juvenal to the scholar's worn coat and unfashionable demeanour, Leyden was in no respect averse from showing strong reasons adapted to their comprehension, and affecting their personal safety, for keeping their mirth within decent bounds.¹

The Greek language was long his favourite study, and, considering his opportunities, he became much more intimately acquainted with its best authors than is usual in Scotland, even among those who make some pretensions to literature. The Latin he understood thoroughly; and it is perhaps the best proof of his classical attainments, that at a later period, to use his own expression, "he passed muster pretty well when introduced to Dr. Parr."

Leyden was now at the fountain-head of knowledge, and availed himself of former privations by quaffing it in large draughts. He not only attended all the lectures usually connected with the study of theology, but several others, particularly some of the medical classes—a circumstance which afterwards proved important to his outset in life, although at the time it could only be ascribed to his restless and impatient pursuit after science of every description.

¹ The ensuing part of the present article is borrowed, with very slight alterations, from a memoir of Dr. Leyden in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1811—evidently, from its "careless inimitable graces," the composition of Sir Walter Scott.

Admission to these lectures was easy from the liberality of the professors, who throw their classes gratuitously open to young men educated for the church, a privilege of which Leyden availed himself to the utmost extent. There were indeed few branches of study in which he did not make some progress. Besides the learned languages, he acquired French, Spanish, Italian, and German, was familiar with the ancient Icelandic, and studied Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian.

But though he soon became particularly distinguished by his talents as a linguist, few departments of science altogether escaped his notice. He investigated moral philosophy with the ardour common to all youths of talent who studied ethics under the auspices of Professor Dugald Stewart, with whose personal notice he was honoured. He became a respectable mathematician, and was at least superficially acquainted with natural philosophy, natural history, chemistry, botany, and mineralogy. These various sciences he acquired in different degrees, and at different times, during his residence at college. They were the fruit of no very regular plan of study: whatever subject interested his mind at the time attracted his principal attention till time and industry had overcome the difficulties which it presented, and was then exchanged for another pursuit. It seemed frequently to be Leyden's object to learn just so much of a particular science as should enable him to resume it at any future period; and to those who objected to the miscellaneous, or occasionally the superficial, nature of his studies, he used to answer with his favourite interjection, "Dash it, man, never mind: if you have the scaffolding ready, you can run up the masonry when you please." But this mode of study, however successful with John Leyden, cannot be safely recommended to a student of less retentive memory and robust application. With him, however, at least while he remained in Britain, it seemed a matter of little consequence for what length of time he resigned any particular branch of study; for when either some motive or mere caprice induced him to resume it, he could with little difficulty reunite all the broken associations, and begin where he left off months or years before, without having lost an inch of ground during the interval.

The vacations which our student spent at home were employed in arranging, methodizing, and enlarging the information which he had acquired during his winter's attendance at college. His father's cottage affording him little opportunity for quiet and seclusion, he was obliged to look out for accommodations abroad, and some of his places of retreat were sufficiently extraordinary. In a wild recess, in the den or glen which gives name to the village of Denholm, he contrived a sort of furnace for the purpose of such chemical experiments as it was adequate to performing. But his chief place of retirement was the small parish church, a gloomy and ancient building, generally believed in the neighbourhood to be haunted. To this chosen place of study, usually locked during week-days, Leyden made entrance by means of a window, read there for many hours in the day, and deposited his books and specimens in a retired pew. It was a well-chosen spot of seclusion, for the kirk (excepting during divine service) is rather a place of terror to the Scottish rustic, and that of Cavers was rendered more so by many a tale of ghosts and witchcraft, of which it was the supposed scene; and to which Leyden, partly to indulge his humour, and partly to secure his retirement, contrived to make some modern additions. The nature of his abstruse studies, some specimens of natural history, as toads and adders, left exposed

in their spirit-vials, and one or two practical jests played off upon the more curious of the peasantry, rendered his gloomy haunt not only venerated by the wise, but feared by the simple, of the parish, who began to account this abstracted student, like the gifted person described by Wordsworth, as possessing—

"—— Waking empire wide as dreams,
An ample sovereignty of eye and ear;
Rich are his walks with supernatural cheer;
The region of his inner spirit teems
With vital sounds, and monitory gleams
Of high astonishment and pleasing fear."

This was a distinction which, as we have already hinted, he was indeed not unwilling to affect, and to which, so far as the visions existing in the high fancy of the poet can supply those ascribed to the actual ghost-seer, he had indeed no slight pretensions.

Books as well as retirement were necessary to the progress of Leyden's studies, and not always attainable. But his research collected from every quarter such as were accessible by loan, and he subjected himself to the utmost privations to purchase those that were not otherwise to be procured. The reputation also of his prosperous career of learning obtained him occasional access to the library of Mr. Douglas of Cavers—an excellent old collection, in which he met for the first time many of those works of the middle ages which he studied with so much research and success. A *Froissart* in particular, translated by Lord Berners, captivated his attention with all those tales "to savage virtue dear," which coincided with his taste for chivalry, and with the models on which it had been formed; and tales of the Black Prince, of the valiant Chandos, and of Geoffrey Tête-Noir, now rivalled the legends of Johnnie Armstrong, Walter the Devil, and the Black Douglas.

In the country Leyden's society was naturally considerably restricted, but while at college it began to extend itself among such of his fellow-students as were distinguished for proficiency in learning. Among these we may number the celebrated author of the *Pleasures of Hope*; the Rev. Alexander Murray united with Leyden in the kindred pursuit of oriental learning, and whose lamp, like that of his friend, was extinguished at the moment when it was placed in the most conspicuous elevation; William Erskine, author of a poetical epistle from St. Kilda, with whom Leyden renewed his friendship in India; the ingenious Dr. Thomas Brown, distinguished for his early proficiency in the science of moral philosophy, of which he was afterwards professor in the Edinburgh college; the Rev. Robert Lundie, minister of Kelso; and several other young men of talent, who at that time pursued their studies in the university of Edinburgh.

In the year 1796 the recommendation of Professor Dalzell procured Leyden the situation of private tutor to the sons of Mr. Campbell of Fairfield, a situation which he retained for two or three years. During the winter of 1798 he attended the two young gentlemen to their studies at the college of St. Andrews. Here he had the advantage of the acquaintance of Professor Hunter, an admirable classical scholar, and to whose kind instructions he professed much obligation. The secluded situation also of St. Andrews, the monastic life of the students, the fragments of antiquity with which that once metropolitan town is surrounded, and the libraries of its colleges, gave him additional opportunity and impulse to pursue his favourite plans of study.

About the time he resided at St. Andrews, the renown of Mungo Park, and Leyden's enthusiastic

attachment to all researches connected with oriental learning, turned his thoughts towards the history of Africa, in which he found much to enchant an imagination which loved to dwell upon the grand, the marvellous, the romantic, and even the horrible, and which was rather fired than appalled by the picture of personal danger and severe privation. Africa indeed had peculiar charms for Leyden. He delighted to read of hosts whose arrows intercepted the sunbeams; of kings and soldiers who judged of the numberless number of their soldiers by marching them over the trunk of a cedar, and only deemed their strength sufficient to take the field when such myriads had passed as to reduce the solid timber to impalpable dust: the royal halls also of Dahomey, built of skulls and cross-bones, and moistened with the daily blood of new victims of tyranny;—all, in short, that presented strange, wild, and romantic views of human nature, and which furnished new and unheard-of facts in the history of man, had great fascination for his ardent imagination. And about this time he used to come into company quite full of these extraordinary stories, garnished faithfully with the unpronounceable names of the despots and tribes of Africa, which any one at a distance would have taken for the exorcism of a conjuror. The fruit of his researches he gave to the public in a small volume, entitled *A Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlements of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa at the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, crown 8vo, 1799. It is written on the plan of Raynal's celebrated work, and as it contains a clear and lively abridgment of the information afforded by travellers whose works are of rare occurrence, it was favourably received by the public.

On Leyden's return to Edinburgh from St. Andrews, he resided with his pupils in the family of Mr. Campbell, where he was treated with that respect and kindness which every careful father will pay to him whose lessons he expects his children to receive with attention and advantage. His hours, excepting those of tuition, were at his own uncontrolled disposal, and such of his friends as chose to visit him at Mr. Campbell's were sure of an hospitable reception. This class began now to extend itself among persons of an older standing than his contemporaries, and embraced several who had been placed by fortune, or had risen by exertions, to that fixed station in society to which his college intimates were as yet only looking forwards. His acquaintance with Mr. Richard Heber was the chief means of connecting him with several families of the former description, and it originated in the following circumstances.

John Leyden's feelings were naturally poetical, and he was early led to express them in the language of poetry. Before he visited St. Andrews, and while residing there, he had composed both fragments and complete pieces of poetry in almost every style and stanza which our language affords, from an unfinished tragedy on the fate of the Darien settlement, to songs, ballads, and comic tales. Many of these essays afterwards found their way to the press through the medium of the *Edinburgh Magazine*, at that time under the management or the patronage of Dr. Robert Anderson, editor of the *British Poets*, with whom Leyden was on terms of intimacy. In this periodical miscellany appeared from time to time poetical translations from the Greek Anthology, from the Norse, from the Hebrew, from the Arabic, from the Syriac, from the Persian, and so forth, with many original pieces, indicating more genius than taste, and an extent of learning of most unusual dimensions. These were subscribed J. L. About

this time also Mr. Archibald Constable was opening business, chiefly as a retailer of curious and ancient books, a department in which he possessed extensive knowledge; Mr. Richard Heber, the extent of whose invaluable library is generally known, was, in the winter of 1799–1800, residing in Edinburgh, and a frequenter of course of Mr. Constable's shop. In these researches he formed an acquaintance with Leyden, who examined as an amateur the shelves which Mr. Heber ransacked as a purchaser, and the latter discovered with pleasure the unknown author of the poems which have been already alluded to. The acquaintance soon ripened into friendship, and was cemented by mutual advantage. Mr. Heber had found an associate as ardent as himself in the pursuit of classical knowledge, and who would willingly sit up night after night to collate editions, and to note various readings; and Leyden, besides the advantage and instruction which he derived from Mr. Heber's society, enjoyed that of being introduced, by his powerful recommendation, to the literary gentlemen of Edinburgh, with whom he lived in intimacy. Among these may be reckoned the late Lord Woodhouselee, Mr. Henry Mackenzie, the distinguished author of the *Man of Feeling*, and the Rev. Mr. Sidney Smith, then residing in Edinburgh, from all of whom Leyden received flattering attention, and many important testimonies of the interest which they took in his success. By the same introduction he became intimate in the family of Mr. Walter Scott, where a congenial taste for ballad, romance, and border antiquities, as well as a sincere admiration of Leyden's high talents, extensive knowledge, and excellent heart, secured him a welcome reception. And by degrees his society extended itself still more widely, and comprehended almost every one who was distinguished for taste or talents in Edinburgh.

The manners of Leyden when he first entered into company were very peculiar; nor indeed were they at any time much modified during his continuing in Europe; and here perhaps, as properly as elsewhere, we may endeavour to give some idea of his personal appearance and habits in society. In his complexion the clear red upon the cheek indicated a hectic propensity, but with his brown hair, lively dark eyes, and well-proportioned features, gave an acute and interesting turn of expression to his whole countenance. He was of middle stature, of a frame rather thin than strong, but muscular and active, and well fitted for all those athletic exertions in which he delighted to be accounted a master. For he was no less anxious to be esteemed a man eminent for learning and literary talent, than to be held a fearless player at single-stick, a formidable boxer, and a distinguished adept at leaping, running, walking, climbing, and all exercises which depend on animal spirits and muscular exertion. Feats of this nature he used to detail with such liveliness as sometimes led his audience to charge him with exaggeration; but, unlike the athletic traveller in Æsop's apologue, he was always ready to attempt the repetition of his great leap at Rhodes, were it at the peril of breaking his neck on the spot. And certainly in many cases his spirit and energy carried him through enterprises which his friends considered as most rashly undertaken. An instance occurred on board of ship in India, where two gentlemen, by way of *quizzing* Leyden's pretensions to agility, offered him a bet of twenty gold mohrs that he could not go aloft. Our bard instantly betook himself to the shrouds, and, at all the risk incident to a landsman who first attempts such an ascent, successfully scaled the main-top. There it was intended to subject him to an unusual practical

sea-joke, by *seizing him up*, i.e. tying him, till he should redeem himself by paying a fine. But the spirit of Leyden dictated desperate resistance, and finding he was likely to be overpowered, he flung himself from the top, and seizing a rope, precipitated himself on deck by letting it slide rapidly through his grasp. In this operation he lost the skin of both hands, but of course won his wager. But when he observed his friends look grave at the expensive turn which their jest had taken, he tore and flung into the sea the order for the money which they had given him, and contented himself with the triumph which his spirit and agility had gained. And this little anecdote may illustrate his character in more respects than one.

In society John Leyden's first appearance had something that revolted the fastidious and alarmed the delicate. He was a bold and uncompromising disputant, and neither subdued his tone, nor mollified the form of his argument, out of deference to the rank, age, or even sex of those with whom he was maintaining it. His voice, which was naturally loud and harsh, was on such occasions exaggerated into what he himself used to call his *saw-tones*, which were not very pleasant to the ear of strangers. His manner was animated, his movements abrupt, and the gestures with which he enforced his arguments rather forcible than elegant; so that altogether his first appearance was somewhat appalling to persons of low animal spirits or shy and reserved habits, as well as to all who expected much reverence in society on account of the adventitious circumstances of rank or station. Besides, his spirits were generally at top-flood, and entirely occupied with what had last arrested his attention, and thus his own feats, or his own studies, were his topic more frequently than is consistent with the order of good society, in which every person has a right to expect his share of conversation. He was indeed too much bent on attaining personal distinction in society to choose nicely the mode of acquiring it. For example, in the course of a large evening party, crowded with fashionable people, to many of whom Leyden was an absolute stranger, silence being imposed for the purpose of a song, one of his friends, with great astonishment and some horror, heard Leyden, who could not sing a note, scream forth a verse or two of some border ditty, with all the dissonance of an Indian war-whoop. In their way home he ventured to remonstrate with his friend on this extraordinary exhibition, to which his defence was, "Dash it, man, they would have thought I was *afraid* to sing before them." In short his egotism, his bold assumption in society, his affectation of neglecting many of its forms as trifles beneath his notice—circumstances which often excited against his first appearance an undue and disproportionate prejudice—were entirely founded upon the resolution to support his independence in society, and to assert that character formed between the lettered scholar and the wild rude borderer, the counterpart as it were of Anacharsis, the philosophic Scythian, which, from his infancy, he was ambitious of maintaining. His humble origin was with him rather a subject of honest pride than of false shame, and he was not unwilling that his deportment should to a certain degree partake of the simplicity of the ranks from which he had raised himself by his talents to bear a share in the first society.

Having thus marked strongly the defects of his manner, and the prejudice which they sometimes excited, we crave credit from the public while we record the real virtues and merits by which they were atoned a thousand-fold. Leyden's apparent harshness of address covered a fund of real affection to his

friends, and kindness to all with whom he mingled, unwearied in their service and watchful to oblige them. To gratify the slightest wish of a friend he would engage at once in the most toilsome and difficult researches, and when perhaps that friend had forgotten that he even intimated such a wish, Leyden came to pour down before him the fullest information on the subject which had excited his attention. And his temper was in reality, and notwithstanding an affectation of roughness, as gentle as it was generous. No one felt more deeply for the distress of those he loved. No one exhibited more disinterested pleasure in their success. In dispute he never lost temper; and if he despised the outworks of ceremony, he never trespassed upon the essentials of good breeding, and was himself the first to feel hurt and distressed if he conceived that he had, by any rash or hasty expression, injured the feelings of the most inconsiderable member of the company. In all the rough play of his argument too he was strictly good-humoured, and was the first to laugh if, as must happen occasionally to those who talk much, and upon every subject, some disputant, of less extensive but more accurate information, contrived to arrest him in his very pitch of pride, by a home fact or incontrovertible argument. And when his high and independent spirit, his firm and steady principles of religion and virtue, his constant good humour, the extent and variety of his erudition, and the liveliness of his conversation were considered, they must have been fastidious indeed who were not reconciled to the foibles or peculiarities of his tone and manner.

Many of those whose genius has raised them to distinction have fallen into the fatal error of regarding their wit and talents as an excuse for the unlimited indulgence of their passions, and their biographers have too frequently to record the acts of extravagance and habits of immorality which disgraced and shortened their lives. From such crimes and follies John Leyden stood free and stainless. He was deeply impressed with the truths of Christianity, of which he was at all times a ready and ardent asserter, and his faith was attested by the purity of morals which is its best earthly evidence. To the pleasures of the table he was totally indifferent, never exceeded the bounds of temperance in wine, though frequently in society where there was temptation to do so, and seemed hardly to enjoy any refreshment excepting tea, of which he sometimes drank very large quantities.¹ When he was travelling or studying his temperance became severe abstinence, and he often passed an entire day without any other food than a morsel of bread. To sleep he was equally indifferent, and when, during the latter part of his residence in Edinburgh, he frequently spent the day in company, he used, upon retiring home, to pursue his studies till a late hour in the morning, and satisfy himself with a very brief portion of repose. It was the opinion of his friends that his strict temperance alone could have enabled him to follow so hard a course of reading as he enjoined himself. His pecuniary resources were necessarily much limited; but he knew that independence, and the title of maintaining a free and uncontrolled demeanour in society, can only be attained by avoiding pecuniary embarrassments, and he managed his funds with such severe economy that he seemed always at ease upon his very narrow income. We have only another trait to add to his character as a member of society. With all his bluntness and peculiarity, and under disadvantages of birth and

¹ A lady whose house he frequented mentioned to a friend of the editor that she had filled him out eighteen cups in one evening.

fortune, Leyden's reception among females of rank and elegance was favourable in a distinguished degree. Whether it is that the tact of the fair sex is finer than ours, or that they more readily pardon peculiarity in favour of originality, or that an uncommon address and manner is in itself a recommendation to their favour, or that they are not so readily offended as the male sex by a display of superior learning—in short, whatever was the cause—it is certain that Leyden was a favourite among those whose favour all are ambitious to attain. Among the ladies of distinction who honoured him with their regard, it is sufficient to notice the Duchess of Gordon and Lady Charlotte Campbell, who were then leaders of the fashionable society of Edinburgh.—It is time to return to trace the brief events of his life.

In 1800 Leyden was ordained a preacher of the gospel, and entered upon the functions then conferred upon him by preaching in several of the churches in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. His style of pulpit oratory was marked with the same merits and faults which distinguish his poetry. His style was more striking than eloquent, and his voice and gesture more violent than elegant; but his discourses were marked with strong traits of original genius; and although he pleaded an internal feeling of disappointment at being unequal to attain his own ideas of excellence as a preacher, it was impossible to listen to him without being convinced of his uncommon extent of learning, knowledge of ethics, and sincere zeal for the interest of religion.

The autumn of the same year was employed in a tour to the Highlands and Hebrides, in which Leyden accompanied two young foreigners who had studied at Edinburgh the preceding winter. In this tour he visited all the remarkable places of that interesting part of his native country, and diverging from the common and more commodious route, visited what are called the *rough bounds* of the Highlands, and investigated the decaying traditions of Celtic manners and story which are yet preserved in the wild districts of Moidart and Knoidart. The journal which he made on this occasion was a curious monument of his zeal and industry in these researches, and contained much valuable information on the subject of Highland manners and tradition, which is now probably lost to the public. It is remarkable that after long and painful research in quest of original passages of the poems of Ossian, he adopted an opinion more favourable to their authenticity than has lately prevailed in the literary world. But the confessed infidelity of Macpherson must always excite the strongest suspicion on this subject. Leyden composed, with his usual facility, several detached poems upon Highland traditions, all of which have probably perished, excepting a ballad, founded upon the romantic legend respecting MacPhail of Colonsay and the mermaid of Correvrecken, inscribed to Lady Charlotte Campbell, and published in the third volume of the *Border Minstrelsy*, which appeared at the distance of about a twelvemonth after the first two volumes. The opening of this ballad exhibits a power of harmonious numbers which has seldom been excelled in English poetry. Nor were these legendary effusions the only fruit of his journey; for in his passage through Aberdeen Leyden so far gained the friendship of the venerable Professor Beattie, that he obtained his permission to make a transcript from the only existing copy of the interesting poem entitled “Albania.” This work, which is a panegyric on Scotland in nervous blank verse, written by an anonymous author some time in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Leyden afterwards republished, along with Wilson’s “Clyde,”

under the title of *Scottish Descriptive Poems*, 12mo, 1802.

In 1801, when Mr. Lewis published his *Tales of Wonder*, Leyden was a contributor to that collection, and furnished the ballad called the “Elf-king;” and in the following year he employed himself earnestly in the congenial task of procuring materials for the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, the first publication of Walter Scott. In this labour he was equally interested by friendship for the editor, and by his own patriotic zeal for the honour of the Scottish borders, and both may be judged of from the following circumstance. An interesting fragment had been obtained of an ancient historical ballad, but the remainder, to the great disturbance of the editor and his coadjutor, was not to be recovered. Two days afterwards, while Mr. Scott was sitting with some company after dinner, a sound was heard at a distance like that of the whistling of a tempest through the torn rigging of the vessel which scuds before it. The sounds increased as they approached more near, and Leyden (to the great astonishment of such of the guests as did not know him) burst into the room, chanting the desiderated ballad with the most enthusiastic gesture, and all the energy of the saw-tones of his voice already commemorated. It turned out that he had walked between forty and fifty miles and back again, for the sole purpose of visiting an old person who possessed this precious remnant of antiquity. His antiquarian researches and poetic talents were also liberally exerted for the support of this undertaking. To the former the reader owes in a great measure the “Dissertation on Fairy Superstition,” which, although arranged and digested by Mr. Scott, abounds with instances of such curious reading as Leyden alone had read, and was originally compiled by him; and to the latter the spirited ballads entitled “Lord Soulis” and the “Cout of Keeldar.”

Leyden's next publication was “*The Complaint of Scotland*,” a new edition of an ancient and singularly rare tract bearing that title, written by an uncertain author about the year 1548.” This curious work was published by Mr. Constable in the year 1801. As the tract was itself of a diffuse and comprehensive nature, touching upon many unconnected topics, both of public policy and private life, as well as treating of the learning, the poetry, the music, and the arts of that early period, it gave Leyden an opportunity of pouring forth such a profusion of antiquarian knowledge in the preliminary dissertation, notes, and glossary, as one would have thought could hardly have been accumulated during so short a life, dedicated too to so many and varied studies. The intimate acquaintance which he has displayed with Scottish antiquities of every kind, from manuscript histories and rare chronicles, down to the tradition of the peasant and the rhymes even of the nursery, evince an extent of research, power of arrangement, and facility of recollection, which has never been equalled in this department.

Meanwhile other pursuits were not abandoned in the study of Scottish antiquities. The *Edinburgh Magazine* was united in 1802 with the old *Scots Magazine*, and was now put under the management of Leyden by Mr. Constable the publisher. To this publication during the period of his management, which was about five or six months, he contributed several occasional pieces of prose and poetry, in all of which he was successful, excepting in those where humour was required, which, notwithstanding his unvaried hilarity of temper, Leyden did not possess. He was also, during this year, engaged with his *Scenes of Infancy*, a poem which was afterwards published on the eve of his leaving Britain; and in which

he has interwoven his own early feelings and recollections with the description and traditional history of his native vale of Teviot.

The friends of Leyden began now to be anxious for his present settlement in life. He had been for two years in orders, and there was every reason to hope that he might soon obtain a church through the numerous friends and powerful interest which he now possessed. More than one nobleman of high rank expressed a wish to serve him should any church in their gift become vacant; and, from the recommendation of other friends to those possessed of political interest, he was almost assured of being provided for by a crown presentation on some early opportunity. But his eager desire of travelling, and of extending the bounds of literary and geographical knowledge, had become, as he expressed himself to an intimate friend, "his thought by day and his dream by night, and the discoveries of Mungo Park haunted his very slumbers." When the risk was objected to him, he used to answer in a phrase of Ossian, "Dark Cuchullin will be renowned or dead;" and it became hopeless to think that this eager and aspiring spirit could be confined within the narrow sphere, and limited to the humble though useful duties, of a country clergyman. It was therefore now the wish of his friends to turn this irresistible thirst for discovery into some channel which might at once gratify the predominant desire of his heart, and be attended with some prospect of securing his fortune. It was full time to take such steps; for in 1802 Leyden had actually commenced overtures to the African Society, for undertaking a journey of discovery through the interior of that continent—an enterprise which sad examples have shown to be little better than an act of absolute suicide. To divert his mind from this desperate project, a representation was made to the Right Hon. William Dundas, who had then a seat at the Board of Control, stating the talents and disposition of Leyden, and it was suggested that such a person might be usefully employed in investigating the language and learning of the Indian tribes. Mr. Dundas entered with the most liberal alacrity into these views; but it happened, unfortunately as it might seem, that the sole appointment then at his disposal was that of surgeon's assistant, which could only be held by a person who had taken a surgical degree, and could sustain an examination before the medical board at the India House. It was upon this occasion that Leyden showed, in their utmost extent, his wonderful powers of application and comprehension. He at once intimated his readiness to accept the appointment under the conditions annexed to it, and availing himself of the superficial information he had formerly acquired by a casual attendance upon one or two of the medical classes, he gave his whole mind to the study of medicine and surgery, with the purpose of qualifying himself for his degree in the short space of five or six months. The labour which he underwent on this occasion was incredible; but with the powerful assistance of a gentleman of the highest eminence in his profession (Mr. John Bell of Edinburgh), he succeeded in acquiring such a knowledge of this complicated and most difficult art, as enabled him to obtain his diploma as surgeon with credit, even in the city of Edinburgh, so long famed for its medical school, and for the wholesome rigour adopted in the distribution of degrees. Leyden was, however, incautious in boasting of his success after so short a course of study, and found himself obliged, in consequence of his imprudence, to relinquish his intention of taking out the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh, and to have recourse to another Scottish university

for that step in his profession. Meanwhile the sudden exchange of his profession gave great amusement to some of his friends, especially when a lady having fainted in a crowded assembly, Dr. Leyden advanced to her assistance, and went through the usual routine of treatment with all the gravity which bebecmed his new faculty. In truth, the immediate object of his studies was always, in season and out of season, predominant in Leyden's mind, and just about this time he went to the evening party of a lady of the highest rank with the remnants of a human hand in his pocket, which he had been dissecting in the morning; and on some question being stirred about the muscular action, he was with difficulty withheld from producing this grisly evidence in support of the argument which he maintained. The character of Leyden cannot be understood without mentioning those circumstances that are allied to oddity; but it is not so easy to body forth those qualities of energy, application, and intelligence, by which he dignified his extravagancies, and vindicated his assumption of merit, far less to paint his manly, generous, and friendly disposition.

In December, 1802, Leyden was summoned to join the Christmas fleet of Indians, in consequence of his appointment as assistant-surgeon on the Madras establishment. It was sufficiently understood that his medical character was only assumed to bring him within the compass of Mr. Dundas's patronage, and that his talents should be employed in India with reference to his literary researches. He was, however, *pro forma*, nominated to the Madras Hospital. While awaiting this call, he bent his whole energies to the study of the oriental languages, and amused his hours of leisure by adding to the *Scenes of Infancy* many of those passages addressed to his friends, and bearing particular reference to his own situation on the eve of departure from Scotland, which, flowing warm from the heart, constitute the principal charm of that impressive poem. Mr. James Ballantyne, an early and intimate friend of Leyden, had just then established in Edinburgh his press, which afterwards became so distinguished. To the critical skill of a valued and learned friend, and to the friendly as well as professional care of Ballantyne, Leyden committed this last memorial of his love to his native land. The last sheets reached him before he left Britain, no more to return.

About the middle of December John Leyden left Edinburgh, but not exactly at the time he had proposed. He had taken a solemn farewell of his friends, and gone to Roxburghshire to bid adieu to his parents, whom he regarded with the most tender filial affection, and from thence he intended to have taken his departure for London without returning to Edinburgh. Some accident changed his purpose, and his unexpected arrival in Edinburgh was picturesque and somewhat startling. A party of his friends had met in the evening to talk over his merits, and to drink, in Scottish phrase, his *bonallie*. While about the witching hour they were crowning a solemn bumper to his health, a figure burst into the room, muffled in a seaman's cloak and travelling cap, covered with snow, and distinguishable only by the sharpness and ardour of the tone with which he exclaimed, "Dash it, boys, here I am again!" The start with which this unexpected apparition was received was subject of great mirth at the time, and the circumstance was subsequently recalled by most of the party with that mixture of pleasure and melancholy which attaches to the particulars of a last meeting with a beloved and valuable friend.

In London, the kindness of Mr. Heber, his own reputation, and the recommendation of his Edin-

burgh friends, procured Leyden much kindness and attention among persons of rank and literary distinction. His chief protector and friend, however, was Mr. George Ellis, the well-known editor of the *Specimens of Ancient English Poetry*. To this gentleman he owed an obligation of the highest possible value, in a permission which he kindly granted him to change, on account of illness, from one vessel to another, the former being afterwards unfortunately cast away in going down the river, when many of the passengers were drowned.

After this providential exchange of destination, the delay of the vessel to which he was transferred permitted his residence in London until the beginning of April, 1803, an interval which he spent in availing himself of the opportunities which he now enjoyed of mixing in the most distinguished society in the metropolis, where the novelty and good humour of his character made ample amends for the native bluntness of his manners. In the beginning of April he sailed from Portsmouth in the *Hugh Inglis*, where he had the advantage of being on board the same vessel with Mr. Robert Smith, the brother of his steady friend the Rev. Mr. Sidney Smith. And thus set forth on his voyage perhaps the first British traveller that ever sought India moved neither by the love of wealth nor of power, and who, despising alike the luxuries commanded by the one and the pomp attached to the other, was guided solely by the wish of extending our knowledge of oriental literature, and distinguishing himself as its most successful cultivator. This pursuit he urged through health and through sickness, unshaken by all the difficulties arising from imperfect communication with the natives, from their prejudices and those of their European masters, and from frequent change of residence; unmoved either by the charms of pleasure, of wealth, or of that seducing indolence to which many men of literature have yielded after overcoming all other impediments. To this pursuit he finally fell a sacrifice, as devoted a martyr in the cause of science as ever died in that of religion. We are unable to trace his Indian researches and travels with accuracy similar to that with which we have followed those which preceded his departure from Europe, but we are enabled to state the following outlines of his fortune in the East.

After a mutiny in the vessel, which was subdued by the exertions of the officers and passengers, and in which Leyden distinguished himself by his coolness and intrepidity, the *Hugh Inglis* arrived at Madras, and he was transferred to the duties of his new profession. His nomination as surgeon to the commissioners appointed to survey the ceded districts seemed to promise ample opportunities for the cultivation of oriental learning. But his health gave way under the fatigues of the climate; and he has pathetically recorded, in his *Address to an Indian Gold Coin*, the inroads which were made on his spirits and constitution. He was obliged to leave the presidency of Madras, suffering an accumulation of diseases, and reached with difficulty Prince of Wales Island. During the passage the vessel was chased by a French privateer, which was the occasion of Leyden's composing, in his best style of border enthusiasm, an *Ode to a Malay Cris*, or dagger, the only weapon which his reduced strength now admitted of his wielding. The following letter to Mr. Ballantyne, dated from Prince of Wales Island, 24th October, 1805, gives a lively and interesting account of his occupations during the first two years of his residence in India.

"*Pulao Penang, October 24th. 1805.*

"My dear Ballantyne,—Finding an extra India-

man, the *Revenge*, which has put into this harbour in distress, bound to Europe, I take another opportunity of attempting to revive, or rather commence, an intercourse with my European friends, for since my arrival in India I have never received a single scrap from one of them,—Proh Deum! Mr. Constable excepted; and my friend Erskine writes me from Bombay, that none of you have received the least intelligence of my motions since I left Europe. This is to me utterly astonishing and incomprehensible, considering the multitude of letters and parcels that I have despatched from Mysore, especially during my confinement for the liver disease at Seringapatam, where I had for some months the honour of inhabiting the palace of Tippoo's prime minister. I descended into Malabar in the beginning of May, in order to proceed to Bombay, and perhaps eventually up the Persian Gulf as far as Bassorah, in order to try the effect of a sea voyage. I was, however, too late, and the rains had set in, and the last vessels sailed two or three days before my arrival. As I am always a very lucky fellow, as well as an unlucky one, which all the world knows, it so fell out that the only vessel which sailed after my arrival was wrecked, while some secret presentiment, or rather 'sweet little cherub, that sits up aloft,' prevented my embarking on board of her. I journeyed leisurely down to Calicut from Cananore, intending to pay my respects to the cutwall and the admiral, so famous in the *Lusiad* of Camoens; but only think of my disappointment when I found that the times are altered, and the tables turned with respect to both these sublime characters. The cutwall is only a species of borough-bailiff, while the admiral, God help him, is only the chief of the fishermen. From Calicut I proceeded to Paulgautherry, which signifies in the Tamal language 'the town of the forest of palms,' which is exactly the meaning of *Tadmor*, the name of a city founded by Solomon, not for the Queen of Sheba, but as it happened, for the equally famous Queen Zenobia. Thus having demonstrated that Solomon understood the Tamal language, we may proceed to construct a syllogism in the following manner: 'Solomon understood the Tamal language, and he was wise—I understand the Tamal language, therefore I am as wise as Solomon!' I fear you logical lads of Europe will be very little disposed to admit the legitimacy of the conclusion; but, however the matter may stand in Europe, I can assure you it's no bad reasoning for India. At Paulgautherry I had a most terrible attack of the liver, and should very probably have passed away, or, as the Indians say, changed my climate—an elegant periphrasis for dying, however—had I not obstinately resolved on living to have the pleasure of being *revenged* on all of you for your obstinate silence and 'perseverance therein to the end.' Hearing about the middle of August that a Bombay cruiser had touched at Aleppo, between Quilod and Cochín, I made a desperate push through the jungles of the Cochín rajah's country, in order to reach her, and arrived about three hours after she had set sail. Anybody else would have died of chagrin, if they had not hanged themselves outright. I did neither one nor the other, but 'tuned my pipes and played a spring to John o' Badenyon;' after which I set myself coolly down and translated the famous Jewish tablets of brass, preserved in the synagogue of Cochín ever since the days of Methusalem. Probably you may think this no more difficult a task than deciphering the brazen tablet on any door of Princes or Queen Street. But here I beg your pardon; for, so far from anybody, Jew, Pagan, or Christian, having ever been able to do this before, I assure you the

most learned men of the world have never been able to decide in what language, or in what alphabet, they were written. As the character has for a long time been supposed to be antediluvian, it has for a long time been as much despised of as the Egyptian hieroglyphics. So much was the diwan or grand vizier, if you like it, of Travancore astonished at the circumstance, that he gave me to understand that I had only to *pass through the sacred cow* in order to merit adoption into the holy order of Bramins. I was forced, however, to decline the honour of the sacred cow, for unluckily Phalaris' bull and Moses' calf presented themselves to my imagination, and it occurred to me that perhaps the Ram-rajah's cow might be a beast of the breed. Being on the eve of a new attack of the liver, I was forced to leave Travancore with great precipitation, in the first vessel that presented itself, a Mapella brig bound to Puloo Penang, the newly erected presidency on the Straits of Malacca, where I have just arrived, after a perverse pestilent voyage, in which I have been terribly ill of revulsions of bile and liver, without any of the conveniences which are almost necessary to a European in these parts, and particularly to an invalid. We have had a very rough passage, the cabin very often all afloat, while I have been several times completely drenched. In addition to this we have been pursued by a Frenchman, and kept in a constant state of alarm and agitation; and now, to mend the matter, I am writing you at a kind of naval tavern, while all around me is ringing with the vociferation of tarpaulins, the hoarse bawling of sea-oaths, and the rattling of the dice-box. However, I flatter myself I have received considerable benefit from the voyage, tedious and disgusting and vexatious as it has been. . . .

"You know when I left Scotland, I had determined at all events to become a furious orientalist, '*nemini secundus*,' but I was not aware of the difficulty. I found the expense of native teachers would prove almost insurmountable to a mere assistant-surgeon, whose pay is seldom equal to his absolutely necessary expenses; and, besides, that it was necessary to form a library of MSS. at a most terrible expense, in every language to which I should apply, if I intended to proceed beyond a mere smattering. After much consideration, I determined on this plan at all events, and was fortunate enough in a few months to secure an appointment which furnished me with the means of doing so, though the tasks and exertions it imposed on me were a good deal more arduous than the common duties of a surgeon even in a Mahratta campaign: I was appointed medical assistant to the Mysore survey, and at the same time directed to carry on inquiries concerning the natural history of the country, and the manners and languages, &c., of the natives of Mysore. This you would imagine was the very situation I wished for; and so it would, had I previously had time to acquire the country languages. But I had them now to acquire after severe marches and countermarches in the heat of the sun, night-marches and day-marches, and amid the disgusting details of a field-hospital, the duties of which were considerably arduous. However, I wrought incessantly and steadily, and without being discouraged by any kind of difficulty, till my health absolutely gave way; and when I could keep the field no longer, I wrought on my couch, as I generally do still, though I am much better than I have been. As I had the assistance of no intelligent Europeans, I was obliged long to grope my way; but I have now acquired a pretty correct idea of India in all its departments, which increases in geometrical progression as I advance in the languages. The languages

that have attracted my attention since my arrival have been Arabic, Persic, Hindostanee, Mahratta, Tamal, Telinga, Canara, Sanscrit, Malayalam, Malay, and Armenian. You will be ready to ask where I picked up these hard names, but I assure you it is infinitely more difficult to pick up the languages themselves, several of which include dialects as different from each other as French or Italian from Spanish or Portuguese; and in all these I flatter myself I have made considerable progress. What would you say were I to add the Maldivian and Mapella languages to these? Besides, I have deciphered the inscriptions of Mavalipoorani, which were written in an ancient Canara character that had hitherto defied all attempts at understanding it, and also several *Lada Lippi* inscriptions, which is an ancient Tamal dialect and character, in addition to the Jewish tablets of Cochin, which were in the ancient Malayalam, generally termed Malabar. I enter into these details merely to show you that I have not been idle, and that my time has neither been dissipated, nor devoid of plan, though that plan is not sufficiently unfolded. To what I have told you of, you are to add constant and necessary exposure to the sun, damps and dews from the jungles, and putrid exhalations of marshes, before I had been properly accustomed to the climate, constant rambling in the haunts of tigers, leopards, bears, and serpents of 30 or 40 feet long, that make nothing of swallowing a buffalo, by way of demonstrating their appetite in a morning, together with smaller and more dangerous snakes, whose haunts are dangerous, and bite deadly; and you have a faint idea of a situation in which, with health, I lived as happy as the day was long. It was occasionally diversified with rapid jaunts of a hundred miles or so, as fast as horses or bearers could carry me, by night or day, swimming through rivers, afloat in an old brass kettle, at midnight! O! I could tell you adventures to outrival the witch of Endor, or any witch that ever swam in egg-shell or sieve; but you would undoubtedly imagine I wanted to impose on you were I to relate what I have seen and passed through. No! I certainly shall never repent of having come to India. It has awakened energies in me that I scarcely imagined I possessed, though I could gnaw my living nails with pure vexation to think how much I have been thwarted by indisposition. If, however, I get over it, I shall think the better of my constitution as long as I live. It is not every constitution that can resist the combined attack of liver, spleen, bloody flux, and jungle-fever, which is very much akin to the plague of Egypt and yellow fever of America. It is true I have been five times given up by the most skilful physicians in these parts; but in spite of that I am firmly convinced that 'my doom is not to die this day.' You are to commend me kindly to your good motherly mother, and tell her I wish I saw her oftener, and then to your brother Alexander, and request him sometimes, on a Saturday night, precisely at eight o'clock, for my sake, to play 'Gingling Johnny' on his flageolet. If I had you both in my tent you should drink yourself drunk with wine of Shiraz, which is our eastern Falernian, in honour of Hafiz, our Persian Anacreon. As for me, I often drink your health in *water* (ohon a ree!), having long abandoned both wine and animal food, not from choice, but dire necessity—Adieu, dear Ballantyne, and believe me, in the Malay Isles, to be ever yours sincerely,

JOHN LEYDEN."

Leyden soon became reconciled to Puloo Penang (or Prince of Wales Island), where he found many valuable friends, and enjoyed the regard of Philip Dundas, Esq., then governor of the island. He

resided in that island for some time, and visited Achi, with some other places on the coasts of Sumatra and the Malayan peninsula. Here he amassed the curious information concerning the language, literature, and descent of the Indi-Chinese tribes, which afterwards enabled him to lay before the Asiatic Society at Calcutta a most valuable dissertation on so obscure a subject.

In 1806 he took leave of Penang, regretted by many friends, whom his eccentricities amused, his talents enlightened, and his virtues conciliated. His reception at Calcutta, and the effect which he produced upon society there, are so admirably illustrated by his ingenious and well-known countryman Sir John Malcolm, that it would be impossible to present a more living picture of his manners and mind, and the reader will pardon some repetition for the sake of observing how the same individual was regarded in two distant hemispheres.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY COURIER." 11

"It is not easy to convey an idea of the method which Dr. Leyden used in his studies, or to describe the unconquerable ardour with which these were pursued. During his early residence in India I had a particular opportunity of observing both. When he read a lesson in Persian, a person near him, whom he had taught, wrote down each word on a long slip of paper, which was afterwards divided into as many pieces as there were words, and pasted in alphabetical order, under different heads of verbs, nouns, &c., into a blank book that formed a vocabulary of each day's lesson. All this he had in a few hours instructed a very ignorant native to do; and this man he used, in his broad accent, to call 'one of his mechanical aids.' He was so ill at Mysore, soon after his arrival from England, that Mr. Anderson, the surgeon who attended him, despaired of his life; but though all his friends endeavoured at this period to prevail upon him to relax in his application to study, it was in vain. He used, when unable to sit upright, to prop himself up with pillows, and continue his translations. One day that I was sitting by his bedside the surgeon came in.—'I am glad you are here,' said Mr. Anderson, addressing himself to me, 'you will be able to persuade Leyden to attend to my advice. I have told him before, and now I repeat, that he will die if he does not leave off his studies and remain quiet.' 'Very well, doctor,' exclaimed Leyden; 'you have done your duty, but you must now hear me: *I cannot be idle*, and whether I die or live, the wheel must go round till the last;' and he actually continued, under the depression of a fever and a liver complaint, to study more than ten hours each day.

"The temper of Dr. Leyden was mild and generous, and he could bear with perfect good humour railery on his foibles. When he arrived at Calcutta in 1805 I was most solicitous regarding his reception in the society of the Indian capital. 'I entreat you, my dear friend,' I said to him the day he landed, 'to be careful of the impression you make on your entering this community; for God's sake learn a little English, and be silent upon literary subjects, except among literary men.' 'Learn English!' he exclaimed 'no, never; it was trying to learn that language that spoilt my Scotch; and as to being silent, I will promise to hold my tongue, if you will make fools hold theirs.'

"His memory was most tenacious, and he sometimes loaded it with lumber. When he was at My-

sores an argument occurred upon a point of English history; it was agreed to refer it to Leyden, and to the astonishment of all parties he repeated verbatim the whole of an act of parliament in the reign of James relative to Ireland, which decided the point in dispute. On being asked how he came to charge his memory with such extraordinary matter, he said that several years before, when he was writing on the changes that had taken place in the English language, this act was one of the documents to which he had referred as a specimen of the style of that age, and that he had retained every word in his memory.

"His love of the place of his nativity was a passion in which he had always a pride, and which in India he cherished with the fondest enthusiasm. I once went to see him when he was very ill and had been confined to his bed for many days; there were several gentlemen in the room; he inquired if I had any news; I told him I had a letter from Eskdale. 'And what are they about in the borders?' he asked. 'A curious circumstance,' I replied, 'is stated in my letter;' and I read him a passage which described the conduct of our volunteers on a fire being kindled by mistake at one of the beacons. This letter mentioned that the moment the blaze, which was the signal of invasion, was seen, the mountaineers hastened to their rendezvous, and those of Liddesdale swam the Liddle river to reach it. They were assembled (though several of their houses were at a distance of six and seven miles) in two hours, and at break of day the party marched into the town of Hawick (at a distance of twenty miles from the place of assembly), to the border tune of '*Wha daur meddle wi' me?*' Leyden's countenance became animated as I proceeded with this detail, and at its close he sprang from his sick-bed, and with much strange melody, and still stranger gesticulations, sung aloud, '*Wha daur meddle wi' me? wha daur meddle wi' me?*' Several of those who witnessed this scene looked at him as one that was raving in the delirium of a fever.

"These anecdotes will display more fully than any description I can give, the lesser shades of the character of this extraordinary man. An external manner certainly not agreeable, and a disposition to egotism, were his only defects. How trivial do these appear at a moment when we are lamenting the loss of such a rare combination of virtues, learning, and genius, as were concentrated in the late Dr. Leyden!

"JOHN MALCOLM."

We have little to add to General Malcolm's luminous and characteristic sketch. The efficient and active patronage of Lord Minto, himself a man of letters, a poet, and a native of Teviotdale, was of the most essential importance to Leyden, and no less honourable to the governor-general. Leyden's first appointment as a professor in the Bengal College might appear the sort of promotion best suited to his studies, but was soon exchanged for that of a judge of the twenty-four pergunnahs of Calcutta. In this capacity he had a charge of police, which "jumped with his humour well," for the task of pursuing and dispersing the bands of robbers who infest Bengal had something of active and military duty. He also exercised a judicial capacity among the natives, to the discharge of which he was admirably fitted by his knowledge of their language, manners, and customs. To this office a very considerable yearly income was annexed. This was neither expended in superfluities, nor even in those ordinary expenses which the fashion of the East has pronounced indispensable; for Dr. Leyden kept no establishment, gave no entertainments, and was, with the receipt of this revenue, the very same simple,

¹ We omit the earlier portion of this letter, referring to the general character and manners of Leyden.

frugal, and temperate student which he had been at Edinburgh. But, exclusive of a portion remitted home for the most honourable and pious purpose, his income was devoted to the pursuit which engaged his whole soul; to the increase, namely, of his acquaintance with eastern literature in all its branches. The expense of native teachers of every country and dialect, and that of procuring from every quarter oriental manuscripts, engrossed his whole emoluments, as the task of studying under the tuition of the interpreters, and deciphering the contents of the volumes, occupied every moment of his spare time. "I may die in the attempt," he writes to a friend, "but if I die without surpassing Sir William Jones a hundred-fold in oriental learning, let never a tear for me profane the eye of a borderer." The term was soon approaching when these regrets were to be bitterly called forth, both from his Scottish friends and from all who viewed with interest the career of his ardent and enthusiastic genius, which, despising every selfish consideration, was only eager to secure the fruits of knowledge, and held for sufficient reward the fame of having gathered them.

Dr. Leyden accompanied the governor-general upon the expedition to Java (August, 1811), for the purpose of investigating the manners, language, and literature of the tribes which inhabit that island, and partly also because it was thought his extensive knowledge of the eastern dialects and customs might be useful in settling the government of the country, or in communicating with the independent princes in the neighbourhood of the Dutch settlements. His spirit of romantic adventure led him literally to rush upon death; for, with another volunteer who attended the expedition, he threw himself into the surf, in order to be the first Briton of the expedition who should set foot upon Java. When the success of the well-concerted movements of the invaders had given them possession of the town of Batavia, Leyden displayed the same ill-omened precipitation in his haste to examine a library in which many Indian manuscripts of value were said to be deposited. A library, in a Dutch settlement was not, as might have been expected, in the best order, the apartment had not been regularly ventilated, and, either from this circumstance, or already affected by the fatal sickness peculiar to Batavia, Leyden, when he left the place, had a fit of shivering, and declared the atmosphere was enough to give any mortal a fever. The presage was too just; he took his bed, and died in three days (August 28), on the eve of the battle which gave Java to the British empire.

Thus died John Leyden, in the moment perhaps most calculated to gratify the feelings which were dear to his heart; upon the very day of military glory, and when every avenue of new and interesting discovery was opened to his penetrating research. In the emphatic words of Scripture, "the bowl was broken at the fountain." His literary remains were intrusted by his last will to the charge of Mr. Heber and Dr. Hare of Calcutta, his executors. They are understood to contain two volumes of poetry, with many essays on oriental and general literature. His remains, honoured with every respect by Lord Minto, now repose in a distant land, far from the green-sod graves of his ancestors at Hazeldean, to which, with a natural anticipation of such an event, he bids an affecting farewell in the solemn passage which concludes the *Scenes of Infancy*—

"The silver moon, at midnight cold and still,
Looks, sad and silent, o'er yon western hill;
While large and pale the ghostly structures grow,
Reared on the confines of the world below.

Is that dull sound the hum of Teviot's stream?
Is that blue light the moon's or tomb-fire's gleam,
By which a mouldering pile is faintly seen,
The old deserted church of Hazeldean,
Where slept my fathers in their natal clay,
Till Teviot's waters roll'd their bones away?
Their feeble voices from the stream they raise,
'Rash youth! unmindful of thy early days,
Why didst thou quit the peasant's simple lot?
Why didst thou leave the peasant's turf-built cot,
The ancient graves, where all thy fathers lie,
And Teviot's stream, that long has murmured by?
And we—when Death so long has closed our eyes
How wilt thou bid us from the dust arise,
And bear our mouldering bones across the main,
From vales that knew our lives devoid of stain?
Rash youth! beware, thy home-bred virtues save,
And sweetly sleep in thy paternal grave!"

Such is the language of nature moved by the kindly associations of country and of kindred affections. But the best epitaph is the story of a life engaged in the practice of virtue and the pursuit of honourable knowledge; the best monument, the regret of the worthy and of the wise; and the rest may be summed up in the sentiment of Sannazario.

"Hæccine te fessum tellus extrema manebat
Hospitii post tot terræque marisque labores?
Pone tamen gemitus, nec te monumenta parentum
Aut movent sperata tuis tibi funera regnis,
Grata quies patriæ; sed et omnis terra sepulchrum."

To this eloquent and highly picturesque memoir, upon which we have drawn so largely, it is only to be added, that the *Poetical Remains* of Dr. Leyden were published in one volume 8vo, in 1819, with a memoir by the Rev. James Morton; and that another posthumous work, entitled *Memoirs of the Emperor Baber*, and commemorating for the first time an Indian hero little inferior to Cæsar or Napoleon, but heretofore totally unknown in Europe, in which he had had the co-operation of his friend Mr. William Erskine, appeared at Edinburgh in 1826.

LIDDEL, DR. DUNCAN, a physician of eminence, was born in Aberdeen in the year 1761, and was son to a respectable citizen of that town.¹ He received his education at the schools, and the university of King's College, in his native city. In the year 1779, at the early age of eighteen, he visited the Continent, passing over to Dantzic, whence he travelled through Poland to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where he had the good fortune to meet with a beneficent countryman, Dr. John Craig, afterwards physician to James VI., who then taught logic and mathematics. His views, which were previously wavering, were fixed by the kind attention and assistance of his friend, who enabled him to study mathematics, philosophy, and medicine for three years in the university of Frankfort, where Craig was himself a professor. In 1782 Craig proposing to return to Scotland, his pupil proceeded to prosecute his studies at Breslau in Silesia, under the conduct of a statesman at that period of considerable note—Andreas Dudithius, to whose attention his zealous countryman had recommended him. In this new sphere of exertion he is said to have made extensive progress in his favourite study of the mathematics, under the tuition of Professor Paulus Wittichius. After spending somewhat more than a year at Breslau he returned to Frankfort, where he again turned his attention to medicine, and commenced a

¹ Inscription on a brass plate in the church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen; *Sketch of the Life of Dr. Duncan Liddel, Aberdeen, 1790*. This pamphlet, understood to have been written by Mr. John Stewart, professor of Greek in Marischal College, gives so accurate and concise an account of its subject, that little can be added. We are aware of but one work having any reference to Liddel which has been overlooked. The *Litteræ ad Joannem Keplermum* contain one or two letters from him.

course of private tuition in mathematics and philosophy. A contagious distemper which broke out at Frankfort in 1587, dispersing the students in various directions, induced him to change his place of residence for the celebrated university of Rostock. Here he appears to have first acquired celebrity for his professional knowledge and conversational information, and particularly for his knowledge of astronomy and mathematics. He became the companion and pupil of Bruceus, a physician and philosopher of Flanders, who, although the senior of Liddel both in years and celebrity, acknowledges himself to have received much useful information and assistance from the young philosopher; while Caselius, another companion and friend of Liddel, pays a tribute to the comprehensiveness of his genius and reading, by remarking that "he was the first person in Germany who explained the motions of the heavenly bodies according to the three different hypotheses of Ptolemy, Copernicus, and Tycho Brahe."

The illustrious individual last mentioned had likewise studied at the university of Rostock: it is probable that the pursuits of the two philosophers brought them into contact, and the author of the biography of Liddel considers it sufficiently established, that they were intimate with each other in after-life, and that the Danish philosopher frequently visited the subject of our memoir in his journeys to Scotland. There is, however, a shadow of authority for supposing¹ that Liddel held the higher rank of an opponent of Tycho Brahe, and maintained a disputation with him on equal terms. The eccentric Sir Thomas Urquhart, who, whatever information he may have chosen to receive on the subject, certainly was enabled to have made himself master of the true state of the circumstances which he related, says, "These mathematical blades put me in mind of that Dr. Liddel, who, for his profoundness in those sciences of sensible immaterial objects, was everywhere much renowned, especially at Frankfort-de-Main, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and Heidelberg, where he was almost as well known as the monstrous bacchanalian tun that stood there in his time. He was an eminent professor of mathematics, a disciple of the most excellent astronomer Tycho Brahe, and condisciple of that worthy Longomontanus; yet in imitation of Aristotle (whose doctrine with great proficiency he had imbued), he esteemed more of truth than either of Socrates or Plato; when the new star began to appear in the constellation of Cassiopeia, there was concerning it such an intershocking of opinions betwixt Tycho Brahe and Dr. Liddel, evulged in print to the open view of the world, that the understanding reader could not but have commended both for all; and yet (in giving each his due) praised Tycho Brahe most for astronomy, and Liddel for his knowledge above him in all the other parts of philosophy." It is not improbable that the imaginative author of the *Jewel* may have thought proper, without much inquiry, to bestow on a person born in his own near neighbourhood the merit of a conflict in which a Scotsman, whose name may not have then been known, was engaged; at the same time adding to the lustre of the achievements of his countryman. The author of the life of Dr. Liddel observes, "Upon what authority this circumstance is founded cannot be discovered, for there is no mention of it in either of the very full accounts of the life and writings of Tycho Brahe by Gassendi and Montucla, nor in a large volume written by Tycho himself concerning this new star; although he there animadverts at

great length upon the opinions of many other astronomers who had also treated of it. Nor could any such controversy have possibly happened at the time mentioned by Sir Thomas Urquhart, for the new star there spoken of was observed by Tycho Brahe in 1572, and the account of it published in 1573, when Dr. Liddel was only twelve years of age. There is indeed, in the volume of *Astronomical Epistles* of Tycho Brahe, a long letter from him to his friend Rothmannus, chiefly filled with severe reflections upon the publications of a certain Scotsman against his account of the comet of 1577, not of the new star in Cassiopeia; but it appears from Gassendi that this Scottish writer was Dr. Craig, formerly mentioned, and not Dr. Liddel." When we recollect that Liddel and Craig, as intimate literary associates, may have imbibed the same theories, and similar methods of stating them, this last circumstance approaches a solution of the difficulty.

In the university of Rostock Liddel received the degree of Master of Philosophy, and in 1590 he left it to return to Frankfort, at the request of two young Livonians of rank, to whom it is probable he acted as tutor. He did not long remain at Frankfort on his second visit, having heard of the rising fame of the new "*Academia Julia*," founded at Helmstadt by Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick, in 1576. Here he accompanied his pupils, and was restored to the company of his old friend Caselius, whom the duke had invited to his youthful establishment.

In 1591 Liddel, by the recommendation of his friend, and of Grunefeldt, an eminent civilian, was appointed to the lower professorship of mathematics in the new university, as successor to Parcovius, who had been removed to the faculty of medicine; and, on the death of Erhardus Hoffman in 1594, he succeeded to the first or higher mathematical chair. This eminent station he filled during the course of nine years, giving instructions in geometry, astronomy, and universal geography, and keeping the information he communicated to his pupils on a level with the dawning progress of discovery. In 1596 he obtained the degree of Doctor in Medicine; and, in a science which was not at that period considered as so completely abstracted from the circle of general knowledge as its practical extent now compels it to be, he acquired the same celebrity which he had achieved in philosophy and mathematics. He is said by his lectures and writings to have proved the chief support of the medical school of Helmstadt; he acted as first physician to the court of Brunswick, and enjoyed a lucrative private practice among the opulent families in the neighbourhood. In 1599 he was elected dean of the faculty of philosophy, a post of honour to which he was frequently re-elected, both by the faculties of philosophy and of medicine. Meanwhile, in the year 1603, he resigned to Henricus Schaperus the chair of mathematics, of which he had remained occupant, notwithstanding his labours in another science; and in the year following he was chosen pro-rector of the university. The method of studying his profession, and his courses of public tuition, had already made Liddel an author of no inconsiderable extent, and about this period the fame he had acquired probably induced him to present the academical works which he had written or superintended in a distinct manner before the world. In 1605 was published *Disputationes Medicinales Duncani Liddellii Scoti, Phil. et Med. Doctoris, et Professoris Publici in Academia Julia Helmestadtii*. This work, filling four volumes 4to, contains the theses or public disputations maintained by himself and his pupils at Helmstadt from 1592 to 1606; it is dedicated as a

¹ On the authority of Caselius' dedication to Craig, and the funeral oration on Liddel.

mark of gratitude to his early friend and patron Craig, accompanied by the usual multitude of commendatory verses on the author and his works. This book is mentioned by the author of the memoirs of Liddel as having been reprinted at so late a period as 1720. In 1607 he produced a better-known work, *Ars Medica, Succincte et Perspicue Explicata*, published at Hamburg. This work was dedicated to King James. A second edition was published at Lyons in 1624, and a third at Hamburg in 1628. As in other works on medicine of the period, the range of the author's investigation was not confined to subjects to which the term *medical* would now exclusively refer; metaphysics were included. Into the merit of this as a work on practical medicine it would now be useless to inquire, and we may be content with ranking the merit of the author according to the estimation of the work during the seventeenth century, which was by no means inconsiderable. At the time when the last-mentioned work was published, motives which we cannot now discover induced Liddel to retire for the remainder of his life to his native country, which he had frequently visited during his honoured residence abroad. It would appear that he privately left the university, as Caselius remarks that the Duke of Brunswick, if aware of his intention, would probably not have permitted so active a teacher to leave his favourite institution, which was then falling into confusion. On his return he passed through Germany and Italy, and finally took up his residence in Scotland, although in what part of the country seems not to be known, the earliest information obtained as to his locality being of the year 1612, when he subscribed at Edinburgh a deed of settlement, mortifying certain lands in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen for the support of six bursars in Marischal College. The magistrates of Aberdeen were appointed trustees for the application of the fund; and, according to a not unusual practice, the curse of God was denounced against any one who should abuse or misapply it.¹ By a settlement dated the 9th December, 1613, he confirmed the previous donation, and left for the establishment of a professorship of mathematics in Marischal College, the sum of 6000 merks, which was afterwards profitably laid out on land by the trustees. To the same institution he left his books and instruments. This may be considered the last performance of his active life, for he died eight days after its date, on the 17th of December, 1613. He was buried in the church of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen, where a tablet of brass, on which his portrait has been boldly and expressively engraved by an artist at Antwerp, was erected to his memory. He is likewise commemorated by a small obelisk erected in the lands of Pitmedden, near Aberdeen—the same which he mortified for the support of bursars. Dying unmarried, the children of a brother and sister inherited his property, and one of the former succeeded Dr. William Johnston in the mathematical chair which Dr. Liddel had founded.

Besides the literary efforts already mentioned, a posthumous work by Liddel was published at Hamburg in 1628, entitled *Tractatus de Dente Aureo*; being an answer to a tractate by Jacobus Horstius, who had maintained the verity of a fable which bore that a boy of Silesia, who had lost a tooth, received from nature in return one of pure gold. The circumstance was considered an omen to encourage the

Germans in their wars with the Turks, and predictive of the downfall of the Mahometan faith. The subject can be interesting only to those who study the extent of human credulity.

LINDSAY, SIR DAVID, a celebrated Scottish poet of the sixteenth century, was born about the year 1490. He is distinguished by the title "of the Mount," from the name of his family seat near Cupar in Fife, and which is presumed, though not certainly known, to have been also the place of his birth. The early part of his education he received at Cupar, the after part of it at St. Andrews, to which he removed in 1505. Here he remained till 1509. From this period till 1512 there is a hiatus in his history, and it is not known how the intermediate space was employed. In that year, however, he is found to be in attendance upon the young prince, afterwards James V., who was born on the 10th of April, 1512. The particular nature of his appointment on first settling at court cannot be ascertained; but it does not appear to have been of a very dignified description. His attendance on the infant monarch seems also to have been divided with the royal parent James IV., on whom he is found waiting as a special servant on the remarkable occasion of the feigned spectre's appearance before that prince in the chapel of Linlithgow in 1513. Lindsay stood close beside the king during the whole of that extraordinary scene, and, according to his namesake the historian, declared that he, along with the other servants in attendance, made several ineffectual attempts to take hold of the ghostly intruder.

The death of James IV., which took place soon after, does not appear to have affected Lindsay's situation at court. He still continued his attendance on the young prince, and this in rather a singular capacity, considering the respectability of his family, although probably it may be thought that there was no degradation, if indeed it was not a positive honour, to take the personal charge of an infant king. This, however, he seems to have done literally, and, as is gathered from passages in his own works, much in the character of a dry nurse. The following are amongst those alluded to. The lines occur in the dedication of his poem entitled the *Dream*:—

"Quhen thou was young I bore thee in my arme,
Full tenderlie till thou begouth to gang;
And in thy bed aft happit thee full warne,
With lute in hand, sine sweetly to thee sang."

And again at an after period, when complaining of the neglect which he met with at court, he thus reminds the king of the days of his childhood, and of the playful and tender kindnesses which then passed between them:

"How as ane chapman beiris his pack,
I bure thy grace upon my back;
And sometimes strydlings on my neck,
Dansand with mony bend and beck.
The first syllabis that thou did muite
Was pa, da lyne, upon the lute;
Then playit I twenty springis perquier,
Quhilke was great pleasure for to heir;
Fra play thou let me never rest,
Bot Gynkertoun thou luift ay best."

Lindsay's attendance on the young king was not dignified by any charge whatever connected with his education. His services were entirely of a personal nature, and were only put in requisition when the royal youth returned from "scole." James' education was intrusted to Gavin Dunbar, an eminent and learned prelate, so that, with all Lindsay's genius, he seems not to have been thought competent to this important and honourable trust. That which he filled, however, such as it was, he retained till the

¹ In a minute of the council records of Aberdeen, of date 6th December, 1638, it is ordained that Dr. Liddel's bursars shall wear a black bonnet and a black gown, both in the college and in the street, conform to the will of the mortifier, under the pain of deprivation.

year 1524, when he was dismissed from it by the intrigues of the queen-mother, who, aiming at the sole direction of the national affairs during the minority of the king, carefully removed from the royal presence all whom she feared might exert an influence over the young monarch inimical to her own views and interests, and amongst that number she seems to have reckoned the poet. His dismissal, however, seems by no means to have taken place with the king's consent, although it is evident that he was obliged to submit to it. He was too young to assert his own will in opposition to that of his mother, but he did the next best thing he could for the kind companion of his tender years—he procured a pension to be bestowed upon him, and took especial care of its punctual payment.

On the king's assuming the reins of government in his own person, and when his will could be no longer opposed, Lindsay was recalled to court, and about 1530 was appointed Lyon king-at-arms, and as a necessary accompaniment, invested with the honour of knighthood. In the dedication of the *Dream* to the king, already quoted from, and which was written during the time of his banishment from court, although he complains of the treatment which he had received, he not only acquits the king of having any part in inflicting it, but speaks in terms of the warmest gratitude of the kindness of his royal master. He seems, indeed, to have formed a strong personal attachment to the monarch, and there is every reason to believe that it was reciprocal. Lindsay had now begun to make some figure as a poet. He had already written the *Dream* and the *Complaynt*, both productions of great merit; but it was to his talent for satire, a quality which he had not yet exhibited, that he was chiefly indebted for the singular degree of popularity which he afterwards acquired. Of the felicity and point with which he could exercise this dangerous gift, the following curious instance is related by Dr. Irving in his life of the poet:—"The king being one day surrounded by a numerous train of nobility and prelates, Lindsay approached him with due reverence, and began to prefer a humble petition that he would install him in an office which was then vacant. 'I have,' said he, 'servit your grace lang, and luik to be rewardit as others are, and now your maister taylor, at the pleasure of God, is departit, wherefore I wald desire of your grace to bestow this little benefite upon me.' The king replied, that he was amazed at such a request from a man who could neither shape nor sew. 'Sir,' rejoined the poet, 'that maks nae matter, for you have given bishoppricks and benefices to mony standing here about you, and yet they can nouthier teach nor preach, and why not I as weill be your taylor, though I can nouthier shape nor sew, seeing teaching and preaching are nae less requisite to their vocation than shaping and sewing to ane taylor?' The effect of this well-managed *jeu d'esprit* upon the bystanders, many of whom came within its range, may be readily conceived. Whatever might be their feelings on the subject, James himself enjoyed it greatly, and found much amusement in contemplating the angry looks which it occasioned."

This and other witticisms at the expense of the clergy are supposed by Lindsay's biographers to have been the principal cause of that want of promotion of which he so frequently complains; but this seems doubtful. James himself had but little reverence for the clergy, and it is not therefore likely that he would be displeased with Lindsay for entertaining similar sentiments. Of the king's opinion of the holy men of his time, his answer to a deputation of them which waited upon him with a list of Protestant

peers and chiefs whom they desired might be brought to punishment, is sufficiently indicative. "Pack, ye jugglers," said he, "get ye to your charges and reform your own lives; be not instruments of discord between my nobility and me; or I vow to God I shall reform you, not as the King of Denmark by imprisonment, nor as he of England by hanging and beheading, but yet by most severe punishments, if ever such motion proceed from you again." It is not therefore easy to say, considering the intimate, nay familiar, footing on which Lindsay stood with the king, what were the causes that afforded him grounds for his frequent complaints, if indeed he had any at all that were reasonable—a point by no means made evident. Whatever might be the emoluments arising from his services, they were now occasionally of a sufficiently dignified and important nature. In 1531 he was despatched on an embassy to Antwerp, to renew an ancient commercial treaty with the Netherlands; and in 1548 he was sent to the court of Denmark, to solicit ships to protect the Scottish coast against the English, and to negotiate a free trade in grain for the Scottish merchants.

Besides being a man of genius, Lindsay was also a man of great practical good sense, if the latter be not indeed a necessary attribute of the former, and this enabled him to see in a peculiarly strong and clear light the errors and absurdities, if not inherent in, at least which had been then ingrafted on, the Church of Rome, and against these he directed the whole force of his satirical powers, and with an effect which rendered him at once extremely formidable to the clergy, and singularly popular with the great bulk of the people.

Of his talent for ridicule the following exquisitely humorous specimen of his manner of dealing with the impositions of the Romish church will give a correct idea. It is the speech of a pardoner—of one who dealt in miracles and traded in holy relics and absolutions. It occurs in his play entitled *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*:—

"My potent pardonis ye may se
Cum frae the Can of Tartarie,
Weill seillit with ester schellis,
Thocht ye haif no discretioun,
Ye sall haif full remission,
With help of buikis and bellis,
Heir is a rellik lang and braid,
Of Fynmackowll the richt chaft blade,
With teith and all togidder;
Of Collingis Kow heir is a borne,—
For eitting of Makameillis come
Was slane into Baquidder.
Heir is the cordis baith grit and lang
Quhilk hangit Johnnie Armistrang,
Of gude hempt saft and sound:
Gude haly pepill, I stand ford,
Quhaeir beis hangit in this cord,
Neidis never to be drowned.
The culum of St. Bryddis cow,
The grunt of Sanct Antonis sow,
Quhilk bure his haly bell;
Quha evir heiris this bell clink
Gife me a ducat to the drinke,
He sall never gang till hell—
Without he be with Belliall borne.
Maisteris, trew ye that this be scoome?
Cum, win this pardon, cum!
Quha luivis thair wyvis not with thair hairt
I haif power thame to depart;
Me think you deif and dum.
Hes nane of you curst wicket wyvis
That haldis you into sturt and stryvis?
Cum take my dispensatioun;
Of that cummer I sall mak you quy,
Howbeid yourself be in the wyte,
And mak ane fals narratioun.
Cum win the pardone, now let see
For meill, for malt, or for money;
For cok, hen, guse, or gryss.
Of rellikkis hur I haif a hunder,
Quhy cum ye not? This is a wonder;
I trow ye be not wyss."

From this it will be plainly seen what a dangerous and powerful enemy the Romish church had to contend with in the person of Lindsay—infinity more dangerous and more powerful than the ablest preacher or the most acute reasoner. The effect, indeed, aided as it was by the circumstance of the public mind being already attuned to such feelings and sentiments regarding religious matters, was altogether irresistible; and there is no doubt that this and similar productions of the satirist tended more to the accomplishment of the final overthrow of Popery in Scotland than any other circumstance previous to the Reformation. Lindsay himself was the Burns of his day. His poems were in every mouth, and were equally appreciated in the cottage as in the castle. Among the lower orders he was especially popular. His broad humour delighted them beyond measure, and there was scarcely one of them but could repeat large portions of *Davie Lindsay* from memory. Indeed it is not yet a very great while since his popularity among this class began to fade. Nor, though now certainly fast losing ground, is he by any means yet entirely forgotten in the country. Many an ancient tiller of the soil, and his equally ancient better half—for what remains of his fame is more vigorous in the country than the town—still cherish and appreciate the merits of their old favourite native poet.

The dread and detestation in which Lindsay's satirical poems were held by the clergy is expressively enough indicated by their having procured an act to have his "buick" burned during the regency of Mary of Lorraine, when they had regained a temporary ascendancy under that princess, and a wonder arises that Lindsay himself was not subjected to a similar fate; indeed, that he escaped it at all is a circumstance not easily accounted for.

During his lifetime many unfortunate persons were brought to the stake for heresy, and for contemning the ordinances of the existing religion; and how it happened that he, incomparably the most dangerous and most notorious offender of them all, should have escaped, is a question that may well be asked; but we suspect it is one which cannot be satisfactorily answered, otherwise than by supposing that he was protected by the strong arm of royalty.

In 1537 Lindsay acted as sort of master of ceremonies on the occasion of the arrival in Scotland of Mary of Guise, queen of James V. He contrived a variety of pageants, and prepared orations for the reception of her majesty at St. Andrews, and superintended in person the execution of his designs. Some of them were absurd and fantastic enough, but they were of course in accordance with the taste of the times.

Of the concluding years of his life nothing is known, nor is it ascertained when or where he died. Dr. Irving states that he survived till the year 1567; but how long he lived after is unknown. He must, however, from this account, have been at least upwards of seventy years of age at the time of his death. Lindsay's merits as a poet are not of the very highest order. Broad humour was his forte, and the specimen given will sufficiently show, that when he trusted to this talent he did not trust to a broken reed. His principal pieces are *The Dreame*, *The Complaynt*, *The Complaynt of the King's Papingo*, *Satyre on the Thrie Estaitis*, *Answer to the King's Flyting*, and *The Complaynt of Basche the King's Hound*.

LINDSAY, JOHN, eighteenth Earl of Crawford and fourth Earl of Lindsay, was born on the 4th of October, 1702. He was the eldest son of John, seventeenth Earl of Crawford, by Emilia, daughter of

James Lord Doune, and grand-daughter to the Duchess of Lauderdale. His mother having died while he was yet an infant, he was committed to the charge of an elderly female domestic at the family seat of Struthers in Fife; his father, who was at this time captain of the second troop of horse grenadiers, and lieutenant-general of Queen Anne's forces, residing constantly in London.

His lordship in after-life has been frequently heard to repeat an interesting anecdote which occurred about this period of his life. The Duke of Argyle and the Duke of Hamilton were one day dining with his father. After dinner a warm debate ensued about the then all-engrossing topic the union. In the midst of it the Duke of Argyle caught up the young earl, then a child, who was playing about the room, placed him on the table in the midst of the crowd of bottles and glasses by which it was occupied, and, after contemplating the boy for an instant, "Crawford," he said, addressing his father, "if this boy lives, I wonder whether he will be of your sentiments." "If he has a drop of my blood in his veins," replied the earl, "he certainly will." "I warrant, at any rate, he will make a brave fellow," said Argyle, kissing the child, and placing him again on the floor.

In 1713 his lordship succeeded, by the death of his father, to the family titles and estates, and was soon after invited, together with a younger and only brother and two sisters, by the Duchess of Argyle, their grand-aunt, to take up their residence with her in the Highlands, where she then lived in retirement. Here he remained until he had attained a proper age for college, when he was sent to the university of Glasgow. His biographer Rolt informs us, that while residing with the Duchess of Argyle, the young earl had fallen desperately in love with a little Highland girl; but he unfortunately gives no account of the progress or termination of this boyish attachment. The circumstance, however, affords an early indication of the warm, chivalrous, and romantic disposition for which his lordship was afterwards so much distinguished.

While at the university he rendered himself famous amongst his fellow-students by his boldness and courage. He led them on in all their battles with the citizens, headed every expedition of difficulty or danger, and stood forward on all occasions as the champion of the college, when any of its members were injured or insulted, or conceived themselves to be so. He, in short, took the whole burden of the university's honour on his own shoulders, and guarded and protected it with the most watchful zeal and uncompromising intrepidity. From the college of Glasgow he went to that of Edinburgh, where he remained for some time, and then returned to the retirement of the Duchess of Argyle in the Highlands. Here he now prosecuted his studies under the tuition of a private preceptor, and continued this course until he attained his nineteenth year.

On arriving at this age it was thought proper that he should, agreeably to the usual practice in the cases of young men of rank and fortune, proceed to the Continent, at once to complete his education, and to improve himself by travel. With this view he set out in the year 1721, first for London, where he remained for a short time, and thereafter to Paris. Here he entered the academy of Vaudeuil, and continued to attend that seminary during the two succeeding years. His progress in learning, and in the acquisition of every elegant accomplishment while he resided in the French capital, was so remarkable, as to excite a strong feeling of respect for his talents amongst his fellow-academicians, who saw him sur-

passing many students of much longer standing, and attaining an eminence which left him few competitors. In horsemanship, fencing, and dancing, he was considered, even in the refined city of Paris, to be without a rival.

In 1723 he quitted the academy of Vaudeuil, but continued to reside in France till 1726. In the same year in which his lordship left the seminary just named, an incident occurred strongly illustrative of his daring and determined character. Amongst the other sights exhibited during the festivities which were held in celebration of the accession of the young French king, was that of drawing one of the fish-ponds in the gardens of Versailles. The Earl of Crawford was amongst the crowd assembled to witness this novelty. In pressing forward to the edge of the water to obtain a sight of the young monarch, he was rudely jostled by a French marquis. Irritated by this incivility, the earl instantly caught up the Frenchman, who was in full court-dress, in his arms, and tossed him, robes and feathers and all, into the middle of the fish-pond. The spectators, highly delighted with the unexpected exhibition, burst into immoderate fits of laughter, in which they were cordially joined by the young king himself, who eagerly inquired who the person was that had thrown the marquis into the water. The latter himself did not think fit to take any notice of the affair either at the time or at any after period.

In 1726 his lordship returned to Britain, acknowledged by all to be one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age. On the 25th of December of the same year he obtained a captain's commission in one of the additional troops of the 2d regiment of Royal Scots Greys. This appointment he held till 1730, when, these troops being disbanded, he again repaired to the Duchess of Argyle's residence in the Highlands, and remained there for the next eighteen months. In January, 1732, he once more left this retirement to mingle with the world, being appointed to the command of a troop of the 7th or Queen's Own regiment of dragoons. He was also, in the same month, elected one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish peerage, in place of the Earl of Loudon deceased. This honour was again conferred upon him at the general elections in the years 1734, 1741, and 1747. In the month of June, 1733, his lordship was appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales. On the 18th of February, in the year following, he obtained the captain-lieutenancy of the 1st regiment of foot-guards, and on the 1st of October, in the same year, a company of the 3d foot-guards. Notwithstanding these various appointments, the earl, who entertained from his youngest years a strong passion for military fame, finding his life but an inactive one, and the English service unlikely at the time to present him with any opportunity of distinguishing himself, sought and obtained the king's permission to go out as a volunteer to the Imperial army, the emperor being at that time engaged in a war with France.

His lordship joined the Imperialists in 1735, at Bruchsal on the Rhine, where he was received with every mark of distinction and favour by the celebrated Prince Eugene of Savoy, then in command of the troops in that quarter. Finding, however, that there was no immediate appearance of active service here, his lordship, accompanied by Viscount Primrose and Captain Dalrymple, both volunteers like himself, proceeded to the army under Count Sackendorff. The first duty imposed on them by this general was to reconnoitre the enemy, who were posted near Clausen. As they advanced towards the French lines they were met by a party of the enemy, three times

the number of their own escort, and a skirmish ensued, in which Count Nassau, who accompanied them, was killed, and Lord Primrose severely wounded by a musket-ball close beside the Earl of Crawford. On the evening of the same day, 17th of October, 1735, the battle of Clausen was fought, affording his lordship an opportunity of distinguishing himself, which he did not let pass. He attached himself to the Prince of Waldeck, who commanded the left wing of the Imperialists, and attended him throughout the whole of the battle. The position in which the earl was placed was the first attacked by the enemy, and was the most sanguinary part of the field. The intelligence, bravery, and good conduct of his lordship in this engagement excited the warmest admiration of the prince, and laid the foundation of his future fame as a soldier.

Preliminaries of peace between the emperor and France having been soon afterwards signed, the earl left the Imperial army, made a tour of the Netherlands and Holland, and again returned to Britain. On his arrival he was graciously received by George II., who honoured him with many warm expressions of esteem. His lordship remained at home for two years. At the end of this period he again became desirous of exchanging the monotony of a peaceful and idle for an active life, and sought the king's permission to serve as a volunteer in the Russian army, under Field-marshal Munich, then engaged with the Imperialists in a war against the Turks. Having obtained the royal permission, he embarked at Gravesend in April, 1738, for Petersburg. On his arrival there he waited upon the czarina, who appointed him to the command of a regiment of horse, with the rank of general in the Russian service. His lordship then left Petersburg in the middle of May to join the army, which he effected after a dangerous and tedious journey of a month's duration. Several sanguinary engagements with the Turks soon followed, and in all the earl eminently distinguished himself, both by his military skill and fearless intrepidity. In one of these murderous conflicts, which took place on the 26th of July, and in which the Turks and Tartars were repulsed with great loss, his lordship, who was at the head of a party of Cossacks, excited the astonishment and admiration of even these bold and skilful riders by his dexterity in horsemanship. Nor were they less delighted with the gallantry also which he exhibited in this battle, in the instance of a single combat with a Tartar, whom, after a desperate encounter, he sabred and stripped of his arms. The latter he afterwards brought to England with him as objects of curiosity.

The season being now far advanced, Marshal Munich thought it advisable to retire from the scene of operations, and accordingly retreated to Kiow, whither he was accompanied by the earl, who remained with him for three weeks after the cessation of hostilities. He then left Munich, and joined the Imperialists near Belgrade. The earl had now acquired a large stock of military knowledge, and had been especially improved in the art by his experience under Munich, whom he justly reckoned the first captain of the age. Six weeks after he joined the Imperial army, it was marched into winter-quarters. On this occasion he attached himself to Prince Eugene's regiment, and proceeded with that corps to Comorra, thirty-three miles S.E. of Presburg. Here, and at Vienna, to which he occasionally resorted, he remained till the middle of April, 1739. During this leisure his lordship employed himself in reducing to method and system the military knowledge which he had acquired, by drawing plans and writing observations on the

Russian campaign; thus availing himself of every means and opportunity that offered of improving himself in that art, to attain an eminence in which had been from his earliest years the object of his fondest hopes.

His lordship now joined the Imperialists assembled near Peterwaradin, under the command of Marshal Wallis, and attached himself to his old friend and fellow-soldier the Prince of Waldeck, lieutenant-general of infantry. In a short time after the battle of Krotzka, near Belgrade, was fought. In this engagement the earl, while fighting the Turks at the head of Palfi's cuirassiers, had his favourite black horse killed under him: another was immediately brought him, but he had scarcely gained the saddle when he himself was struck with a musket-ball, which, entering the outside of his left thigh, shattered the bone to pieces, and brought him to the ground. Here he lay for some time in a state of utter insensibility, when he was accidentally discovered by General Count Sucher, who, on perceiving him, ordered some grenadiers to raise him up and place him on one of his horses. This, however, was all the attention which the urgency of the moment would permit. Having been mounted on the horse he was left to his fate, and received no further assistance until the following morning, when he was found by one of his own grooms, his face deadly pale, his head uncovered, and himself holding fast by the horse's mane with both hands to prevent his falling off. He was now immediately carried to Belgrade, where surgical assistance was obtained. So desperate and severe was his wound, that his lordship walked for the first time, and even then with the assistance of crutches, only in the beginning of September, 1740—about a year and a half after he had received it.

Being advised to try the effects of the baths of Baden, he proceeded to that quarter, and remained there till the 11th of August, 1741; but finding there no effectual cure, he embarked for England. Notwithstanding his absence, the earl's interest had not been neglected at home. In July, 1739, he was made a colonel of horse and adjutant-general, and on the 25th October of the same year was appointed colonel of the 42d regiment of foot, or Royal Scots Highlanders. The same inclination to forward his military views marked his return. On the 25th of December, 1741, the year in which he came to England, he was appointed colonel of the second troop of horse grenadier-guards.

His lordship's wound still annoying him, he, in 1742, repaired to the baths of Bareges and Provence, from the last of which he derived great benefit. He finally joined the British army, of which Field-marshal Stair was commander, on the 24th of May, 1743, at Höchstet, where George II. happened to be at the time. At the battle of Dettingen, which took place on the 16th of the following month, the earl commanded a brigade of life-guards, and conducted himself throughout that conflict with a coolness and intrepidity which greatly enhanced his reputation for courage and military skill. During the action his lordship, on one occasion, ordered the officers of his brigade to the front, the enemy being within fifty paces of them. He then addressed his men, "Hark, my dear lads," he said, "trust to your swords, handle them well, and never mind your pistols." Placing himself then at their head, he led them on to the charge, the trumpets the while sounding the martial strain of "Britons, Strike Home;" his soldiers, participating in his enthusiasm, closed on the French, and drove them before them with prodigious slaughter. In the beginning of the battle a musket-ball struck his lordship's right holster-case, penetrated the leather, and,

hitting the barrel of the pistol which it contained, fell harmlessly into the case. Here it was found by his lordship, who showed it the day after the engagement to the king at Hanau, where he then was, and who, on seeing the earl approaching, exclaimed, "Here comes my champion;" following up afterwards this flattering expression of his opinion of his lordship's merits by the most gratifying remarks on the gallantry of his conduct on the preceding day.

In this year (1743) the earl was appointed colonel of the 4th or Scottish troop of horse-guards, and, after the battle of Dettingen, was made a general of brigade. In May, 1744, his lordship joined the combined armies, in camp near Brussels; but, owing to the over-caution of Marshal Wade, no opportunity offered of again distinguishing himself during the whole of the campaign which followed. In the next year, however, this was not wanting. The Duke of Cumberland, having been appointed captain-general of the British forces, arrived at Brussels on the 11th of April, 1745, his lordship being then with the army as brigadier-general. The arrival of his grace was soon after (30th April) followed by the battle of Fontenoy. In this engagement his lordship conducted himself with his usual gallantry, and exhibited even more than his usual skill, particularly in conducting the retreat, which he did in a manner so masterly, as procured for him a reputation for military genius not inferior to any of that age. His lordship also wrote an exceedingly able and interesting account of the battle. On the 30th of May following, he was promoted to the rank of major-general.

The rebellion in Scotland now occurring, his lordship was ordered, in February, 1746, from Antwerp, where he then was, to his native country, to take the command of the Hessians employed by the government on that occasion, and whose numbers amounted to 6000. With these troops he secured Stirling, Perth, and the passes into the Lowlands, while Cumberland proceeded by the north-east coast in quest of the rebels. On this visit to Scotland his lordship formed an acquaintance with, and afterwards married, Lady Jane Murray, eldest daughter and presumptive heiress of James, second Duke of Athole. On the extinction of the rebellion he returned to the army in the Netherlands, where he arrived early in June. At the battle of Rocoux, which took place on the 1st of October following, he commanded the second line of cavalry, with which he drove back the French infantry, and threw them into irretrievable confusion. His lordship soon afterwards accompanied the army into winter-quarters at Bois le Duc. His troop of horse-guards being this year disbanded, he was appointed to the command of the 25th regiment of foot on the 25th December, 1746.

In February following (1747) his lordship embarked for England, and at Belford met by appointment Lady Jane Murray, to whom he was married on the day of his arrival. His wound, which had never yet been thoroughly healed, now again broke out from fatigue, and subjected him anew to all the pain and suffering which he had experienced immediately after receiving it. From Belford the earl and countess proceeded to London, from thence to Helvoetsluis, and finally to Bois le Duc, where they arrived in June. On the 22d May his lordship, previous to his leaving England, was appointed to the command of the 2d regiment of dragoons or Royal Scots Greys, in room of the Earl of Stair deceased; and on the 26th of September following he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general.

On the conclusion of the campaign the earl, accompanied by his countess, went to Aix-la-Chapelle,

for the benefit of the baths there; being still seriously annoyed by his wound, which had again broken out after a second temporary cure. While his lordship was confined here to bed, his young countess—she had not yet attained her twentieth year—was seized with a violent and malignant fever, which carried her off in four days. His lordship, who was deeply affected by his loss, and for a time wholly inconsolable, ordered that the body of his deceased lady should be embalmed, and sent over to his family burial-place at Ceres in Fife. He himself remained at Aix till the opening of the campaign in 1748, when he joined the Duke of Cumberland and confederate army of 150,000 men. His lordship remained with the army till the conclusion of the peace, which took place in the same year. On the 16th of February of the following year (1749) he superintended the embarkation of the British troops at Williamstadt, and soon after returned to London, where he died on the 25th December, in the forty-eighth year of his age, after suffering again severely from his wound. His remains were carried to Ceres, and deposited beside those of his countess.

His lordship is represented to have been of middle size, remarkably stout, but finely formed. His manners were mild, elegant, and refined; his disposition generous, brave, and charitable, often beyond his means. His purse, open to all, was especially at the service of the distressed widows of officers, numbers of whom were relieved from misery and destitution by his bounty. His lordship always maintained a splendid retinue, and lived in a style becoming his rank, but was moderate at table, and temperate in all his habits. His judgment was strong, his temper serene and dispassionate. His lordship having died without issue, the titles of Crawford and Lindsay devolved on George, Viscount of Garnock.

LINDSAY, ROBERT, of Pitscottie, author of the *Chronicles of Scotland* known by his name, was born about the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was a cadet of the noble family of Lindsay, comprising the Earls of Crawford and Lindsay and the Lords Lindsay of Byres. He is not known otherwise than as the author of the *Chronicles* alluded to, and these have not had the effect of eliciting any information regarding him from his contemporaries, which could be of any avail to a modern biographer. He has in truth been scarcely recognized even as a literary man by the chroniclers of Scottish genius, and yet this is the only ground on which he seems to have any claim to commemoration, there being no other circumstance of any interest in his life but that of his having written the work spoken of above.

As to the *Chronicles* themselves, it is not perhaps very easy to determine in what language they should be spoken of. They present a strange compound of endless and aimless garrulity, simplicity, credulity, and graphic delineation; the latter, however, evidently the effect not of art or design, but of a total want of them. He describes events with all the circumstantiality of an eye-witness, and with all the prolixity of one who is determined to leave nothing untold, however trifling it may be. But his credulity in particular seems to have been boundless, and is remarkable even for the credulous age in which he lived. He appears to have believed without question everything which was told him; and, believing it, has carefully recorded it. After detailing at some length, and with great gravity, all the circumstances of the mysterious summons of Plotcock, previous to the battle of Flodden Field, "verily," he says, "the author of this that caused me write the manner of the summons was a landed gentleman, who was at

that time twenty years of age, and was in the town the time of the said summons; and thereafter, when the field was stricken, he swore to me, there was no man that escaped that was called in this summons, but that one man alone which made his protestation." The earnest and honest simplicity of the good old chronicler, however, is exceedingly amusing. He aims at nothing beyond a mere record of what he conceived to be facts, and these he goes on detailing with a great deal of incoherence, and all the unintellectual precision of an artificial process, neither feeling, passion, nor mind ever appearing to mingle in the slightest degree with his labours. These characteristics of the chronicles of Lindsay have greatly impaired their credibility, and have almost destroyed all confidence in them as authorities. Where he is corroborated by other historians, or by an association of well-known and well-established circumstances, he may be trusted; but where this is not the case, his testimony ought to be received with caution; for, where he does not absolutely create, he is almost sure to exaggerate, and is thus in any event a very unsafe guide.

If Lindsay was but an indifferent chronicler, he was a still worse poet, as will be conceded, it is presumed, after a perusal of the following introductory stanzas of a poetical address to Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, prefixed to the *Chronicles*:—

"O little book, pass thou with diligence
To St. Andrews that fair city;
Salute that lord with humble reverence,
Beseeching him, of fatherly pity,
With entire heart, and perfect charity,
And that he would on noways offend
To look on thee, one day or two to spend.

"And there show him thy secrets, more and less,
From the beginning unto the end:
And also you to come utter and express;
Show him the verity, and make it to him kend—
The martial deeds, and also the fatal end,
Of his noble dainty progenitor,
In Scotland lived sometime in great honour."

The *Chronicles* begin with James II., 1436, and end with Queen Mary, 1565. This latter reign, however, is not completed, being carried down only a little beyond the period at which the marriage of that unfortunate princess with Darnley took place.

LISTON, ROBERT, F.R.S. This great medical teacher and practitioner was born on the 28th of October, 1794, and was son of the Rev. Henry Liston, minister of Ecclesmachan, Linlithgowshire. After having finished his course of classical and professional education, he, at the termination of the latter, practised as ordinary house-surgeon in the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh. It speaks much for his professional attainments at this period—for he was only at the age of twenty-one—that he perceived the defects that prevailed in the management of that institution; and not a little for his courage as well as disinterestedness, that he set himself in earnest to reform them. Like most of those daring young geniuses, however, who look too exclusively to the good end in view, and are satisfied with the rectitude of their own motives, he pursued his plan of reform with such ardour as to waken the wrath of the directors, who were little disposed to be taught that they were in the wrong by such a juvenile instructor. Liston, however, persevered, while his growing reputation coming to his aid, at length gave his representations such weight, that, when his connection with the infirmary terminated, a full acknowledgment of the important services he had rendered was entered upon its records. In 1817 Mr. Liston became a graduate of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons of Edinburgh and London, and commenced practice in the

former city, where his reputation as a surgical operator grew yearly, until he attained that pre-eminence which left him without a rival. For this department, indeed, he was admirably fitted by nature; for independently of his acquired skill, he possessed a decision of will, firmness of nerve, strength of muscle, and quickness of eye, which qualified him for successful operations, where many of his gentler or less prompt and active brethren would have failed. But with all this, he was neither a rash experimenter nor merciless practitioner: on the contrary, he not only performed boldly and skilfully what was necessary, but stopped short where danger was to be apprehended. His manner also combined such gentleness with firmness, as secured the confidence and esteem of his patients. In addition to his practice, he delivered lectures, first on anatomy, and afterwards on surgery, between the years 1822 and 1834, which were highly valued and numerous attended.

Having thus won for himself a high reputation both as practitioner and instructor, it was natural that Mr. Liston should anticipate those professional honours which are so often bestowed upon candidates of greatly inferior pretensions. His hopes were directed to a professorship of surgery in the university of Edinburgh, which no one in Scotland was better (if as well) qualified to fill; but as the wished-for vacancy did not occur, or was won by a more favoured competitor, he formed a professorship for himself, with the world for his auditory, by publishing in 1833 his *Principles of Surgery*, a work which he afterwards repeatedly revised, and which went through several editions. Subsequently many of his lectures on various subjects, and especially on lithotomy, were published in the *Lancet*. Of the merits of these writings, which were recognized at once by the whole medical profession, and which have spread his fame through every medical school in Europe and America, it would now be superfluous to speak; their scientific correctness and thorough practical character, as well as the improvements which they have introduced into practical surgery, are sufficient evidences of their worth. Disappointed in his hopes of Edinburgh, and having fully tested his own powers, Dr. Liston was now desirous of a wider field, which was opened to him in 1834, by his being appointed surgeon to the North London Hospital. He left the Scottish capital in the November of that year; and so fully was his value now appreciated in Edinburgh, that before his departure a public dinner was given to him, at which the lord-provost presided, while the addresses delivered on the occasion by the most eminent of the medical and surgical professions, who attended, made eloquent acknowledgment of his high talents and eminent services, as well as regret at their transference to another sphere of action.

In London the fame of Dr. Liston became so distinguished, that his private practice annually increased, and the most difficult and critical operations were reserved for his experienced hand. After having filled for some time the office of surgeon to the North London Hospital, he was appointed professor of clinical surgery in University College; and in 1846, in addition to that situation, which he raised to honour and distinction, he was appointed one of the examiners of the Royal College of Surgeons. In this way, notwithstanding a certain bluntness of manner which he had preserved from the beginning, his private worth, as well as professional knowledge, procured him not only the highest distinction in his own country, but a world-wide reputation, which as yet has suffered no abatement. Here, however, his career was unexpectedly closed when it was at the brightest. After enjoying almost uninterrupted good

health till within a year of his death, he was attacked by a malady, the causes of which his medical advisers could not ascertain, but which was found, on a *post mortem* examination, to have been occasioned by aneurism in the aorta. He died in Clifford Street, London, on the 7th of December, 1847, at the age of fifty-three.

LITHGOW, WILLIAM, a well-known traveller of the seventeenth century, was born in the parish of Lanark in the year 1583. Nothing is known of his birth or parentage, or of the earlier period of his life. He seems to have attracted very little general notice prior to the publication of his travels in 1614; and even, the celebrity which these acquired for him does not appear to have suggested any inquiry into his previous history.

There is no reason, however, to believe otherwise than that he was a person of rather mean condition and poor circumstances, though evidently possessed of an education very far surpassing what was common among the vulgar at the period when he lived. The motives which induced him to leave his native country to perform a painful and dangerous pilgrimage through foreign lands, are not more obvious than some of the other particulars of his early life. He himself, in the strange and almost unintelligible jargon in which he frequently indulges in the work which records his adventures, obscurely assigns two: the oppression of enemies—but who they were, or what was the cause of their enmity, he does not say—and an irresistible desire to visit strange lands. It would indeed appear that this last was the ruling passion of his life, and that, together with a roving, unsettled, and restless disposition, it was the principal agent in compelling him to undertake the formidable journeys which he accomplished, and enabled him to bear up with such a series of hardships and bodily sufferings as perhaps no man ever before or since has endured.

From the obscurity in which his early life is involved, it is not therefore until he has assumed the character which has procured him celebrity, namely, that of a traveller, that Lithgow is introduced to us.

In his youth, while he was, as he himself says, yet a stripling, he made two voyages to the "Orcadian and Zetlandian Isles." Shortly after this he proceeded on a tour through Germany, Bohemia, Helvetia, and the Low Countries. From the latter he went to Paris, where he remained for ten months. William Lithgow nowhere gives the slightest hint regarding the source whence he derived the funds necessary to defray the expenses of these journeys; but there seems to be some reason for believing that he trusted in a great measure to chance, and to the casual assistance which he might receive from any of his countrymen whom he might encounter in the different places he visited. This applies only, however, to the first part of his career; the latter was provided for by a piece of good fortune which shall be noticed in its proper place.

On the 9th of March, 1609, Lithgow again started from Paris on another roving expedition, and on this occasion proceeded in the first instance directly to Rome. He was escorted several miles on his way by three or four of his countrymen, with whom he had picked up an acquaintance while in Paris, and who, not improbably, supported him during the time of his residence in that city. These persons he describes as gentlemen, and one of them, at any rate, certainly had a claim to this character on the score of rank. This was Hay of Smithfield, Esq., of the King of France's body-guard. Although thus associating himself, however, with these gentlemen,

Lithgow does not speak of them as equals, but in a marked tone of inferiority; leaving altogether an impression that their kindness and attention proceeded from the circumstances of his being a countryman, a man of talent, and of a singular, bold, and adventurous disposition. Having bid adieu to his companions, he trudged onwards to Rome on foot; for such was his usual mode of travelling. He made it a rule, and strictly adhered to it, never to avail himself of any conveyance during a journey when he could accomplish it on foot, and his only deviation was in the cases of crossing seas, rivers, or lakes. During all his travels he never mounted a horse, or put his foot into a carriage, or any description of vehicle whatever.

While in Rome he made a narrow escape from the Inquisition; the most sanguinary and ferocious of whose members were at that time, singular to say, Scotsmen. Two of these were from St. Andrews. There were besides one of the name of Gordon, one Cunningham, born in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and several others; and it was from the eager pursuit of these, his own countrymen, that poor Lithgow found the greatest difficulty in escaping. This, however, he effected by the assistance of a domestic of the Earl of Tyrone, who was then residing at Rome. This man, whose name was Megget, concealed him for three days and nights on the roof of the earl's palace, and on the fourth night conveyed him secretly out of the city, by aiding him to scale the walls, as the gates and streets were all carefully guarded by persons appointed by the Inquisition to apprehend him.

From Rome Lithgow proceeded to Naples, and from thence to Loretto. On his way to the latter place he overtook a carriage in which were two young gentlemen from Rome with their mistresses, all proceeding joyously on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Madonna. This lively group insisted upon the lonely pedestrian's stepping into their carriage. but adhering to the rule he had laid down of never availing himself of any such conveyance, he obstinately refused. Finding that they could not prevail upon him to take a seat beside them, the good-natured pilgrims descended from their carriage and insisted on keeping him company on foot, and thus associated the whole party jogged merrily on for Loretto. Here he fell in with another of his countrymen, of the name of Arthur, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, and who seems to have been imbued with some portion of his own restless and rambling disposition. Having spent some time in Loretto they proceeded together to Ancona, and thence by sea to Venice. Here his companion left him to cross the Alps, while his own "purpose reached for Greece and Asia." Arthur, it appears, had been a domestic servant of the Earl of Glencairn. The circumstance therefore of Lithgow's making him a companion, would seem to be an additional proof that he did not assume, or pretend to, the character of a gentleman traveller.

Lithgow now proceeded to visit the various islands in the Mediterranean, and thereafter wandered through Greece and Asia, encountering innumerable dangers and difficulties; now shipwrecked, now attacked by banditti, now plundered and maltreated, and with all this, frequently exposed for days and nights together to the inclemency of the weather; his religion excluding him in several places, not only from the hospitality of the natives, but even from the shelter of their houses. During his peregrinations through Greece, he met with two gentlemen from Venice who entertained him kindly for ten days, and on his departure made him a present of fifty zechins

in gold; the first gift, he says, he received in all his travels, and, it may be added, that this is also the first allusion he makes to any pecuniary matters relating to himself. He now proceeds to declare, that if some such instances of good fortune had not befallen him he should never have been able to accomplish his "sumptuous peregrination."

Not contented with the adventures in which he was unavoidably, on his part, involved, there were others which he sought. Like another Don Quixote, he released captives, or at least assisted them to effect their escape, and came to the aid of distressed damsels. Altogether he appears to have been a singularly benevolent and kind-hearted man; ready at all times to peril his life for the injured or oppressed, whenever he thought such a risk could be of service to them.

From Greece Lithgow proceeded overland to Egypt, and finally reached Grand Cairo. During his journey thither he had the good fortune to fall in with three Dutchmen at Jerusalem, who were journeying with a caravan in the same direction. These he joined, and kept by them until they reached the Egyptian capital. Here his three companions speedily killed themselves by drinking "strong Cyprus wine without mixture of water." Each as they died left the survivors all his property, and the last bequeathed the whole accumulated amount to Lithgow. He had, however, some difficulty in rescuing his legacy from the grasp of the Venetian consul; but by sacrificing a part he obtained possession of the remainder, which amounted to 942 zechins of gold, besides rings and tablets. Thanking God for his good fortune, he now proceeded, quite at his ease as to money matters, to inspect everything that was curious in the city. From Cairo he proceeded to Alexandria, where he embarked for Malta. From thence he sailed for Sicily, walked afterwards to Paris, and finally came over to England, where he presented to King James, to Queen Anne, and to Prince Charles, "certain rare gifts and notable relics brought from Jordan and Jerusalem."

After remaining in London for about a year, Lithgow's propensity to roving again became too strong to be resisted, and he set out upon a second expedition. He now traversed the Netherlands and Switzerland, and from thence proceeded to Calabria. Here another windfall came in his way, but it was one of a much more questionable nature in point of morality than that which met him at Cairo. Between Saramutza and Castello Franco he found the dead bodies of two young barons lying in a field, who had just killed each other in a duel. Seeing that they were richly clad, Lithgow, "to speak the truth," as he himself says, searched their pockets, and found two silken purses well filled with Spanish pistoles. These, together with certain rings which they wore on their fingers, he carried off and appropriated to his own use; and he thus moralizes on the fact:—"Well, in the mutability of time there is ay some fortune falleth by accident, whether lawful or not I will not question. It was now mine that was last theirs; and to save the thing that was not lost I travelled that day thirty miles further to Terra Nova."

Lithgow now visited Africa, traversing Barbary, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Then crossing over to Italy, he perambulated Hungary, Germany, and Poland, and finally reached Dantzic, where he embarked for England, and once more arrived in safety in London. He was now an object of curiosity and interest, and while he remained in England was frequently admitted to familiar audiences of his majesty, and was at all times a welcome guest at the

tables of the first nobility and gentlemen in the kingdom, where he repaid their civilities by relating the story of his adventures.

Lithgow's spirit of enterprise and singular restlessness of disposition, however, were still unsubdued; and neither all that he had seen, nor all that he had suffered, could induce him to settle at home. In 1619 he again set out on another roving expedition, but on this occasion he was furnished with letters of recommendation from King James, addressed to "all kings, princes, and dukes." Provided with these documents he proceeded to Ireland. From thence he sailed for France, travelled through Portugal and Spain, and finally arrived at Malaga. Here he was apprehended as a spy, and accused of giving intelligence to some English ships which were then on the Spanish coast, respecting the return of the Plate fleet. All poor Lithgow's proofs and asseverations of innocence availed him nothing. He was subjected to the most dreadful tortures. His limbs were mangled and crushed, and his body torn and lacerated with tightened cords and other engines of torture. His innocence as a spy was ultimately established to the satisfaction even of his persecutors; but he was then handed over to the Inquisition, which inflicted upon him a fresh series of tortures not less horrible than the first. Maimed and mutilated, Lithgow was at length liberated by the interference of the English consul and of several English residents in Malaga, from whom all knowledge of the unfortunate traveller's fate had been carefully concealed until it was discovered to them by accident.

Shortly after his release he was carried on board of an English ship, for his person was so fearfully mangled that he was not only wholly unable to walk, but was apparently beyond hope of recovery. In this state, on his arrival in England, which was in 1621, he was exhibited, lying on a feather bed, to the king and the whole of the court, all the persons of whom it was composed crowding to see him. His miserable situation excited universal sympathy, and might under a more spirited prince have become the ground of a national quarrel with the country in which the cruelty and injustice had been inflicted. If his majesty, however, failed in avenging the unhappy traveller's injuries, he was not wanting in compassion for his sufferings. He was twice sent to Bath at the royal expense, and maintained by the same hand for seven and twenty weeks, until he had in a great measure recovered his original health and strength, "although," he says, "my left arm and crushed bones be incurable."

Soon after his arrival in England, Lithgow was carried, by the king's direction, to the residence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador at the English court, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure some redress of his grievances. By this celebrated person he was treated with characteristic duplicity. Lithgow finding the case hopeless, accused the Spaniard, in the presence chamber, and before a crowd of courtiers, of deceit and ungentlemanlike conduct. This charge he followed up with an act of violence on the person of the ambassador, for which, though his spirited conduct was much applauded, he was sent to the Marshalsea, where he was confined nine weeks. Lithgow after this made several attempts to procure some sort of redress or compensation from the House of Commons, by a bill of grievances, but none of these were successful. The last effort of this kind which he made was in 1626. In the year following he returned to Scotland; and still under the influence of that spirit which had urged him to roam through the world for so many years, he undertook a tour through the

Western Isles. He speaks of himself as having been in the island of Arran in the year 1628; but from this period little more is known regarding him. He finally, however, and probably soon after this, returned to his native parish, where he remained till his death; but when this took place is uncertain. He was interred in the churchyard of Lanark, and is yet familiarly spoken of in that part of the country, where it is said several of his descendants still exist. The place of his sepulture is unmarked by any memorial, and cannot therefore be pointed out.

The first edition of his travels was printed in 1614, 4to. This work was again reprinted in the reign of Charles I., with a dedication to that monarch. He also published an account of the siege of Buda in 1637, a circumstance which shows that he had attained a considerable age; as in 1637 he would be in his fifty-fourth year.

LIVINGSTON, JOHN, one of the most revered names in Scottish ecclesiastical history. He was born at Kilsyth in Stirlingshire (then called Monybroch), on the 21st of June, 1603. His father, Mr. William Livingston, who officiated as minister of Monybroch from 1600 to 1614, and was then translated to Lanark, was the son of Mr. Alexander Livingston, his predecessor in the charge of the parish of Monybroch, and who, in his turn, was a grandson of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingston, one of the nobles intrusted with the keeping of Queen Mary in her infancy, and the ancestor of the Earls of Linlithgow and Callander. His mother was Agnes Livingston, daughter of Alexander Livingston, a cadet of the house of Dunnipace. His Christian name he received at baptism in compliance with the request of Lady Lillias Graham.¹

"Worthy famous Mr. John Livingston," as he was fondly termed by his contemporaries, received the rudiments of learning at home, and at the age of ten was sent to study the classics under Mr. Wallace, a respectable teacher at Stirling. During the first year he made little progress, and was rather harshly treated by the schoolmaster; this was corrected by a remonstrance from his father, after which he profited very rapidly by his studies. When he had completed his third year at Stirling, it was proposed that he should go to the Glasgow university; but his father eventually determined that he should remain another year at school, and this, he informs us,² was the most profitable year he had at school, being chiefly devoted to a course of classical reading. During the time of his residence in Stirling, Mr. Patrick Simpson, a clergyman of much note, officiated in the parish church; and Mr. Livingston relates that, on receiving the communion from his hands, he experienced a physical agitation of an uncommon character, which he believed to have been occasioned "by the Lord for the first time working upon his heart." At his father's house in Lanark, to which he returned in 1617, in order to attend the death-bed of his mother, he had further opportunities of profiting religiously; for it was the occasional resort of some of the most distinguished clergymen and "professors" of that age. The celebrated Mr. Robert Bruce was among the number of the former; and of the latter were the Countess of Wigton (whom Livingston himself calls the "rare"), Lady Lillias Graham, already mentioned, Lady Culross, still more famous than any of the rest, and Lady Barnton. It

¹ A gentlewoman of the house of Wigton, with whom, as with many persons of equal rank, his father was on intimate terms of personal and religious friendship, and whose father, husband, and eldest son, were all of the same appellation.

² In his life, written by himself. Glasgow, 1754.

seems to have then been a common practice for such persons as were conspicuous for religious earnestness, of whatever rank, to resort much to each other's houses, and to take every opportunity, when on a journey, to spend a night in a kindred domestic circle, where they might, in addition to common hospitalities, enjoy the fellowship of a common faith. To a large mingling in society of this kind we are no doubt to attribute much of the sanctity for which Mr. Livingston was remarkable through life.

The subject of our memoir received his academical education at the university of St. Andrews, where Mr. Robert Boyd was then principal, and Mr. Robert Blair, another eminent divine, the professor of theology. Being tempted at this time by some proposals for a secular profession, he adopted the expedient of retiring to a cave on the banks of Mouse-water (perhaps the same which sheltered Wallace), where he spent a whole day in spiritual meditation, and ultimately resolved to become a preacher of the gospel, as the only means of securing his own eternal interests. During the progress of his subsequent studies in divinity, he gave token of that firm adherence to Presbyterian rules which characterized him in his maturer years. He was sitting with some of the people and a few of his fellow-students in a church in Glasgow, when the archbishop (Law) came to celebrate the communion for the first time after the Episcopal fashion established by the Perth Articles. Seeing the people all sitting as usual, Law desired them to kneel, which some did, but among the recusants were Livingston and the little party of students. The archbishop commanded them either to kneel or depart: to this Livingston boldly replied, that "there was no warrant for kneeling, and, for want of it, no one ought to be excommunicated." Law only caused those near them to move in order that they might remove.

Mr. Livingston became a preacher in 1625, and for a considerable time preached for his father at Lanark, or in the neighbouring parish churches. He had several calls to vacant churches, especially to Anwoth in Galloway, which was afterwards filled by the celebrated Rutherford. The increasing rigour of the Episcopal regulations appears to have prevented him from obtaining a settlement. He was at length, in 1627, taken into the house of the Earl of Wigton at Cumbernauld, as chaplain, with permission to preach in the hall to such strangers as chose to accompany the family in their devotions, and also to minister occasionally in the neighbouring pulpits. He was living in this manner when he produced the celebrated revival of religion at the Kirk of Shotts. This, it seems, was a place where he always found himself in the enjoyment of an unusual degree of "liberty" in preaching. On Sunday, June 20, 1630, the communion was celebrated at Shotts to a large assemblage of people, among whom were all the more eminently pious women of rank in that part of the country. The impression produced by the solemnities of the day was so very great that many did not depart, but spent the whole night in prayer and conference.¹ Among these was Mr. Livingston, who being requested to give a sermon next morning to the still lingering multitude, walked forth very early into the fields. Here, he says, "there came such a misgiving of spirit upon me, considering my unworthiness and weakness, and the multitude and expectation of the people, that I was consulting with myself to have stolen away somewhere." He had actually gone to some distance, and

was losing sight of the Kirk of Shotts, when the words, "Was I ever a barren wilderness or a land of darkness?" were brought into his heart with such an overcoming power as constrained him to return. In the ensuing service he "got good assistance about an hour and a half" upon the text, Eze. xxxvi. 25, 26: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you," &c. "In the end," says Mr. Livingston, "offering to close with some words of exhortation, I was led on about an hour's time in a strain of exhortation and warning, with such liberty and melting of heart, as I never had the like in public all my lifetime." The effect of the address is spoken of by Fleming, in his *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, as "an extraordinary appearance of God and down-pouring of the Spirit, with a strange unusual motion on the hearers," inasmuch that five hundred, it was calculated, had at that time "a discernible change wrought upon them, of whom most proved lively Christians afterwards." It was the sowing of a seed through Clydesdale, so as many of the most eminent Christians in that country could date either their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation of their case, from that day." The importance of such a sermon in propagating religion in a country where it was as yet but imperfectly introduced, has given this event a prominent place—not perhaps in the history of the *Church of Scotland*, but certainly in the history of the *gospel*. It caused Monday sermons after the celebration of the communion to become general, and appears to have been the origin of that now habitual practice.

Livingston gives some curious particulars in reference to this signally successful preaching. He officiated on the ensuing Thursday at Kilmarnock, and there he was favoured with some remains, as it were, of the afflatus which had inspired him on the former day. Next Monday, however, preaching in Irvine, "I was so deserted," says he, "that the points I had meditated and written, and had fully in my memory, I was not, for my heart, able to get them pronounced. So it pleased the Lord to counterbalance his dealings and hide pride from man. This so discouraged me that I was upon resolution for some time not to preach—at least not in Irvine; but Mr. David Dickson could not suffer me to go from thence till I preached the next Sabbath, to get, as he expressed it, amends of the devil. And so I stayed, and preached with some tolerable freedom."

Finding all prospect of a parochial settlement in his native country precluded by the bishops, Mr. Livingston was induced in August, 1630, to accept the charge of the parish of Killinchie, in the north of Ireland, where a considerable portion of the population consisted of Scots. Here he ministered with great success, inasmuch that by one sermon preached in the neighbouring parish of Holywood, he was calculated to have converted a thousand persons in as effectual a manner as he had done the five hundred at Shotts. Such extensive utility is perhaps only to be expected in a country such as Scotland and Ireland then were, and as America has more recently been; but yet, as similar acts are recorded of no contemporary clergyman whose name is familiar to us, we must necessarily conclude that there was something in the oratorical talents and spiritual gifts of Mr. Livingston which marked him out as a most extraordinary man. His success as a minister is less agreeably proved in another way—by the persecution, namely, of the bishop in whose diocese he officiated. After being once suspended and replaced, he was, in May, 1632, deposed, along with Messrs. Blair, Welsh, and Dunbar; after which he could only hold private meetings with his flock. He and several of his people were now become so desperate

¹ The bed-room of Lady Culross was filled with people, to whom she prayed "three large hours' time,"—"having great motion upon her."—*Livingston's Life*, *MS. Ad. Lib.*

as to the enjoyment of religion in their own way, under British institutions, that they formed a resolution to emigrate to America. He accordingly set sail from Weymouth; but being driven back by a contrary wind, some circumstances induced him to change his mind. Almost immediately after his return he and his deposed brethren were reinstated by a letter of the lord-deputy Strafford; and, for a year and a half, he continued to preach at Killinchie.

Mr. Livingston's salary in this charge was only £4 a-year; yet he takes pains to assure us, that notwithstanding all his travels from place to place, and also occasional visits to Scotland, he never wanted money. He lets slip afterwards, however, that he received sums occasionally from the Countesses of Eglintoun and Wigton, and other devout ladies. His mode of life was so fully justified by the circumstances of the times, which rendered it by no means singular, that Mr. Livingston was not deterred from forming a matrimonial connection. He had formed an attachment to the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, "of most worthy memory." The young lady was also recommended to him by the favourable speeches of many of his friends. Yet—and the fact is a curious trait of the age and of the man—he spent nine months "in seeking directions from God," before he could make up his mind to pay his addresses. "It is like," he says, "I might have been longer in that darkness, except the Lord had presented me an occasion of our conferring together; for, in November, 1634, when I was going to the Friday meeting at Antrim [the lady was then residing on a visit in Ireland], I forgathered with her and some others going thither, and propounded to them, by the way, to confer upon a text whereon I was to preach the day after at Antrim; wherein I found her conference so just and spiritual, that I took that for some answer to my prayer to have my mind cleared, and blamed myself that I had not before taken occasion to confer with her. Four or five days after, I proposed the matter, and desired her to think upon it; and after a week or two I went to her mother's house, and, being alone with her, desiring her answer, I went to prayer and desired her to pray, which at last she did: and in that time I got abundant clearness that it was the Lord's mind that I should marry her, and then propounded the matter more fully to her mother; and, albeit I was then fully cleared, I may truly say it was about a month after before I got marriage affection to her, although she was, for personal endowments, beyond many of her equals, and I got it not till I obtained it by prayer; but thereafter I had greater difficulty to moderate it."

The parties, having proceeded to Edinburgh, were married in the West Church there, June 23, 1635, under circumstances of proper solemnity, notwithstanding that Archbishop Spottiswood, chancellor of Scotland, was understood to have issued orders for the apprehension of Mr. Livingston some days before. The wedding was attended by the Earl of Wigton and his son Lord Fleming, and a number of other pious friends. Having returned to Ireland, he was in the ensuing November once more deposed, and even, it appears, excommunicated. He continued, nevertheless, to hold forth at private meetings in his own house, where Blair, also again deposed, took up his abode. At length, in renewed despair, he once more embarked along with his wife for the American colonies; but, strange to say, after having sailed to a point nearer to the banks of Newfoundland than to any part of Europe, he was again driven back; after which, conceiving it "to be the

Lord's will that he should not go to New England," he made no further attempt.

For about two years Mr. Livingston preached occasionally, but always in a somewhat furtive manner, both in Ireland and Scotland. He was in the latter country in 1637, when at length the bishops brought matters to such a crisis, as terminated their supremacy in Scotland, and enabled divines like Mr. Livingston to open their mouths without fear. Mr. Livingston was present at Lanark when the covenant was received by the congregation of that place; and he says that, excepting at the Kirk of Shotts, he never saw such motions from the Spirit of God; "a thousand persons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears falling down from their eyes." Being commissioned to proceed to London, to confer with the friends of the cause in reference to this grand national movement, he disguised himself in a gray coat and a gray montero cap, for the purpose of avoiding the notice of the English authorities. An accident which befell him on the way confined him, after his arrival in the metropolis, to his chamber; but he was there visited by many friends of liberty in church and state, including several of the English nobility. He had not been long in London when the Marquis of Hamilton informed him through a mutual friend that the king was aware of his coming, and threatened "to put a pair of fetters about his feet." He was therefore obliged to retire precipitately to his own country.

In July, 1638, Mr. Livingston was enabled, under the new system of things, to enter upon the ministry of the parish of Stranraer in Wigtonshire—a place with which he had long been familiar, in consequence of his frequently passing that way to and from Ireland. Here his zeal and eloquence appear to have been deeply appreciated, inasmuch that the people flocked even to hear his private family devotions, filling his house to such a degree, that he had at length to perform these exercises in the church. It is a still more striking proof of his gifts, that multitudes of his Irish friends used to come over twice a-year to be present at his ministrations of the communion. On one occasion he had no fewer than 500 of these far-travelled strangers; on another he had twenty-eight of their children to baptize! Such was then the keen appreciation of "free preaching," and the difficulty of obtaining it under the restrictions of the Episcopal system, that some of these people were induced to remove to Stranraer, simply that they might be of the congregation of Mr. Livingston. It is confessed, indeed, by the subject of our memoir, that the obstructions which the Irish Presbyterians encountered at that time in hearing the gospel preached after their own way tended materially to excite and keep alive religious impressions in their hearts. "The perpetual fear," he says, "that the bishops would put away their ministers, made them with great hunger wait on the ordinances." The narrow views of that age prevented the king or his ecclesiastical friends from seeing the tendency of their measures; but the result was exactly accordant to the more extended philosophy of our own times. We have now less persecution, and naturally a great deal more indifference.

It is a fact of too great importance to be overlooked, that Mr. Livingston was a member of the General Assembly which met at Glasgow in November, 1638, and decreed the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland. He accompanied the army in the campaign of 1640 as chaplain to the regiment of the Earl of Cassillis, and was present at the battle of Newburn, of which he composed a narrative. In November he returned to Stranraer, where, in one

Sunday, notwithstanding the smallness and poverty of the town, he raised a contribution of no less than forty-five pounds sterling for the use of the army. A large portion of this, it must be remarked, was given by one poor woman under very peculiar circumstances. She had laid aside, as a portion to her daughter, seven twenty-two shilling pieces and an eleven-pound piece: the Lord, she said, had lately taken her daughter, and having resolved to give him her portion also, she now brought forward her little hoard in aid of that cause which she seriously believed to be his. In these traits of humble and devoted piety there is something truly affecting; and even those who are themselves least disposed to such a train of mind must *feel* that they are so.

Mr. Livingston appears to have always retained a warm feeling towards the Presbyterians of the north of Ireland. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, when these poor people fled in a body from the fury of the Catholics, multitudes came into Scotland by the way of Stranraer. Of the money raised in Scotland to relieve the refugees, £1000 Scots was sent to Mr. Livingston, who distributed it in small sums, rarely exceeding half-a-crown, to the most necessitous. He complains in his memoirs, that out of all the afflicted multitudes who came in his way, he hardly observed one person "sufficiently sensible of the Lord's hand" in their late calamity, or of their own deserving of it, "so far had the stroke seized their spirits as well as bodies." This is a remark highly characteristic of the age. One more valuable occurs afterwards. Being sent over to Ireland with the Scottish army, "he found," he says, "a great alteration in the country; many of those who had been civil before were become many ways exceeding loose; yea, sundry who, as could be conceived, had true grace, were declined much in tenderness; so, as it would seem, *the sword opens a gap, and makes everybody worse than before*, an inward plague coming with the outward; yet some few were in a very lively condition." If Mr. Livingston had not been accustomed to regard everything in a spiritual light, he would have argued upon both matters with a view simply to physical causes. He would have traced the savage conduct of the Catholic Irish to the united operation of a false religion and the inhumane dominancy of a race of conquerors; and the declining piety of the Presbyterians to that mental stupor which an unwonted accumulation of privations, oppressions, and dangers can hardly fail to produce. It is strange to a modern mind to see men, in the first place, violating the most familiar and necessary laws respecting their duty to their neighbours (as the English may be said to have done in reference to the native Irish), and then to hear the natural consequences of such proceedings described as a manifestation of divine wrath towards a class of people who were totally unconnected with the cause.

Mr. Livingston was minister of Stranraer for ten years, during which time he had not only brought his own flock into a state of high religious culture, but done much latterly to restore the former state of feeling in the north of Ireland. In the summer of 1648 he was translated by the General Assembly to Ancrum in Roxburghshire, where he found a people much more in need of his services than at Stranraer. In 1650 he was one of three clergymen deputed by the church to accompany an embassy which was sent to treat with Charles II. at the Hague for his restoration to a limited authority in Scotland. In his memoirs Mr. Livingston gives a minute account of the negotiations with the young king, which throws considerable light on that transaction, but cannot here be entered upon. He seems to be convinced,

however, of the insincerity of the king, though his facility of disposition rendered him an unfit person to oppose the conclusion of the treaty. Being of opinion that the lay-ambassadors were taking the *curse of Scotland* with them, he refused to embark, and was at last brought off by stratagem. In the ensuing transactions, as may be conceived, he took the side of the protestors; but, upon the whole, he mingled less in public business than many divines of inferior note in spiritual gifts. During the protectorate he lived very quietly in the exercise of his parochial duties; and on one occasion, though inclined to go once more to Ireland, refused a charge which was offered to him at Dublin, with a salary of £200 a year. After the Restoration he very soon fell under the displeasure of the government, and, in April, 1663, was banished from his native country, which he never more saw. He took up his residence at Rotterdam, where there was already a little society of clergymen in his own circumstances.

In narrating the events of this part of his life Mr. Livingston mentions some curious traits of his own character and circumstances. "My inclination and disposition," he says, "was generally soft, amorous, averse from debates, rather given to laziness than rashness, and easy to be wrought upon. I cannot say what Luther affirmed of himself concerning covetousness; but, I may say, I have been less troubled with covetousness and cares than many other evils. I rather inclined to solitariness than company. I was much troubled with wandering of mind and idle thoughts. For outward things I never was rich, and I never was in want; and I do not remember that I ever borrowed money, but once in Ireland five or six pounds, and got it shortly paid. I choosed rather to want sundry things than to be in debt. I never put anything to the fore of any maintenance I had; yea, if it had not been for what I got with my wife, and by the death of her brother and some others of her friends, I could hardly have maintained my family by any stipend I had in all the three places I was in."

The remainder of his life was spent in a manner more agreeable, perhaps, to his natural disposition than any preceding part. He had all along had a desire to obtain leisure for study, but was so closely pressed by his ordinary duties that he could not obtain it. He now devoted himself entirely to his favourite pursuit of biblical literature, and had prepared a polyglot Bible, which obtained the unqualified approbation of the most learned men in Scotland, when he was cut off, on the 9th of August, 1672, in the seventieth year of his age. Just before he expired, his wife, foreseeing the approach of dissolution, desired him to take leave of his friends. "I dare not," said he, with an affectionate tenderness; "but it is likely our parting will be but for a short time." Mr. Livingston, besides his Bible (as yet unpublished), left notes descriptive of all the principal clergymen of his own time, which, with his memoirs, were printed in 1754. Some of his children emigrated to America, where their descendants have become people of the first distinction and weight in society. The late Dr. John H. Livingston, minister of the Reformed Dutch church in New York, professor of divinity to that body, and president of Queen's College, New Jersey—one of the first men of his age and country, and to whose memoirs by Mr. Alexander Gunn we have been indebted for some of the preceding facts—was the great-great grandson of the subject of this memoir.

LIZARS, JOHN. This distinguished surgeon and teacher of surgery was born in Edinburgh; but in

what year of the last century has not been stated. He was educated at the high-school of that city. Resolving to follow the medical profession, he was so fortunate as to become the pupil and apprentice of John Bell, the elder brother of Sir Charles Bell, of whom biographical notices have been given in this work. Thus Lizars obtained for his master and teacher one of the most accomplished masters in surgery and anatomy; and being the right pupil for such a preceptor, his progress in these departments, to which he naturally directed his whole attention, was correspondent to his advantages. In short, his professional character was insensibly moulded in that of John Bell, than whom he could not have found a better exemplar. Having obtained his diploma in 1808, Lizars passed several years as naval surgeon during the Peninsular war, and served on the Spanish and Portuguese coasts in the fleet commanded by Lord Exmouth. One of the ships in which he served had for its captain Charles Napier, afterwards the distinguished admiral and hero of Acre, and between the pair a warm friendship was formed, which lasted for life.

On leaving the sea-service in 1815, Lizars returned to Edinburgh, and was admitted a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in that city. So highly also was he valued by his former master, John Bell, that he was admitted into the partnership which subsisted between Bell and Robert Allan, the eminent surgeon, and author of the well-known work entitled *Allan's Surgery*. Soon after forming this connection, Mr. Lizars began to lecture in the school with Allan, the former on the department of anatomy and physiology, and the latter on surgery. In a few years the partnership was dissolved, when Lizars continued to lecture on anatomy alone at the theatre, No. 1 Surgeon's Square, which had long been distinguished as an anatomical school. Having won a high reputation by his lectures on anatomy, he in the course of four or five years began to lecture on surgery also. This double duty was a weighty undertaking, and exhausting both to mind and body, and required a careful economizing of time and capacity. His method, according to his biographer, was as follows:—"First, a lecture on anatomy from eleven to twelve; secondly, a half-hour's demonstration on anatomy at one o'clock; and, thirdly, the lecture on surgery from two to three. This he did daily, Saturdays excepted; besides which he had a large class of practical anatomy—a department, the conducting of which was then a much less easy or safe matter than it now-a-days proves to us, who have merely to receive bodies under the peaceful operation of the anatomy act." Of the comprehensive efficiency of this extended and laborious range of instruction we are also told by the same authority: "Mr. Lizars' activity and success may be judged when we mention, that on each of his three classes there was an average attendance of about 150 students. His success as a teacher may be said to have been due not only to his ability as an anatomist and surgeon, but to the great attention he paid to his pupils in the time he spent with them, and to the zeal with which he inspired them."

A change that must have been welcomed as a relief at length occurred in this process of teaching, in consequence of a resolution of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons to recognize each teacher for one science only. This judicious plan of confining the utmost talent to its one especial department was an improvement in the science originated by the Edinburgh College of Surgeons, in consequence of the advance of the profession, and the number of its able and eminent practitioners; and the decision set Mr.

Lizars free from the oppression of his double toil. He therefore retained the department of surgery for himself, and consigned to his brother Alexander (afterwards anatomical professor in the university of Edinburgh) his class of anatomy. In 1831 John Lizars was appointed professor of surgery to the Royal College of Surgeons, and in this office he continued to teach and lecture until 1838-39, when he resigned his charge. The vast store of anatomical and pathological specimens which his enthusiastic zeal had collected from his extensive range of private and hospital practice, and most of which specimens were prepared by himself, were devoted by him to the advancement of the science they illustrated. The anatomical museum was consigned to the anatomical class when his brother Alexander became its lecturer; and his surgical museum to the charge of Dr. Handyside, who succeeded him as lecturer on surgery.

It was much that Mr. Lizars should have won so high a reputation when such powerful rivals were in the field. Of these it is enough to mention the names of Barclay, Mackintosh, Fletcher, Argyll Robertson, and John Reid. But perhaps more than these was Liston, who was also his colleague at the hospital. But although they taught and operated side by side, while each had his fame and followers, no petty jealousy interfered to mar their mutual cordiality. While senior operating-surgeon of the Royal Infirmary, Lizars had frequently to perform difficult operations in which Liston also excelled; but in both there was the same professional knowledge and skill, the same firmness of nerve, and the same exquisite delicacy of touch that carried them successfully through the most critical experiments upon the living subject, and left the question undecided as to which of them should be reckoned the greater. "Mr. Lizars," says his biographer, from whom we again quote, "could be equalled as an operator, but could not be surpassed. He had the ease and trust brought by that thorough familiarity with anatomy which years of teaching in the dissecting-room can alone supply, and a rich endowment of that natural coolness which is to the surgeon what natural bravery is to the soldier. None who witnessed it are likely to forget the coolness and dexterity with which he performed the then laudable but anxious experiment of exposing and tying the innominate artery; no one, probably, of the large and eager audience so cool as the operator himself. It will be remembered, too, that surgery is indebted to him for the introduction of the operation of removal of the upper jaw." Nor was it to lecturing and practice only that the cares of Professor Lizars were confined, in which case the best of his fame might have passed away with him, and left nothing but a vague memory behind. His writings were numerous in medical journals, and the chief of his published treatises on professional subjects were *On the Extraction of Diseased Ovaria; On Club-foot; On Strabismus; On Stricture*; and his well-known *System of Practical Surgery*. But it was chiefly by his large anatomical work, the *Anatomical Plates*, that he was best known in his day. It was a noble attempt, in the prevalent difficulty of procuring subjects, to assist students with substitutes; and the engravings of this splendid work, which were executed with great care and at much expense, were made chiefly from original dissections. Its usefulness was indicated by its immense sale irrespective of the cost; and although the superior facilities now afforded to the study of anatomy have made all such aids less necessary, it is still consulted with benefit both by the student and surgeon.

After he had abandoned the office of public teacher and lecturer, Professor Lizars devoted his time to

private practice, surgical and general, and in this he continued during the last twenty years of his life, with occasional appearances as an author. It was in keeping with his long and hard-working career, that at the close he should die in harness. On the 20th of May, 1860, he had been out as usual in the forenoon on his round of professional duties, but feeling drowsy, had returned home. Insensibility gradually grew upon him without any return of consciousness, and on the following evening he died without pain.

LOCKHART, SIR GEORGE, a distinguished constitutional lawyer, and lord-president of the Court of Session, was the second son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, a judge of the Court of Session. The period of his birth is unknown, and the earliest circumstance of his life which has been recorded is, that he studied for the bar, to which he was admitted on the 8th of January, 1656, by the commissioners appointed for the administration of justice in Scotland under the government of Cromwell.¹ The well-known personal interest of his brother Sir William Lockhart with the Protector, was probably the means of introducing his talents to early notice; and on the 14th May, 1658, he was appointed "sole attorney," or lord-advocate of Scotland. On the restoration of the monarchy his family influence procured him favour at court; and after taking the oath of allegiance, along with the performance of other somewhat humiliating ceremonies, expressive of regret for his support to the fallen government, he was permitted the exercise of his profession, and received the honour of knighthood in 1663. Sir George distinguished himself as an able barrister, and became a man of power and influence. Notwithstanding favours extended towards him, such as monarchs too often find sufficient to secure unhesitating tools, he used the privileges of his profession frequently against the court; and through the progress of the dark deeds perpetrated by Tweeddale and Lauderdale, his name frequently occurs in the Books of Adjournal (the criminal record of Scotland), as using his professional abilities in favour of the Covenanters. One of the most prominent features of his life is the struggle which he headed in 1674 for procuring by indirect means, and partly through the influence of the bar, an appeal from the courts of law to the legislature, unauthorized by the theory of the constitution of Scotland, and directly against the wishes of the court, to which a body of paid judges, removable at pleasure, seemed a more pliable engine than an assembly of men, partly elected, partly holding by hereditary right. He was the person who, in the suit between the Earl of Dunfermline and the Earl of Callender and Lord Almond, advised the last-mentioned to present an appeal to parliament.² The earl being cited before the privy-council to answer for this act, applied to Sir George Lockhart, Sir Robert Sinclair, Sir George Cunningham, and Sir George Mackenzie, for information how to act in the matter; and a paper was drawn up for him by these eminent men, declaring "that he desired nothing thereby, but to protest for remeid of law;" in other words, that he did not wish the decree of the Court of Session to be reduced on the ground of injustice or oppression, but a revisal by the parliament, declaratory or statutory, as to the law on the point. "In all which," says Sir George Mackenzie, with the bitterness of

disappointment, "Sir George Lockhart's design was to bring in this trial before the parliament, hoping thereby that they would lay aside the president, and leave the chair vacant for him." Lauderdale immediately proceeded to court, accompanied by the president of the Court of Session and one of the judges; and on their report of the proceedings Charles found the matter of sufficient importance to demand personal interference, and wrote a letter to the privy-council, in which, expressing his conviction of the necessity of preserving the supreme power of the College of Justice, and his "abhorrence" of appeals, he was graciously pleased that no proceeding should be instituted against those who had maintained the political heresy, in case they disavowed it; but that if they did not, they should be debarred the exercise of their professions. The consequence of this letter was the banishment of Lockhart and Cunningham, and the voluntary exile of fifty advocates, who chose to resent the insult: but the manner in which the act is detailed by Sir George Mackenzie, and the curious views which he casts on the motives and conduct of his great rival, prompt us to extract the passage:—"His majesty having ordained by his letters such as would adhere to that appeal to be debarred from pleading, and Sir George Lockhart and Sir John Cunningham being thereupon called in before the lords, they owned that though formal appeals might be said to be contrary to the 62 act. Par. 14 James II., yet a protestation for remeid of law might be allowed; whereupon they were debarred from their employments till the king should declare his further pleasure. And albeit it might have been reasonably concluded that this exclusion should have pleased the younger advocates whom those seniors overshadowed, interrupting the chief advantage and honour that was to be expected in that society; yet most fearing to offend so eminent men, who they knew would soon return to their stations, and being pushed on by the lords of the party, and the discontented persons to whom they owed their employments, went tumultuarly out of the session-house with those who were debarred; and thus, as Sir George Lockhart broke that society at first by his avarice in the matter of the regulations, he broke them now again by his pride in the matter of the appeals; and by raising a clamour against the president, and joining in the popular dissatisfaction, he diverted early from himself that great hatred which was so justly conceived against his insolence and his avarice—two crimes which were more eminent in him than his learning."

Although the causes of the enmity entertained by Mackenzie towards Lockhart are not fully explained, the allusions of the former make it quite clear that it arose from professional and political rivalry. The king had written to the burghs, advising them to renew their old acts against the choosing of representatives. "The king's design in this was," says Sir George, "to exclude such as had been factious in the former parliament, and to engage the burghs to an immediate dependence on the crown." The disaffected advocates endeavoured to inspire the burghs with a wish to oppose the designs of the court; in the meantime, however, it was necessary that the king's letters should be answered, and a draught of such a document was prepared for the committee by Sir George Mackenzie. This letter was sent for the perusal of Lockhart, who altered it "so as of a discreet and dutiful letter, it became, by adding what was humorous, and striking out what was discreet, a most unpolisht and indiscreet paper. And when Sir George Lockhart was askt why he had deformed it so, his answer to James Stewart was, that it was fit to make Sir George Mackenzie unpardonable."

¹ Brunton and Haig's *Hist. of Col. of Just.* 419.

² Those readers who are not acquainted with the details of this event, may find such circumstances connected with it as are here omitted, in the life of SIR JOHN LAUDER OF FOUNTAINHALL.

Sir George Mackenzie alleges that Lockhart had induced him to join the body in favour of appeals on the ground that the union of so many members of the bar would form a formidable opposition to Lauderdale; and it is to his enmity against that minister at the period, that, without a better reason, we must date Mackenzie's accession to the cause. But when the king, on the 12th of December, issued a proclamation, declaring, on the word of a prince, that such of the advocates as should not petition for re-admission before the 28th of January following should never be permitted to return to their profession, Sir George Mackenzie "did so much tender the reputation of his king, that he, having been bedrid of a broken leg when the rest were debarr'd, shunn'd to have himself debarr'd, or publicly to own the appeal; though to secure such as had, he declared that he would not return to his employment without them. Which not satisfying Sir George Lockhart, who pressed still that Sir George Mackenzie should be debarr'd, he was content, in a letter under his hand, to oblige himself in those terms; but this letter not having satisfied, and he being prest, merely to satisfy Sir George Lockhart's private humour, he called for his former letter, and wrote in a postscript these words: 'But if I enter and put myself in the same condition with the rest, I do declare this letter, and all the obligations therein, to be void and not obligatory.' And having owned the appeal with a very undaunted courage, did from that hour despise that party which had jealous'd him, after so many proofs of his courage and fidelity, to please a little creature, who had never follow'd them, but his own passion, to which he and they were become such slaves, that they had thereby lost the glory and reputation of impartial reformers, which had so much recommended them at first, while they followed *Sir George Mackenzie's* disinterested advices." Mackenzie then adds a circumstance, which will hardly diminish the suspicion of his tortuous conduct in the business, although it may shed a ray of additional light on the causes of his rancour towards Lockhart. This is the letter from which the party concluded Sir George Mackenzie to be guilty of perjury, in having entered before the rest; dispersing copies of the letter without the postscript, because they knew the postscript destroyed their malicious pretences. Before the day which the court had named as the last for receiving the submission of the recusant advocates, a document, couched in the form of a petition, but steadily vindicating the right of appeal for remedy of law, was presented to the privy-council. This very valuable paper, which has been preserved at full length by Mackenzie, is full of legal knowledge and clear concise reasoning; it had, however, to strive, not only against power, but also against precedent; no clear established law could be found on which to rest the right of appeal, and a course of ingenious special pleading had to be derived from implication, and the plea that the Court of Session was a distinct body from the daily session of old, which, being a committee of parliament set apart for the purpose of saving the time and trouble of the main body, would have defeated its end by the admission of appeals. The grand constitutional argument of a check on the venality of judges could only be hinted at under the cloak of deference and submission to the royal authority; and the petitioners thought it prudent to terminate their certainly firm and manly statement of their rights with the concession, that "as the petitioners acknowledge there are eminent lawyers upon the session, of deserved reputation; so, if the lords of session, by an act of sederunt or otherwise, will plainly and clearly declare that protestations for remedy of law, to his

majesty and estates of parliament, were and are in themselves unlawful, and that the parliament cannot thereupon review and rescind their decreets, if they find just cause; the petitioners will so far defer to their authority, as to be concluded thereby, and satisfy what was prescribed and required by the lords of session as to that point." Mackenzie was induced to sign this petition: he says, "Sir George Lockhart's love of money making him weary of that love to revenge, he persuaded the appellars (for so all the adherers were called) to give in an address to the privy-council; but so bitter and humorous, that Sir George Mackenzie, though he had concurr'd in furnishing materials and argument, did with some others dissent from it; till they were again conjur'd by some of their comrades not to make a rupture at a time wherein their fixt adherence to one another was their only security."¹ The petition was viewed by the privy-council and the king as a daring and seditious piece of pleading; and Sir John Cunningham proceeding to London to endeavour by his personal influence to alleviate the threatened effects, was quickly followed by Sir George Lockhart and Sir Robert Sinclair; "but upon express promise," says Mackenzie, "that if Sir George Mackenzie and those who had signed the address should be pursu'd for it, they should return and concur with him in the defence. Notwithstanding whereof," he continues, "they having been pursu'd in a process before the privy-council, Sir George Lockhart and Sir Robert Sinclair retir'd, and lurk't near to North Allerton, without acquainting even their wives of their residence, lest thereby they might have been advertis'd. Whereupon Sir George Mackenzie gave in his defence," &c. The defence deserted the constitutional origin of the struggle, and assumed the aspect of a mere vindication of the motives of presenting the petition. Mackenzie at length yielded; as a motive for so doing he says—but we are aware of no document that confirms the assertion—that he "intercepted at last a letter, wherein they (Lockhart and Sinclair) told their confidants that they had resolved to wait the event of that process; in which, if Sir George Mackenzie was absolved, they would be secure by the preparative; but if he was found guilty, the malice of the pursuers would be blunted before it reacht them." Accordingly, on the plausible ground that "it was no dishonour to submit to their prince, ceding being only dishonourable amongst equals, and never being so when the contest was rais'd by such as design'd to make them knaves and fools," he prevailed on the greater number of his brethren to submit. Sir George Lockhart, left to maintain the struggle almost alone, fully aware that unanimity and number only can give effect to political resistance, presented a tardy submission in December, 1675, and was re-admitted to the privileges of his profession on the 28th of January, 1676.² We have dwelt thus long on this incident, because it is one of the very few constitutional

¹ With the petulant remarks on Lockhart, so plentifully scattered through the above quotations, compare the following published character of the professional abilities of his great rival by Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Eloquence of the Bar*—it would be difficult to conceive a more perfect picture of a great forensic orator:—"Lockartius corpus alterum juris civilis, alterque Cicero dici poterat. Illi etiam peculiare erat argumenta sua eo ordine disponere, ut tanquam lapides in fornice alter alterum sustineret; quæ ex improviso, dum oraret, ei suggererantur, prompta solertia indicabat, aptisque locis disponebat. Nihil ab eo abscondit jurisprudentia, et quamprius casus illi a cliente aperiretur, sua omnia, omniaque adversarii argumenta retexebat. Iracundia, quæ alios oratores turbabat, eum tantum excitare solebat; vocem tamen latratu, vultumque rugis deformabat."

² Mackenzie's *Memoirs*, 267-310.

struggles connected with the history of Scotland, and the curious details lately brought to light in the *Memoirs* of Sir George Mackenzie are not very generally perused.

The next political transaction in which we find Lockhart professionally engaged, is the trial of Mitchell, in 1678, for having four years previously attempted the murder of Archbishop Sharpe. He was tried on his own confession, and there is no point of history more surely ascertained, or less liable to doubt, than that the confession was obtained on a promise of pardon. "But," as Burnet expressively says, "Sharpe would have his life." For the purpose of facilitating the prosecution, Nisbet, the lord-advocate, was superseded by Mackenzie; and Primrose, from being clerk-register, was appointed justice-general. "He fancied," says Burnet, "orders had been given to raze the act that the council had made (the act offering the conditional pardon), so he turned the books, and he found the act still on record." He took a copy of it and sent it to Mitchell's counsel.¹ Thus armed, Lockhart appeared, to meet the confession. Burnet, who says, "He was the most learned lawyer and the best pleader I have ever yet known in any nation," states that "he did plead to the admiration of all, to show that no extrajudicial confession could be allowed in a court. The hardships of a prison, the hopes of life, with other practices, might draw confessions from men when they were perhaps drunk or out of their senses. He brought upon this a measure of learning that amazed the audience, out of the lawyers of all civilized nations. And when it was opposed to this that the council was a court of judicature, he showed that it was not the proper court for crimes of this nature, and that it had not proceeded in this as at a court of judicature. And he brought out likewise a great deal of learning upon those heads. But this was overruled by the court, and the confession was found to be judicial. The next thing pleaded for him was, that it was drawn from him upon the hope and promise of life: and on this Sharpe was examined. The person he had sent to Mitchell gave a full evidence of the promises he had made him; but Sharpe denied them all. He also denied he ever heard any promise of life made him by the council; so did the Lords Lauderdale, Rothes, and Halton, to the astonishment of all that were present. Lockhart upon that produced a copy of the act of council, that made express mention of the promise given, and of his having confessed upon that. And the prisoner prayed that the books of council, which lay in a room over that in which the court sat, might be sent for. Lockhart pleaded that since the court had judged that the council was a judicature, all people had a right to search into their registers; and the prisoner, who was like to suffer by a confession made there, ought to have the benefit of those books. Duke Lauderdale, who was in the court only as a witness, and so had no right to speak, stood up and said he and those other noble persons were not brought thither to be accused of perjury; and added, that the books of council were the king's secrets, and that no court should have the perusing of them. The court was terrified with this, and the judges were divided in opinion. Primrose and one other was for calling for the books, but three were of opinion that they were not to furnish the prisoner with evidence, but to judge of that which he brought, and here was only a bare copy, not attested upon oath, which ought not to have been read. So this defence being rejected, he was cast and condemned."² Perhaps the

annals of crime scarcely produce another so perfect specimen of judicial villany.

The talents and courage of Lockhart were employed by the Earl of Argyle at his memorable trial in 1681; three times the privy-council denied him the sanction of their warrant—unfortunately often necessary at that period for the safety of the lawyer who should defend a person accused of treason—and it was at last granted, lest Argyle, on the ground that he was deprived of legal assistance, might interrupt the trial by refusing to plead. In the parliament of 1681 he was appointed one of the commissioners of the shire of Lanark, a seat which he held till his death; and in 1685, after the fall of his opponents in the ministry, we find him one of the committee appointed to answer the king's letter to the parliament, and a lord of the articles.³ In 1685, on the death of Sir David Falconer of Newton, Lockhart was appointed president of the Court of Session, and was soon afterwards made a privy-councillor and a commissioner of the exchequer. Having in the year 1679 boldly undertaken the task of representing before the king the grievances against Lauderdale, he was considered one of the chief political opponents of that minister, and seems to have been gradually led to a participation with the proceedings of the Duke of York. After having followed the actions of a high-minded man through the path of honour, and seen him use his talents and influence in the protection of the weak, and resistance to the powerful, it is painful to arrive at transactions in which the presence of his accustomed firmness or integrity may seem wanting. He is said to have been at first opposed to a repeal of the penal laws against Papists, but after a journey to London, concerted for the purpose of overcoming his scruples, to have entertained a different view⁴—a view which, it is to be feared, was produced more by the benignant smile of royalty, than by a sudden accession of liberal principles. On the question of the applicability of the disabling laws to the Duke of York, he somewhat sophistically maintained that "a commission to represent the king's person fell not under the notion of an office."⁵ But, if he chose to assist the court in obtaining its ends by legal means, his former spirit returned on an attempted stretch of arbitrary power, and he objected to the privy-council's sanctioning a relaxation in favour of the Roman Catholics, becoming law, through the mere royal prerogative.⁶

This great man, whose talents and courage would have adorned a better period, fell a victim to the fury of one of those savages which misgovernment produces. He was murdered by John Chiesley of Dalry on the 31st of March, 1689.

The determination to commit the murder on the part of this man arose from a dispute with his wife, the latter claiming alimony for herself and ten children, and the parties consenting that the claim should be settled by the arbitration of Lockhart and Lord Kennay, who gave a decree appointing an annual sum out of Chiesley's estate to be paid to his wife. Infuriated at not being permitted to deprive his wife and offspring of their daily bread, he formed the resolution of taking vengeance on the president at whatever cost. On communicating his intention to Mr. James Stewart, advocate, he was answered that "it was a suggestion of the devil, and the very imagination of it a sin before God;" to which he replied, "Let God and me alone; we have many things to reckon betwixt us, and we will reckon this too."

¹ Burnet, i. 41.

² Act Parl. viii. 456-7.

⁴ Burnet, i. 406.

³ Fountainhall's *Diary*, 167.

⁵ Fountainhall, 192.

The victim, it appears, was informed of his intention; but he disdained precautions. The murderer confessed that, when in London, he had walked up and down Pall-mall, with a pistol beneath his coat, lying in wait for the president. The day on which he consummated the deed was Sunday. He charged his pistol and went to church, where he watched the motions of his victim, and when Lockhart was returning to his own house through the close or lane on the south side of the Lawnmarket, now known by the name of the "Old Bank Close," following close behind him, discharged a shot, which took effect. The president fell, and being carried into his own house, immediately expired, the ball having passed through his body. Chiesley did not attempt to escape, and, on being told that the president was dead, he expressed satisfaction, and said "he was not used to do things by halves." He was put to the torture and made a full confession, and having been seen committing the act, and apprehended immediately after, or as it is technically termed "red hand," he was summarily tried before the provost of Edinburgh, as sheriff within the city. He was sentenced to have his right hand cut off while alive, to be hanged upon a gibbet with the instrument of murder suspended from his neck, and his body to be hung in chains between Leith and Edinburgh.¹

LOCKHART, GEORGE, a celebrated political partisan, and author of *Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland, Commentaries, &c. &c.*, was the eldest son of the above, by Philadelphia, youngest daughter of Philip, fourth Lord Wharton. He was born in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, in the year 1673. He appears to have been educated for the Scottish bar, but having succeeded, on the death of his father, to a very ample fortune, he seems to have turned his attention chiefly to politics, and having obtained a seat in the Scottish parliament, 1703, he distinguished himself by his opposition to all the measures of the court, and his ceaseless activity in behalf of the fallen Episcopal church and the exiled royal family. Singularly unlike his father in discernment of the justice of a cause and liberality of principle, he appears to have resembled him in the stubborn courage with which he pursued any favourite object. To all the principles of the Revolution he professed a deep aversion; and the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England he considered, especially in regard to the former, as likely to terminate in that misery which a peculiar class of politicians always argue to be the consequence of any change. He was, however, named by the queen one of the commissioners upon that famous treaty, and, with the exception of the Archbishop of York, was the only Tory that was so named. "He had no inclination to the employment," he has himself told us, "and was at first resolved not to have accepted it, but his friends, and those of his party, believing he might be serviceable, by giving an account how matters were carried on, prevailed with him to alter his resolution." Before entering upon the duties of his high office, he accordingly took their advice in what manner he was to conduct himself, and in particular, "whether or not he should protest and enter his dissent against those measures, being resolved to receive instructions from them, as a warrant for his procedure, and to justify his conduct: so, when they all unanimously returned this answer, that if he should protest, he could not well continue longer to meet with the other commissioners; and, if he entered his dissent, it would render him odious to

them, and that they would be extremely upon the reserve with him, so as he would be utterly incapable to learn anything that might be useful afterwards in opposing the design; whereas, if he sat quiet, and concealed his opinion as much as possible, they, expecting to persuade him to leave his old friends and party, would not be so shy, and he might make discoveries of their designs, and thereby do a singular service to his country; therefore they agreed in advising him neither to protest or dissent, nor do anything that might discover his opinion and design, unless he could find two or three more that would concur and go along with him (which was not to be expected), but to sit silent, making his remarks of everything that passed, and remain with them as long as he could; and then, at last, before signing the result of the treaty, to find out some pretence of absenting himself." Such were the feelings and intentions which he brought to the accomplishment of a transaction which he was chosen for the purpose of furthering, in the most expeditious and most efficient manner; and he relates with pride that he acted up to his instructions, that he acted as a spy on the proceedings of the others, and at least was enabled to interrupt and render more laborious the consummation of a measure which his party was unable to stifle. The archbishop, disdaining to follow a similar course, absented himself from the meetings.

But Lockhart had other and more dangerous duties to perform for his party; he held a commission from the Scottish Jacobites to communicate with the English Tories, and if possible to ascertain how far the latter might be brought to concur in a scheme, projected in Scotland, for the restoration of the son of the abdicated monarch by force. This commission he executed with similar fidelity, but he found the English less zealous than the Scots, and disinclined to any attempt, at least during the lifetime of the queen. All the transactions which might be interesting to the exiled family he faithfully reported to the courts of Versailles and St. Germain, through the instrumentality of an emissary called Captain Straiton, while he submitted his proceedings to the cognizance of his brother Jacobites, whom he aptly termed his constituents. His account of the proceedings of the commissioners is distorted by party colouring beyond the usual allotment of such documents, and one is tempted to ask how a person who saw in every branch of the proceedings something so irredeemably wicked, could have so far compromised his conscience, as to have permitted himself to be chosen as one of those whose duty it was to assist in and further them.

The scheme of a general rising was designed for the purpose of stifling the projected union; but the attempt having failed, the Jacobites were compelled to debate the treaty, clause by clause, in open parliament, where, notwithstanding every artifice for exciting public clamour, it was triumphantly carried. Lockhart, through the whole, was uniform in his opposition—adhered to every protest that was taken against it, and, in more than one instance, entered protests against it in his own name. He also, in conjunction with Cochrane of Kilmarnock, gave fifty guineas to Cunningham of Aiket, for the purpose of forwarding a design of forcibly dispersing the parliament by an army of Cameronians, which he proposed to raise in the western shires, but which, as he alleged, he was prevented from doing by the intrigues of the Duke of Hamilton.

The union having been ratified by the parliaments of both kingdoms, and peaceably carried into effect, the next hope of the Jacobites was the French invasion, which Hooke had negotiated with them during

¹ Annot's *Crim. Tr.* 268-74.

the preceding year, and to which they now looked forward with the most ardent expectation. Of all the partisans of James, perhaps none were more zealous, on this occasion, than the subject of this memoir; but, fortunately for himself, he followed in the train and acted by the advice of the Duke of Hamilton, who, being at the time at his seat in Lancaster, and taken there into custody by a king's messenger, could not meet his Scottish friends at Dumfries, according to agreement, till the defeat of the French fleet rendered any further appearance at that time unnecessary, in consequence of which he himself, as well as his friends, escaped anything like serious prosecution. Mr. Lockhart also, having the powerful influence of his uncle Lord Wharton exerted in his favour, remained unmolested.

The next hope of the Jacobites was in the inclinations of the queen, which, with all her coldness, they naturally expected, and indeed had, if we may believe their own account, and lay much weight on a few accidental circumstances, a well-grounded hope, that they might be extended to her brother and his family; and that they might more effectually influence her counsels, it was resolved that no influence or endeavour should be spared in procuring seats in parliament for the heads of the party. Mr. Lockhart started for the county of Edinburgh, and had sufficient interest to secure his election, though he was obnoxious both to the court and the Presbyterians, to whom he seems to have been always inimical. The first session of the first British parliament did not afford much scope for that species of ingenuity for which Mr. Lockhart has taken so much credit to himself; and by his efforts, joined to those of Mr. Houston younger of Houston, Lag younger of Lag, Duff of Drummure, and Cochrane of Kilmaronock, all unwavering supporters of the same political creed, little or nothing was effected. The next session was almost wholly occupied with the affair of Sacheverel, in whose behalf the Jacobites were joined by those supporters of the house of Hanover who either conceived, or for political purposes alleged, that the church was in danger, while the affairs of Scotland were neglected amidst more exciting discussions. A field was soon, however, to be opened, in which they doubted not shortly to reap a rich harvest.

At the period when a waiting-woman in the queen's bed-chamber was sapping the foundation of the Godolphin and Marlborough administration, that ministry requested leave to dismiss Mrs. Masham, threatening her with an address from the two houses of parliament; to which was to be attached an invitation to Prince George of Hanover. "As such treatment much chagrined the queen against her ministry," says Lockhart, "she was very desirous to secure herself against such attempts, and did avowedly solicit a great many members of both houses of parliament, that they would not consent to a motion to deprive her of the liberty allow'd to the meanest housekeeper in her dominions, viz. that of choosing her own domestic servants."—"And I accordingly," continues the narrator, in a very remarkable passage bearing on one of the most obscure points in British history, "procured an address, in a very high monarchical style, from the barons and freeholders in the county of Edinburgh; and having brought it up with me when I came to parliament, I was introduced by the Duke of Hamilton to present the same; and having read it to her majesty, she seemed very well pleased, gave a gracious return to the address, and then told me, tho' I had almost always opposed her measures, she did not doubt of my affection to her person, and hoped I would not concur in the design

against Mrs. Masham, or for bringing over the Prince of Hanover. At first I was somewhat surprised, but recovering myself, I assured her I should never be accessory to imposing any hardship or affront upon her; and as for the Prince of Hanover, her majesty might judge from the address I had read, that I should not be acceptable to my constituents if I gave my consent for bringing over any of that family, either now or any time hereafter. At this she smiled, and I withdrew; and then she said to the duke, she believed I was an honest man; and the duke replied, he could assure her I liked her majesty and all her father's bairns."¹ The gradual steps towards a delicate and dangerous subject, so naturally laid down in this valuable passage—the hope expressed by the queen that the Jacobite partisan was averse to the removal of the favourite and the introduction of the prince—the surprise of the Jacobite, and his ingenious extension of the request—the queen's smile and remark on his honesty—and, finally, the cautious but bold extension of the insinuations in the kindly rejoinder of the duke, all speak to the authenticity of the scene, and the accurate observation of the narrator. That he may be depended on there is little doubt. The cautious Hallam considers that the *Lockhart Papers* sufficiently prove that the author "and his friends were confident of the queen's inclinations in the last years of her life, though not of her resolution." Nor can a vanity to be esteemed the depository of the secrets of princes be likely to operate on a man whose works are not to be witnessed by his own age. On the whole, the passage may be said almost to prove that the queen's "inclinations" were with her brother; but a "resolution" on either side she appears to have never attained.

The circumstance last mentioned was soon followed by the renowned downfall of Anne's Whig ministry. Strong but ineffectual attempts were made by the Whigs at the elections. Lockhart was violently opposed in Edinburghshire, but carried his election by a great majority; as did Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn for the shire of Stirling, and Sir Alexander Areskine, lord lyon king-at-arms, for the shire of Fife, both thorough-paced Jacobites and violent Episcopalians. The last of these gentlemen, along with Mr. Carnegie of Boysack, Mr. James Moray, second son to the Viscount Stormont, afterwards created by the Pretender Lord Dunbar, and Sir Alexander Cuming of Cantar, joined Mr. Lockhart in a close confederacy, agreeing to mutual support in cordially prosecuting the great objects for which they had come into parliament, viz. the dissolving of the treaty of union, and the breaking up of the Protestant succession. Keeping their agreement as secret as was compatible with its efficacy, and prudently cultivating the friendship of the English Tories, they soon became conspicuous, and were regarded by both sides of the house as men of superior consequence, whose feelings and views it was necessary to consult in all measures regarding Scotland. The first fruit of this confederacy was a breach of the union, committed by the House of Lords, in reversing a sentence of the magistrates of Edinburgh, which shut up the meeting-house of a Mr. Greenshields, the first clergyman who introduced the English liturgy into the service of the Scots Episcopal church. The full harvest was the act of toleration, with the oath of abjuration annexed, to be imposed upon all the ministers of the Scottish church; the act restoring lay patronage; and the act for the observing certain holidays, all of which

¹ *Lockhart Papers*, i. 307.

were prepared by Mr. Lockhart, and by him and his friends forced upon the ministry, contrary to the expressed opinion of the people, and with the avowed purpose of undermining the Presbyterian interest.

At the same time that he was so deeply engaged in forwarding the particular views of himself and his friends, in regard to affairs purely Scottish, Mr. Lockhart was also employed upon the more general business, or what may be called the drudgery, of the house. He was one, and the only Scotsman, who was upon the commission of the house for examining the national accounts, with the view of criminating the ex-Whig ministers; and, as chairman of that commission, gave in a long report, intended to implicate the Duke of Marlborough, a person whose conduct was certainly not pure, while it still affords a pleasing contrast to that of his accusers. The report, however, when it came to be examined, discovered only the headstrong party spirit of its authors, and not much against the accused but the usual political corruption, too characteristic of the period.

The duties of a commissioner upon the national accounts did not, however, by any means absorb the whole attention of the indefatigable Lockhart, for while he devoted himself to the service of the Pretender, he also proposed a bill in parliament to bestow upon curates the bishops' rents, and to resume all grants of church property that had been made to the universities, which he declared to be public nuisances, mere nests of rebellion, which could not be soon enough annihilated. The service to be accomplished in favour of the exiled family by these measures is not very clear, and we are prevented from knowing the effect their proposal would have produced, from his friends declining to adopt them. So high, indeed, was he borne by his zeal, that an order was obtained by his friends from St. Germain's, recommending to him moderate measures, and dissuading him from attempts to openly force the English ministry upon desperate projects, as they were themselves well enough disposed, and were the best judges of the means whereby their good intentions would be carried into effect. This order he dared not disobey, but he owns it was much against his inclination, and takes the liberty of affirming that it injured the Pretender's interest.

On the Duke of Hamilton being appointed ambassador to the court of France, he selected the subject of our memoir to wait privately upon him, and to act according to his orders upon an affair of extraordinary moment which he never explained, but which Lockhart understood to be the Pretender's restoration, and he was just leaving Scotland with the hope of being called to accompany the duke upon that pleasing duty, when he heard that a quarrel betwixt Hamilton and Lord Mohun had brought both these distinguished noblemen to an untimely end. This circumstance he affirms to have been fatal to the hopes of the Pretender, no one having been found capable of conducting so delicate a business till the period when disputes in the cabinet and the death of the queen rendered the case hopeless. But these circumstances did not damp his ardour, or prevent him from impeding the government which he could not overturn. Accordingly, on the attempt to extend the malt-tax to Scotland, in the year 1713, he made a desperate effort, in which he was seconded by the Earls of Mar, Eglington, Ilay, &c., for the dissolution of the union, a project which narrowly failed of success, as we have narrated more at large in the life of John Duke of Argyle. The attempt to assimilate the Scottish to the English militia which followed, he resisted, and,

in his personal friendship, defended the hereditary title of the Duke of Argyle to the lieutenancy of the county of Argyle. His friends, who could not see the advantage of such a measure, were displeased, but his design was to bring over the duke to the interests of the Pretender, of which he was always suspicious the ministry were less careful than of their own. He, however, continued to sit and to act with them, under the strongest assurances from Bolingbroke, that everything he could desire would be done for the Pretender so soon as it was possible to do it with safety, till the prorogation before the death of the queen, when he retired to his residence in the country, and though the same parliament was assembled on the death of the queen, did not attend it, having lost all hope of the Pretender's restoration by other means than arms.

He accordingly began privately to provide horses and arms for himself and his dependants, though from his late conduct he was not trusted by the leaders of the party to the extent that might have been expected. Nothing, indeed, but mere general surmises seem to have reached him till the month of August, 1715, when warrants were already issued out against all who were suspected as favouring the designs of the Earl of Mar, and under one of these warrants he was, early in that month, apprehended at his house of Dryden, and committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. In these circumstances he immediately wrote to the Duke of Argyle, who, in return for his services in regard to the militia bill, procured his enlargement, after he had been fifteen days a prisoner, on his giving bail for 6000 merks. He was no sooner liberated than he waited upon his rebel associates who had not been apprehended; but finding them still disinclined to the communication, he retired to his house at Carnwath, where he secretly and diligently employed his personal influence in the furtherance of the cause, though still unacknowledged by any of the ostensible leaders of the insurrection, and waited till the arrival of the Pretender, or the transit of the Forth by Mar, should give the signal for him and his friends to appear in arms. In the meantime a letter from the Duke of Argyle informed him that his practices were well known to the government, and requiring him forthwith to repair to his house at Dryden. Everything—arms, horses, &c.—were again disposed of in the best manner that could be devised, and he immediately repaired to Dryden, where he negotiated with Kenmore and the southern rebels; his troop of horse, under the command of his brother, Philip Lockhart, being sent to join them at Biggar, he himself staying behind for a few days to arrange some minor concerns. To insure his safety after concluding his transactions with the rebels, he wrote to the lord justice-clerk, requesting to know whether he should remain in Edinburgh or go home to Dryden, and was ordered to choose the latter alternative. Mackintosh, however, having that night crossed the Forth on his march to the south, a party of soldiers was sent out to Dryden, who apprehended Lockhart, and carried him again to the castle; a circumstance which saved both his life and his estate, as well as those of many others who were prepared to set out with him on an expedition that proved desperate—his whole troop being taken at Preston, along with the rest of their companions, and his brother shot as a deserter by order of a court-martial.

Mr. Lockhart suffered a long confinement, but escaped, through the steadiness of his friends, that punishment which was likely to have followed his conduct, and which the government, could they have elicited sufficient evidence, would most willingly

have inflicted; but he was by no means cured of his affection for the exiled family, and before two years had elapsed he was employed as an agent to bring up 6000 bolls of oatmeal, to be given to the King of Sweden as the hire or the reward for his setting the Pretender upon the British throne. Of all the attempts made by the party in its despair this was certainly the most singular; yet he seems to have embarked in it with that ardour which marked his character, and he contrived to obtain from the Earl of Eglinton the offer of 3000 guineas towards its accomplishment. It was soon, however, found to be a project which could not be carried into effect. He narrowly escaped being involved in the affair of Glenshiel, and when the Spanish battalion was brought to Edinburgh, he supplied the commander, Don Nicolas, with what money he wanted till he could be supplied with bills from the Spanish ambassador in Holland, telling him, at the same time, that "it was unkind in him to allow himself to be straitened, when he knew the king, for whose cause he suffered, had so many friends in town that would cheerfully assist him."

In 1718 the Pretender commenced a correspondence with Mr. Lockhart, which continued with little interruption till 1727, when it fell into the hands of the government, by what means has never been fully explained, though most probably it was in consequence of a dispute Mr. Lockhart had got into with the Episcopal college respecting the election of a bishop of the name of Gillon, whose ordination was keenly opposed by a number of the presbyters, who objected to the nomination that had been made of him by the Pretender, as unduly influenced by Lockhart, who for a number of years had been the only channel through which they communicated with their exiled prince. Many meetings were held, and much rancour displayed on the subject, by the enraged presbyters, who threatened the consequences of the rebellion, in which most of the parties were implicated, if the consecration was persisted in. The bitterness of the disputants made it impossible for them to be secret: the whole came before the public, and the government being masters of the channel of communication, the earliest packet transmitted to Lockhart was waited for and sent to London. Orders were immediately sent to seize Strahan, a merchant in Leith to whom the packet had been directed, and, under a strong guard of dragoons, to send him to London. Before setting out, however, he was well instructed how to conduct himself, supplied with money by Lockhart and the Earls of Kincardine and Dundonald, with the assurance that if he behaved with firmness, nothing could be brought legally home to him, while his family in the meantime should be carefully seen to, and he himself would gain honour by the incident. Warrants were at the same time issued for the apprehension of Mr. Lockhart and Mr. Corsar, one of his friends. The latter was apprehended at Glammis, but the former, taking the alarm, effected his escape into Durham, where he remained in the house of a friend till the 8th of April, when he sailed for Dort, where he arrived in safety. He immediately wrote to the Pretender, through Lord Inverness, stating the circumstances into which he had fallen, and that he was waiting his master's commands before finally resolving how to dispose of himself. In the meantime he met Lord North and Grey at Brussels, who had also been under the necessity of leaving his native country for dabbling in the affairs of the Pretender, and was thus far on his way to the court of that personage, where he hoped to be trusted with the management of his affairs, which, in the hands of Colonel Hay and James Murray

(created Lords Inverness and Dunbar), were generally supposed to have fallen into disorder, pressing at the same time that Mr. Lockhart should accompany him, and take charge of the affairs of Scotland, while he attended to those of England. Lockhart, however, would not approach the court of the Pretender without his orders, shrewdly suspecting that James was too fond of the Lady Inverness, who was Lord Dunbar's sister, to part permanently with either of the three. The Lord North and Grey proceeded to his destination, but found, instead of the premiership which he expected, an appointment provided for him in the army of Spain, with which he was obliged to be content. Inverness had been nominally superseded by Sir John Graham, who proposed the most flattering terms to Lockhart; but the former was still first in the Pretender's affection, and, along with Dunbar, held the entire management of his counsels, which were, and had long been, very far from what the latter gentleman wished. By their advice, and in pursuance of his own feelings, the Pretender no sooner heard of the death of George I. than he left Bologna for Lorrain in the greatest haste, intending to put himself at the head of the Highlanders, and with their assistance conquer and secure the throne of the three kingdoms; a similar project to that which his son attempted in the year 1745. A messenger was sent to consult Lockhart, who, astonished at the folly of the proposal, assured the Pretender that it would prove the ruin of himself and all his friends, and would deprive him of the power of ever again renewing the attempt. More wise than his son upon a like occasion he accepted the advice, and returned to Avignon. Lockhart tendered him afterwards some long letters containing very good advices, with which he probably had little hope that he would comply, and learning, in the month of April, 1728, that his friends the Duke of Argyle, Lord Ilay, and Duncan Forbes, then lord-advocate for Scotland, had procured him liberty to return and to live at home unmolested, he embraced the opportunity of doing so, nothing being required of him but his simple promise that he would live in peace. He was, however, required to go by the way of London, and to return thanks personally to George II., who was now in possession of the throne. "This," he says, "did not go well down with me, and was what I would most gladly have avoided; but there was no eviting of it; and as others, whose sincere attachment to the king was never doubted, had often preceded me on such like occasions, I was under the necessity of bowing my knee to Baal, now that I was in the house of Rimmon." Having performed this piece of unwilling submission, he returned to his family in 1728, evidently in despair of furthering the cause in which he had so long exerted himself, and determined to resign all connection with politics. Of his after-history we have been unable to learn more than that he was slain in a duel on December 17, 1731, having entered the fifty-ninth year of his age.

He was married on the 13th of April, 1697, to Euphemia Montgomery, third daughter of Alexander, ninth Earl of Eglinton, by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of William Lord Cochrane, son of the Earl of Dundonald. He had seven sons and eight daughters. His eldest son George, possessing somewhat of the prudent foresight of his father, delivered himself up in the year 1746 to Sir John Cope, the day after the battle of Gladsmuir, and was for a considerable time a prisoner at large in England. His grandson George continued with Charles till after the fatal battle of Culloden, after which he escaped to the Continent, and died an exile at Paris some few months before his father, in the year 1761.

As an author Mr. Lockhart is entitled to very considerable praise. His memoirs concerning the affairs of Scotland, and his commentaries, though neither so clear nor so impartial as could be wished, are yet valuable materials for history, and throw very considerable light both upon the individual characters and transactions of those times. And his register of letters is still more interesting, as giving us not only an account of the proceedings, but the acts themselves, of the Jacobites of the period. His memoirs were surreptitiously published during his lifetime, by a friend to whom he had lent them, and a key to the names (given in the published volume in initials) was afterwards circulated. He left his papers carefully concealed, with instructions to his heir to abstain from publishing them till the year 1750; but the connection of his grandson with the rebellion of 1745 rendering their appearance even then inexpedient, they lay unnoticed, until, at the request of Count Lockhart, they were edited by Mr. Anthony Anfrere in 1817.

We have only to add, that in private life his character seems to have been exceedingly amiable, and he enjoyed in a high degree the respect and affection, notwithstanding the contrariety of their political principles, of the best and wisest public man of his age—Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

LOCKHART, JOHN GIBSON. This distinguished miscellaneous writer, who occupied so high a station in the tribunal of literary criticism, was born at Glasgow, and, as is generally supposed, in the year 1793. His father, the Rev. Dr. John Lockhart, who for nearly fifty years was minister of the College or Blackfriars' Church, Glasgow, will not soon be forgotten by the denizens of that good city, not only on account of his piety and worth, but also his remarkable wit and extreme absence of mind—two qualities which are seldom found united in the same character. The stories with which Glasgow is still rife of the worthy doctor's occasional obliviousness, and the amusing mistakes and blunders it occasioned, are even richer than those of Dominie Samson; for, when he awoke from his dream, he could either laugh with the laughers, or turn the laugh against them if necessary. But his remarkable powers of sarcasm, as well as his creative talents in embellishing an amusing story, were so strictly under the control of religious principle and amiable feeling, that he would often stop short when sensitiveness was likely to be wounded, or the strictness of truth violated. It would have been well if the same powers which were so conspicuous in his talented son had been always kept under the same coercion.

Of this amiable divine John Gibson Lockhart was the second son, and the eldest by a second marriage, his mother having been a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Gibson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. At an early age he prosecuted his studies at the university of Glasgow, and with such success, that he received one of its richest tokens of approval in a Snell exhibition to Baliol College, Oxford. Here he could prosecute, with increased facilities, those classical studies to which he was most addicted; and in a short time he took a high station as an accomplished linguist, even among the students of Oxford. His studies at Baliol College, which were directed to the profession of the law, were followed by a continental tour; and, on returning to Scotland, he was called to the Scottish bar in 1816. It was soon evident, however, that he was not likely to win fame or fortune by the profession of an advocate. He lacked, indeed, that power without which all legal attainments are useless to a barrister—he could not make a speech. Accordingly,

when he rose to speak on a case, his first sentence was only a plunge into the mud; while all that followed was but a struggle to get out of it. Had the matter depended upon writing, we can judge how it would have gone otherwise; had it even depended on pictorial pleading, he would have been the most persuasive of silent orators, for, during the course of a trial, his pen was usually employed, not in taking notes, but sketching caricatures of the proceedings, the drollery of which would have overcome both judge and jury. As it was, he became a briefless barrister, and paced the boards of Parliament House discussing with his equally luckless brethren the passing questions of politics and literary criticism. He made a happy allusion to this strange professional infirmity at a dinner which was given by his friends in Edinburgh, on his departure to assume the charge of the *Quarterly Review*. He attempted to address them, and broke down as usual, but covered his retreat with, "Gentlemen, you know that if I could speak we would not have been here."

In Mr. Lockhart's case it was the less to be regretted that he was not likely to win his way to the honours of a silk gown, as he had already found a more agreeable and equally distinguishing sphere of action. He devoted himself to literature, and literature adopted him for her own. He had already made attempts in periodical writing, and the favour with which his contributions were regarded encouraged his choice and confirmed him in authorship. A more settled course of exertion was opened up for him in 1817, the year after he had passed as advocate, by the establishment of *Blackwood's Magazine*. Of this distinguished periodical he became, with John Wilson, the principal contributor; and now it was that the whole torrent of thought, which the bar may have kept in check, burst forth in full profusion. Eloquence, and wit, and learning distinguished his numerous articles, and imparted a prevailing character to the work which it long after retained; but unfortunately with these attractive qualities there was often mingled a causticity of sarcasm and fierceness of censure that engendered hatred and strife, and at last led to bloodshed. But into this painful topic we have no wish to enter; and the unhappy termination of his quarrel with the author of *Paris Visited* and *Paris Revisited*, may as well be allowed to sleep in oblivion. It is more pleasing to turn to his *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, a wonderful series of eloquent, vigorous, and truthful sketches, embodying the distinguished men, in almost every department, by whom Scotland was at that period distinguished above every other nation. Not a few, at the appearance of this his first separate work, were loud in their outcry against the author, not only as a partial delineator, but an invader of the privacies of life and character; but now that years have elapsed, and that the living men whom he so minutely depicted have passed away from the world, the condemnation has been reversed, and the resentment been superseded by gratitude. How could we otherwise have possessed such a valuable picture-gallery of the great of the past generation? All this Sir Walter Scott fully appreciated when he thus wrote to the author of *Peter's Letters* in 1819:—"What an acquisition it would have been to our general information to have had such a work written, I do not say fifty, but even five-and-twenty years ago; and how much of grave and gay might then have been preserved, as it were, in amber, which have now mouldered away! When I think that, at an age not much younger than yours, I knew Black, Ferguson, Robertson, Erskine, Adam Smith, John Horne, &c. &c., and at last saw Burns, I can appreciate better than any one the value of a

work which, like this, would have handed them down to posterity in their living colours."

It was in May, 1818, that Lockhart first formed that acquaintanceship with Sir Walter Scott which so materially influenced the course of his after-life. The introduction to the "Great Unknown" took place in Edinburgh, at the house of Mr. Home Drummond of Blair-Drummond, where a small but select party was assembled; and Scott, who understood that Mr. Lockhart had but lately returned from a tour in Germany, held with him an amusing conversation on Goethe and German literature. This introduction soon ripened into an intimacy, in which Miss Scott became a principal personage, as a marriage treaty, with the concurrence of all parties, was settled so early as the February of 1820. On the 29th of April the marriage took place at Edinburgh, and Sir Walter, who was the worshipper as well as recorder of good old Scottish fashions, caused the wedding to be held in the evening, and "gave a jolly supper afterwards to all the friends and connections of the young couple." Mr. Lockhart and his bride took up their abode at the little cottage of Chiefswood, about two miles from Abbotsford, which became their usual summer residence—and thither Sir Walter, when inundated by sight-seers and hero-worshippers, was occasionally glad to escape, that he might breathe in a tranquil atmosphere, and write a chapter or two of the novel that might be on hand, to despatch to the craving press in Edinburgh. These were happy visits, that spoke of no coming cloud; "the clatter of Sibyl Grey's hoofs, the yelping of Mustard and Spice, and his own joyous shout of *revellée* under our windows, were the signal that he had burst his toils, and meant for that day to 'take his ease in his inn.' On descending he was to be found seated with all his dogs and ours about him, under a spreading ash that overshadowed half the bank between the cottage and the brook, pointing the edge of his woodman's axe for himself, and listening to Tom Purdie's lecture touching the plantation that most needed thinning." By the year 1837 how completely all this had terminated! In the last volume of the *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Lockhart thus closes the description: "Death has laid a heavy hand upon that circle—as happy a circle, I believe, as ever met. Bright eyes now closed in dust, gay voices for ever silenced, seem to haunt me as I write.

She whom I may now sadly record as, next to Sir Walter himself, the chief ornament and delight at all those simple meetings—she to whose love I owed my own place in them—Scott's eldest daughter, the one of all his children who in countenance, mind, and manners most resembled himself, and who indeed was as like in all things as a gentle innocent woman can ever be to a great man, deeply tried and skilled in the struggles and perplexities of active life—she, too, is no more." In December, 1831, John Hugh Lockhart, the Master Hugh Littlejohn of the *Tales of a Grandfather*, died, and in 1853 Lockhart's only surviving son, Walter Scott Lockhart Scott, leaving no remains of the family except a daughter, Charlotte, married in August, 1847, to James Robert Hope-Stuart, who succeeded to the estate of Abbotsford. In this way the representatives of both Sir Walter Scott and John Lockhart have terminated in Monica, the only surviving child of Hope-Scott of Abbotsford.

Leaving this domestic narrative, so full of happiness, disappointment, and sorrow, we gladly turn to the literary life of John Gibson Lockhart. After the publication of *Peter's Letters*, his pen was in constant operation; and notwithstanding the large circle of-acquaintance to which his marriage introduced

him, and the engagements it entailed upon him, he not only continued his regular supplies to *Blackwood's Magazine*, but produced several separate works, with a fertility that seemed to have caught its inspiration from the example of his father-in-law. The first of these was *Valerius*, one of the most classical tales descriptive of ancient Rome, and the manners of its people, which the English language has as yet embodied. After this came *Adam Blair*, a tale which, in spite of its impossible termination, so opposed to all Scottish canon-law, abounds with the deepest touches of genuine feeling as well as descriptive power. The next was *Reginald Dalton*, a three-volume novel, in which he largely poured forward his reminiscences of student life at Oxford, and the town-and-gown affrays with which it was enlivened. The last of this series of novels was *Matthew Wald*, which fully sustained the high character of its predecessors. It will always happen in the literary world, that when a critical censor and sharp reviewer puts forth a separate work of his own, it will fare like the tub thrown overboard to the tender mercies of the whale: the enemies he has raised, and the wrath he has provoked, have now found their legitimate object, and the stinging censures he has bestowed upon the works of others are sure to recoil with tenfold severity upon his own. And thus it fared with Lockhart's productions; the incognito of their author was easily penetrated, and a thunder-shower of angry criticism followed. But this hostile feeling having lasted its time has died a natural death, and the rising generation, who cannot enter into the feuds of their fathers, regard these writings with a more just appreciation of their excellence. After a short interval Lockhart came forth in a new character, by his translations from the *Spanish Ballads*; and such was the classical taste, melody of versification, and rich command of language which these translations evinced, that the regret was general that he had not been more exclusively a poet, instead of a student and author in miscellaneous literature. His next productions were in the department of biography, in which he gave an earnest of his fitness to be the literary executor and historian of his illustrious father-in-law—these were the *Life of Robert Burns*, which appeared in *Constable's Miscellany*; and the *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, which was published in *Murray's Family Library*.

The varied attainments of Mr. Lockhart, and the distinction he had won in so many different departments of authorship, obtained for him, at the close of 1825, a situation of no ordinary responsibility. This was the editorship of the *Quarterly Review*, the great champion of Toryism, when the political principles of Toryism were no longer in the ascendant, and which were now reduced to a hard battle, as much for life itself as for victory and conquest. It was no ordinary merit that could have won such a ticklish elevation at the age of thirty-two. Lockhart gladly accepted the perilous honour, linked, however, as it was with the alternatives of fame and emolument; and for twenty-eight years he discharged its duties through the good and evil report with which they were accompanied. In his case, as might be expected, the latter prevailed, and the angry complaints of scarified authors were loudly swelled by the outcries of a political party now grown into full strength and activity. With the justice or the unreasonableness of these complaints we have nothing to do; but it speaks highly for the able management of Lockhart, that in spite of such opposition, the *Review* continued to maintain the high literary and intellectual character of its earlier years. During

the latter years of his life his health was greatly impaired; but for this his intellectual exertions, as well as family calamities and bereavements, will sufficiently account. In the summer of 1853 he resigned his editorship of the *Quarterly Review*, and spent the following winter in Italy; but the maladies under which he laboured, although assuaged for a time, came back with double violence after his return home, and he died at Abbotsford, which had become the seat of his son-in-law, on the 25th of November, 1854.

Although not directly enumerated in the list of his authorship, the ablest, the widest known, and probably the most enduring of all Lockhart's productions, will here naturally occur to the mind of the reader. Who, indeed, throughout the whole range of educated society, has failed to peruse his *Life of Scott*, or will forget the impressions it produced? But even here, too, the angry objections with which *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk* was encountered, were revived with tenfold bitterness, and the charges of violated confidence, unnecessary exposure, or vain-glorious adulation, were raised, according to the mood of each dissatisfied complainer. But could a more perfect and complete picture of the whole mind of Sir Walter Scott, in all its greatness and defects, have been better or even otherwise produced?

LOCKHART, SIR WILLIAM, of Lee, an eminent statesman under the protectorate of Cromwell, was the third son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, by Martha, daughter of Douglas of Mordington. He was born in the year 1621, and received the earlier part of his education in Scotland, whence he proceeded to some one of the usual seminaries in Holland. He did not long remain in that country, but after visiting Scotland for a short period, joined the French army as a volunteer, and so far distinguished himself as to attract the attention of the queen-mother, who procured for him a pair of colours.¹ He subsequently accompanied Lord William Hamilton to Scotland, and accepted the appointment of lieutenant-colonel in that nobleman's regiment.

In the course of his military duty he was introduced to Charles I., at his surrender to the Scottish army before Newark. He was on this occasion knighted, and was afterwards employed to negotiate for the safety of the Marquis of Moreton. Having joined in the enterprise of the Duke of Hamilton called the Engagement, he was taken prisoner in the unfortunate action at Preston, and, after remaining a year in custody at Newcastle, regained his liberty at the serious cost (at that period) of £1000. Having attached himself to the house of Hamilton, he necessarily attracted the jealous notice of the rival nobleman Argyle, and on several occasions subsequent to the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland, suffered, through its influence, a degree of contumely from the king, which roused his haughty spirit to exclaim that "No king upon earth should use him in that manner." But while he did not conceive that he should suffer the insults of a king with more patience than those of any other man, his private feeling towards the nominal head of the government did not interfere with his duty to his country, and his services to the cause he had adopted as the best. He remained an officer in Charles' army, and his regiment was distinguished for its services at the battle of Worcester. The cause of monarchy being now suppressed in both ends of the island, he remained for two years in retirement; but weary of keeping in dormancy powers which he was aware might distin-

guish him in the service of the state, he repaired to London, and was welcomed by the Protector, who never permitted a man of Lockhart's powers to remain unwillingly idle. From which side the advances were made appears not to be known; it was probably from that of Lockhart. This step is the more surprising as he had belonged to that party of the Scottish Presbyterians which used to regard monarchy with most respect. On the 18th of May, 1652, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland, and in 1654 the Protector gave him one of his nieces in marriage,² and raised him to the possession of the highest political influence in the land. In 1654 and 1656 he represented the shire of Lanark in Cromwell's parliaments. He was also appointed one of the trustees for disposing of the forfeited estates of the royalists, and a member of the Protector's privy-council for Scotland.

On the 14th December, 1655, he was appointed ambassador from England to Louis XIV.; a duty which, at that dangerous period, when the British government was acknowledged abroad only from its strength, was eminently calculated to bring out the peculiar energies of his mind. He did not proceed on his mission until April, 1656;³ a circumstance which probably accounts for his having sat for Lanark during that year. The character both of the government and its servant quickly secured respect. "He was," says Clarendon, "received with great solemnity, and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the Cardinal Mazarine."⁴ His countryman Burnet, who probably knew him better, says, "He was both a wise and gallant man, calm and virtuous, and one that carried the generousities of friendship very far. He was made governor of Dunkirk and ambassador at the same time. But he told me that when he was sent afterwards ambassador by King Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in Cromwell's time."⁵ He arrived at Dieppe on the 24th of April, and was received with all the civic honours which the town could bestow.⁶ An alliance with France in opposition to Spain, and indeed anything resembling amity towards the former nation, was considered an anomaly in the British constitution, resembling an infraction of the laws of nature, and the measure, although it was boldly undertaken and successfully executed, has met the reprobation of historians, whose simple statement of its impolicy and folly is embraced in the terms, "An alliance between Great Britain and France." But the union was an act of almost diplomatic necessity on the part of the Protector, from the alliance (as it was termed) of Spain with the exiled Charles; and with

² Harding calls the niece "Robina Sewster." Noble thinks the lady whom Lockhart married was probably a daughter of Desborough, because Secretary Thurloe writes to Lockhart, "H. H. (the Protector) do very much rejoice to hear that your lady is in a way of recovery, and so doth General Desborough, and truly no more than yours," &c.—*House of Cromwell*, ii. 256.

The following passage from the same source is perhaps more conclusive:

COLONEL LOCKHART TO SECRETARY THURLOE. "When I had the honour to take leave of you, I had your permission to give you trouble in any business wherein I was concerned; therefore being engaged by articles of agreement with General Desbrowe to make a purchase in England for a settlement to my wife and her children, and the daie being elapsed, by which time I was bound either to make a purchase, or to secure so much money by way of mortgage upon land in England, I am bound to beseech you to move his highness for leave to me for a month to come to London for settling that affair," &c. Edinburgh, December 25th, 1655.—*Thurloe's State Papers*, iv. 342.

³ *Thurloe*, iv. 647, 728.

⁴ Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 76.

⁵ *History*, vii. 180.

⁶ *Thurloe*, iv. 739.

¹ Harding's *Biographical Mirror*, iii. 54.

whatever reluctance the French may have at first looked upon the novelty, Mazarine found himself associated with a government whose assistance was useful, and whose enmity might be dangerous.

From the influence of the clergy alone was any opposition to be dreaded. "I have received," says the ambassador, "many civil messages from persons of honour and good interest; and I fynd also that my being here is much dislyked by others, especially by the assembly of the clergy. And," he continues, in the manner of the period, "I shall make it my endeavour to wait upon God for his directione and protectione, and shall verie little trouble myself with their menaces." But Lockhart found that the French were at least lukewarm in assisting the vast designs of Cromwell, and that they were naturally averse to be the mere auxiliaries of their natural enemies, in subjecting those neighbouring provinces which had often called forth the full power of their armies.

Lockhart accordingly takes many occasions to express the discontent of his energetic temper at the interruptions thrown in his way. Alluding to the cardinal's conduct about the dispute which then divided France, he says, "So soon as I have the opportunity of being at court, I shall endeavour to inform myself as fully as shall be possible for me, of what hath passed in this particular; and if I find that the differences betwixt the cardinal and the prince are in any good way of accommodatione, I shall then persuade myself that the cardinal (whatever pretences he hath had to the contrary) intends a peace with Sayne in good earnest, and hath got over the greatest rub that was in his way: for in his discourses on that businesse, I found that the restoration of the prince stuck more with him than either the re-delivery of towns, or the leaving of his allye the Portugal, to the Spanyard's mercy."¹ And, probably under the irritation of delay, he wrote to Secretary Thurloe in June, saying, "I beg leave to discharge my conscience, by letting you know that I am verie much convinced that his highnesse affairs here doe infinitelie suffer by mismanagement. They doe require the addresse of a hande muche more happie than myne; and therefore shall humbly beg, that you may be pleased to lett his highnesse knowe how much it concerns his interest heare that some other person be employed, whose parts and experience may be more suitable to this trust than myne are."² But Lockhart did not either give up his commission in discontent, or submit to be dallied with. Towards the termination of the year, he says in his despatches, "the audience my last told you I demanded and was promised, hath been defered till this evening, notwithstanding my endeavours to the contrary: and though it lasted from six o'clock at night till ten, yet I cannot say I had much satisfaction in it, for Mons. De Lion was with his eminence all the tyme, and by his presence necessitated my sylence in some particulars, that, if I had had the honour to entertain the cardinal by himself, I durst have ventured upon. Howsoever, finding several particulars, formerly agreed upon, questioned, and others absolutely denied, I was guiltie of the rudenesse to tell his eminence that I did not understand such proceedere in businesse, and was astonished to meet so unexpected changes."³ From remonstrances the ambassador proceeded to threats. It was the determination of the English that Mardyke and Dunkirk should be taken and left in their hands; and in the commencement of the year 1657, "Lockhart," says Clarendon, "made such lively instances with the cardinal,

and complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces that his master knew where to find a more punctual friend, that as soon as they had taken Montmedy and St. Venant, the army marched into Flanders; and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before Mardyke, which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much; and that fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of Reynolds, with an obligation 'that they would besiege Dunkirk the next year, and make it their first attempt.'"⁴

Lockhart's contests for the interests of Britain did not terminate after the capture of Mardyke: he accused the French of purposely leaving the town undefended, that the British might be compelled to raze the fortifications, and gain no advantage from their captures, while they weakened the enemies of France. He urged Turenne to proceed immediately to the siege of Dunkirk, then but ill defended, offering for the service 5000 veterans and 2000 recruits; but he had to wait until June, 1658, ere the design was put in practice. At this celebrated siege Lockhart commanded the British foot, with which he charged and routed those of Spain. "As to the siege of Dunkirk," says Lord Fouconberg, "by the little discourse I have had with the Duke de Creguy, Chevalier Grammont, and others, I find they infinitely esteeme my Lord Lockhart for his courage, care, and enduring the fatigue beyond all men they ever saw. These were their own words."⁵ When the fortifications had yielded to his efforts and those of his illustrious coadjutor Turenne, he found himself still perplexed by the interruptions of the French: that the possession of so important and long-hoped-for an acquisition should be left to foreigners, was humiliating; and whatever respect they paid to Cromwell's government, these might at least indulge the privilege of preventing their assistance from being so ample as it appeared. Almost unassisted, Lockhart was compelled with his small army immediately to put the place in a posture of defence, and complaining that he was "forced to buy the very pallisades of the Fort-Royall, otherwayes the French, notwithstanding any order the king and cardinal can give, would pull them out; and not only burn them, but pull down the earthen works in taking them out."⁶

After the siege Lockhart was visited by commissary Mandossi, a person who, under pretence of paying some debts which the Spanish army had incurred during the siege, acted as an emissary from the Marquis of Caracine, privately to discover the extent to which Lockhart might countenance an immediate treaty as the avenue to a peace; but the conquering general returned polite and haughty answers to the hints laid before him. He was appointed governor of Dunkirk, an office in which he was enabled to distinguish himself for his resolution and consistency; and he was employed as plenipotentiary at the treaty of the Pyrenees. After the accession of Richard Cromwell, and even during the uncertainty of the continuance of a protectoral government in England, Sir William Lockhart so far supported in his own person the influence of the commonwealth, that the interference of the exiled prince was disregarded by both the foreign powers. After the peace he visited England, and met with Monk, whom he found still apparently intent on the continuation of the protectorate. Being thus lulled into security, he returned to his foreign station, which he hardly reached when he heard rumours of the approaching

¹ *Thurloe*, v. 441.² *Ibid.* 120.³ *Ibid.* 574.⁴ *Hist.* vii. 212.⁵ *Thurloe*, vii. 151.⁶ *Ibid.* 173.

restoration of monarchy. When Monk first hinted that his exertions would be at the service of the king, and advised him speedily to quit Spain, lest his person might be seized as a hostage for the restoration of Dunkirk, Charles fled to Breda; and Lockhart might at once have obtained pardon for all offences, and the prospect of high promotion under the new order of things, if he would have acceded to a request (made with many flattering promises) to throw open to him the gates of Dunkirk. But the man who had said he would not be insulted even by a king, answered that "he was trusted by the commonwealth, and could not betray it."¹ "This scruple," says Hume, "though in the present emergence it approaches towards superstition, it is difficult for us entirely to condemn;" but the elegant historian made the observation on the presumption that Lockhart "was nowise averse to the king's service." "Whether this refusal," says Clarendon, "proceeded from the punctuality of his nature (for he was a man of parts and of honour), or from his jealousy for the garrison, that they would not be disposed by him (for though he was exceedingly beloved and obeyed by them, yet they were all Englishmen, and he had none of his own nation, which was the Scottish, but in his own family); certain it is that, at the same time that he refused to treat with the king, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the cardinal, who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him marshal of France, with great appointments of pensions and other emoluments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardyke into the hands of France; all which overtures he rejected: so that his majesty had no place to resort to preferable to Breda."² After the termination of the period of excitement and energy in which he bore so active a part, little of interest remains to be told connected with the events of Lockhart's life. He was of course deprived of the government of Dunkirk, which was bestowed on Sir Edward Harley. Through the intercession of Middleton he was suffered to return to Britain, and was introduced to Charles; he then retired to Scotland, where he buried himself in retirement, and amused himself with teaching his fellow-countrymen the English methods of agriculture; but, driven away by the prevailing anarchy, he preferred a residence with the relations of his wife, in Huntingdonshire. In 1665, when a renewed struggle of the commonwealth's men was expected in Scotland, the busy spirits who had dreamed of rather than concocted the enterprise, looked to the Earl of Cassillis and Lockhart as the individuals who would probably become their leaders; but neither countenancing the advances which were cautiously made, the project fell for a period. In 1671 he was brought to court by Lauderdale, and he showed no disinclination to be employed, "not so much," says Burnet, "out of ambition to rise, as from a desire to be safe, and to be no longer looked on as an enemy to the court." But Charles seems to have considered him as one of his "natural" enemies, "for when a foreign minister," continues Burnet, "asked the king leave to treat with him in his master's name, the king consented, but with this severe reflection, that he believed he would be true to anybody but himself." "He was sent," continues the same authority, "to the courts of Brandenburg and Lunenburg, either to draw them into the alliance, or, if that could not be done, at least to secure them from all apprehensions. But in this he had no success. And indeed when he saw into what a negotiation he was engaged, he became very uneasy.

For though the blackest part of the secret was not trusted to him, as appeared to me by the instructions which I read after his death, yet he saw whither things were going; and that affected him so deeply, that it was believed to have contributed not a little to the languishing he soon fell into, which ended in his death two years after." This event took place on the 20th March, 1675, a year after the death of his father. Noble has told us that his death was attributed to the alternate causes of "a poisoned glove," and disgust at the machinations betwixt Charles and Louis, of which he had been the unconscious instrument. "I have ever looked on him," says Burnet, "as the greatest man that his country produced in this age, next to Sir Robert Murray."

LOGAN, GEORGE, chiefly celebrated as the controversial opponent of Ruddiman, was born in the year 1678, and is supposed to have been the son of George Logan, a descendant of the family of Logan of Logan in Ayrshire, who married Miss Cunningham, a daughter of the clergyman of Old Cumnock, and sister to Mr. Alexander Cunningham, professor of civil law in the university of Edinburgh towards the latter end of the eighteenth century.³ George Logan was educated at the university of Glasgow, of which he entered the Greek class in 1693, and became a Master of Arts in 1696. Being destined for the church, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Glasgow about the year 1702, and on the 7th of April, 1707, he was ordained a minister by the same presbytery, in pursuance of a popular call to the parish of Lauder, the ministry of which he obtained in preference to two other candidates, Mr. Stephen Oliver and Mr. George Hall. He remained at Lauder until the 22d January, 1719, when, in consequence of another call, which was unanimous on the part of the parishioners, he was appointed to the ministry of Sprouston, in the presbytery of Kelso. A second time inducements were held forth, which prompted him to change his sphere of duty, and on the 22d January, 1722, he was inducted as minister of Dunbar. Here he married his first wife, the sister of Sir Alexander Home of Eccles in the Merse, a lady who left him a son and daughter, both of whom survived him. His ministry appears to have secured much popularity, for advancement was again held forth to him; and on the 14th December, 1732, he was admitted one of the ministers of Edinburgh. He whose fame and fortune had been so much advanced by the popular voice, now published a treatise *On the Right of Electing Ministers*, and it may safely be presumed that the liberal opinions thus commenced, and continued through the rest of his life, were at least fostered by the influence which the exercise of a popular right had produced on his own fortune. It is probable that this tract was published just before his appointment to the charge in Edinburgh, being dated in the same year. When the act for bringing to punishment those connected with the Porteous mob, in 1736, was ordered to be read in all the churches, on the last Sunday of every month during a year, "all the ministers," says Mr. Chalmers, rather enigmatically, "did not think with Logan that the will of the legislature ought, on this occasion, to be obeyed. And he was carried, by the activity of his temper, into a contest, in 1737, with the Rev. Dr. Alexander Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, on the propriety of refusing obedience to an act of parliament, in a point wherein it is not easy to perceive how either conscience or religion could be concerned." On the 8th of May, 1740,

¹ Burnet, i. 66.² Clarendon, *ut sup.*³ Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*, 170.

Logan was appointed moderator of the General Assembly. During the occupation of Edinburgh by the Highlanders, in 1745, Logan, in common with most of the other ministers of Edinburgh, thought it prudent to secure his personal safety by quitting the town. His house being near the weigh-house, where the Highlanders had a guard to prevent communication between the city and castle, was occupied by them as a guard-house. After their retirement he inserted in the newspapers an advertisement for the recovery of some articles abstracted by his late guests, a document containing more satire upon the Tory party than his political pamphlets. His controversy with Ruddiman originated in the edition of Buchanan's works edited by that eminent scholar in 1715. He had become a member of a society of critics, whose ostensible purpose was to rescue the memory of Buchanan from the prejudicial opinions of his editor, but whose labours, though they appear to have reached a considerable extent of matter, were never published. In 1746 Logan published "*A Treatise on Government*;" showing that the Right of the Kings of Scotland to the Crown was not strictly and absolutely Hereditary;" and in 1747 he subjoined "*A Second Treatise on Government*;" showing that the Right to the Crown of Scotland was not Hereditary in the sense of Jacobites." The first answer he received was in an anonymous letter, written in a spirit of airy ridicule, and in July, 1747, appeared the graver discussion of the grounds of his opinions by Ruddiman. Logan, in company with many men who have supported liberal and enlightened political sentiments, had the misfortune to be more anxious to establish them on historical precedent than on their native merits, and the history of Scotland was peculiarly barren in ascertained facts for such a purpose. His principles appear to have been somewhat akin to those of Grotius, which admitted nothing in hereditary right but a continuation to the descendants of the permission given to their ancestor to govern. To show that the crown of Scotland did not descend though the Stewarts in a pure legitimate stream, he discussed the well-known subject of the legitimacy of Robert III., and the question, certainly at one time debatable, whether the Pretender was or was not the son of James II. The former of these points has now been pretty satisfactorily established by the labours of Innes, Hay, Stewart, and Ruddiman, and the latter is no longer a matter of doubt. But Logan is accused of having gone to other and more frail sources; a fabulous list of kings had been added to the number of the tenants of the Scottish throne by Boece and the other early chroniclers. Buchanan, if he did not know the list to be fabricated, knew the circumstances of the lives of these persons to rest on so unstable a foundation, that he found himself enabled to twist their characters to his theories. On the events connected with the reigns of these persons, Logan likewise comments; but after having done so, turning to the writings of Innes and Stillingfleet, he remarked—"But I shall be so good as to yield it to Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and Innes; but then let our Scottish Jacobites and the young Chevalier give over their boasting of hereditary succession by a longer race of kings in Scotland than in any kingdom in the known world."¹ Ruddiman employed his usual labour in clearing the questions about Robert III. and the birth of the Pretender; but in another point—the wish to prove that Robert the Bruce was a nearer heir to the Scottish crown by feudal usages than John Baliol—he failed. Chalmers, who can see neither talent nor honesty

in Logan, and no defect in Ruddiman, observes, that "it required not, indeed, the vigour of Ruddiman to overthrow the weakness of Logan, who laid the foundations of the government which he affected either on the wild fables of Boece, or on the more despicable fallacies of Buchanan;" but the fables, which were satirically noticed by Logan, were subjects of serious consideration to the grave critic. Ruddiman brings against his opponent the charge, frequently made on such occasions, of "despising dominions, speaking evil of dignities, and throwing out railing accusations against kings, though the archangel Michael durst not bring one against the devil himself, whom our author, I hope, will allow to be worse than the worst of our kings."² This was, at least, in some degree complimentary to Logan, and the critic, proceeding, tries to preserve for the ancestors of Charles II. both their length of line and their virtues, and is anxious to show that, at least, such as cannot be easily saved from the censures of Buchanan and Logan, were not lineal ancestors of the great Charles II. In point of philosophy, Ruddiman's work cannot well be compared with the several pamphlets of Logan, although even the arguments of the latter against divine right would now be considered too serious and uncalled for by any power of defence. The different pamphlets will be found accurately enumerated in Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*. Logan was the more restless and determined of the two, and continued his attacks until 1749, when both had reached a period of life fitted for more peaceful pursuits. Logan died at Edinburgh on the 13th of October, 1755, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

LOGAN, JOHN, a poet and sermon writer of no mean eminence, was born in the year 1748, at Soutra, in the parish of Fala, in the county of Mid-Lothian, being the son of George Logan, a small farmer at that place of the Dissenting persuasion. He received the elements of learning at the school of Gosford, in East-Lothian, to which parish his father removed during his childhood. Being the younger of two sons, he was early destined to the clerical profession, according to a custom not yet abrogated in families of the humbler rank in Scotland. At the university of Edinburgh he formed an acquaintance with the unfortunate Michael Bruce, and also with Dr. Robertson, afterwards minister of Dalmeny, and known as author of a life of Mary Queen of Scots. In the society of the former individual he cultivated poetical reading and composition, being fondest, as might be supposed from the character of his own efforts, of the writings of Spenser, Collins, Akenside, and Gray, the three last of whom bear so honourable a distinction from the cold and epigrammatic manner of their contemporaries. During one of the recesses of the college, while residing in the country, he became known to Patrick Lord Elibank, who, with his usual enthusiasm in favour of genius of every kind, warmly patronized him.

On completing his education Logan was received as tutor into the house of Mr. Sinclair of Ulbster, and thus became preceptor of Sir John Sinclair, author of the *Code of Agriculture*. He did not long retain this situation, in which he was succeeded by his friend Robertson. In 1770 he superintended the publication of the first edition of the poems of Bruce, who had died three years before. The volume professedly contained a few supplementary pieces by other writers, and of these Logan was himself the principal author. The best of his con-

¹ *First Treatise*, 30.

² *Ruddiman's Answer*, 27.

tributions was the "Ode to the Cuckoo," which, notwithstanding the obvious fault of a want of connection between the various parts of various stanzas, is still one of the most popular poems in the language.

In 1773 Logan was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Edinburgh, thus joining the ranks of the Established instead of the Dissenting church. He soon became known as an eloquent and affecting preacher, and in the same year was called by the kirk-session and incorporations of South Leith to be their minister; a situation always considered as one of the most honourable in the Church of Scotland, and which had just been vacated by another man of genius, Dr. Henry Hunter, whose life has been given in the present work. Here he continued to cultivate literature with devoted ardour, though it was not till 1781 that he thought proper to publish any poetry under his own name. Among the studies of Dr. Logan, history was one of those in which he most delighted. In the winter of 1779 he delivered a course of lectures on the "Philosophy of History," in St. Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh, under the countenance and approbation of Drs. Robertson, Blair, Ferguson, and other eminent persons connected with the university. So successful was he in these exhibitions, that on the chair of universal history becoming vacant in 1780, he would unquestionably have obtained it, if he had possessed the incidental qualification of being a member of the Scottish bar. In the succeeding year he published an analysis of his lectures, so far as they related to ancient history, under the title of *Elements of the Philosophy of History*, which was followed by one of the lectures *On the Manners and Government of Asia*. His poems, published in 1781, attracted so much attention, that a second edition was called for next year. In this collection he reprinted several of the pieces which he had formerly given to the world along with those of Michael Bruce. A painful charge rests against his memory regarding the real authorship of some of those pieces, and also respecting the use he made of a copious manuscript of Bruce's poetry intrusted to him after the publication of the first volume. Into this controversy, which is fully stated in Anderson's edition of the *British Poets*, we deem it unnecessary to enter; but we can state, as a fact not formerly known to the biographers of Logan, that he asserted his innocence in a very decided manner, after his removal to London, by ordering an Edinburgh agent to take out an interdict against an edition of Bruce's *Poems*, in which several of his own pieces had been appropriated, under the supposition of their belonging to that poet.

Undeterred by the fate of Home, Logan produced a tragedy in 1783. It was entitled *Runnimede*, and aimed at combining the history of Magna Charta with a love-story said to be expressly borrowed from the *Tancrède* of Voltaire. *Runnimede* was rehearsed by Mr. Harris at Covent Garden Theatre, but prevented from being acted by an order from the chamberlain, who, in the recent feeling of the American war of independence, took alarm at several of the breathings in favour of liberty. Logan then printed it, and had it acted in the Edinburgh theatre; but in neither form did it meet with decided success. This, with other disappointments, preyed upon the spirits of the poet, and he now betook himself to the most vulgar and fatal means of neutralizing grief. It is to be always kept in mind that his father had died in a state of insanity, the consequence of depressed spirits. Hence it is to be presumed that the aberrations of the unhappy poet had some palliative in constitutional tendencies. From whatever source

they arose, it was soon found necessary that he should resign the charge of the populous parish with which he had been intrusted.¹ An agreement to this purpose was completed between him and the kirk-session in 1786, and he retired with a certain modicum of the stipend, while Mr. Dickson was appointed his assistant and successor.

In the autumn of the preceding year Logan had proceeded to London, apparently with the design of devoting himself entirely to literature. He was engaged in the management of the *English Review*, and compiled a view of ancient history, which passed under the name of Dr. Rutherford. In 1788 he published an anonymous pamphlet, entitled *A Review of the Principal Charges against Mr. Hastings*; which, being construed into a breach of the privileges of the House of Commons, caused a prosecution of the publisher Stockdale, who, however, was acquitted. This was the last production he gave to the world. After a lingering indisposition he died in London, December 28, 1788, about forty years of age.

Dr. Logan destined legacies to the amount of £600 to certain of his friends and relations, to be realized out of his books and manuscripts. The latter consisted of sermons, miscellaneous prose pieces, lectures, and a few small lyrical poems. In 1790 the first volume of the sermons was published, under the superintendence of Drs. Robertson, Hardy, and Blair. The second volume appeared in the following year; and, before the end of 1793, both volumes had undergone a second impression. None of his other posthumous works have been published.

Except in the latter part of his life, when rendered irritable and sottish by the results of his constitutional temperament, Dr. Logan is allowed to have been a man of the most amiable character, full of refined sensibility, and free from all mean vices. Of his poetry, which has been several times reprinted in the mass, it is no small praise to say that it advances before the age in which it was written, having more of the free natural graces which characterize modern verse, than the productions of most of his contemporaries. It is also characterized in many instances by singularly happy expressions, as it is in general by extreme sweetness of versification. His "Ode to the Cuckoo" and his hymns are the pieces which may be expected to last longest. A selection from the latter, omitting portions of some of those chosen, was embodied in the volume of paraphrases sanctioned by the Church of Scotland as an addition to the psalmody. "The sermons of Logan," says his earliest biographer, Dr. Anderson, "though not so exquisitely polished as those of Blair, possess in a higher degree the animated and passionate expression of Massillon and Atterbury. His composition is everywhere excellent—its leading characteristics being strength, elegance, and simplicity. The formation of his sentences appears the most inartificial; though, at the same time, it will be found strictly correct. But the manner, amidst all its beauties, is, on the first perusal, lost in the enjoyment the reader feels from the sentiment. Devotional and solemn subjects peculiarly accord with his feelings and genius. In exhibiting deep and solemn views of human life, his sentiments are bold and varied, and

¹ An aged parishioner of Dr. Logan mentioned to a friend of the editor of this work, that he was present in church one day, when the conduct of the reverend gentleman was such as to induce an old man to go up, and, in no very respectful language, call upon the minister to descend from the pulpit which he disgraced. Such an anecdote, if read immediately after perusing one of the elegant discourses of Logan, would form a singular illustration of the propinquity which sometimes exists between the pure and impure, the lofty and the degraded, in human character.

his imagination teems with the most soothing and elevated figures. . . . It appears to have been no part of his plan to seek out for new subjects of preaching, or to exert his ingenuity in exhibiting new views of moral and religious topics. To embellish the most common subjects, which are certainly the most proper and useful, with new ornaments—to persuade by more forcible and captivating illustration—to unite the beauties of elegant diction and the splendour of fine imagery—in this lay his chief exertions, and here rests his chief praise.”

LOTHIAN, DR. WILLIAM, F.R.S.E., author of a *History of the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, was born at Edinburgh in 1740, being the son of Mr. George Lothian, a respectable surgeon in that city. Having passed through the various stages of his education with some éclat, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel in 1762, and appointed in 1764 one of the ministers of the Canongate. As a preacher his method of instruction was simple and perspicuous, his sentiments rational and manly, and his manner unaffected and persuasive. For many years before his death he was afflicted with a very painful disease; yet he not only performed his professional duties with unabated zeal, but found energy and spirit to compose the work above-mentioned, which appeared in 1780. Previously to this publication he had been honoured by the Edinburgh university with the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He died December 17, 1783, having only completed the forty-third year of his age. Two sermons by him are published in the *Scotch Preacher*, 4 vols. 12mo, 1776. For a more copious notice of this respectable divine, reference may be made to the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*.

LOUDON, JOHN CLAUDIUS. This eminent improver of our gardening and agriculture was born at Cambuslang, Lanarkshire, on the 8th of April, 1783. His father was a respectable farmer, who resided at Kerse Hall, near Gogar, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh: his mother was only sister of the mother of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, so well known by his philanthropic labours in behalf of the Hindoos, and his work entitled *Christian Researches in Asia*. Even when a child, John Claudius Loudon evinced that taste in gardening for which he was afterwards so distinguished; and his chief pleasure at that time was to lay out and make walks and beds in a little garden which his father had given him. He was early sent to Edinburgh for the benefit of his education, where he resided with his uncle; and besides studying botany and chemistry, he learned Latin, and afterwards French and Italian, contriving to pay the fees of his teachers by the sale of his translations from the two last-mentioned languages. Being placed at the age of fourteen under the charge of a nurseryman and landscape-gardener, he continued his studies in botany and chemistry, to which he added that of agriculture, at the university of Edinburgh; while, to obtain as much time as possible from the duties of the day, he was wont to sit up two nights during each week, a practice that grew into a habit, and which he continued for years during his subsequent studies.

In 1803, when he had now reached his twentieth year, and obtained a considerable reputation in landscape-gardening, Loudon went up to London, carrying with him numerous letters of introduction to some of the first landed proprietors in England. On entering the great metropolis the tasteless manner in which the public squares were laid out caught his observant eye: their gloomy trees and shrubs were

planted as if the places had been designed for churchyards rather than haunts of recreation. As the solitary voice of a stranger would have been unheard upon such a prevalent evil, he had recourse to the press, and published an article, entitled “Observations on Laying out the Public Squares of London,” in the *Literary Journal*, in which he recommended the oriental plane, almond, sycamore, and other lighter trees, instead of the lugubrious plantings that had hitherto been in vogue. The advice gradually prevailed, and the effect is to be seen in the cheerful, graceful aspect of our public squares in London, as well as over the kingdom. He now became an author as well as practical workman, and his pen went onward with little intermission for forty years, until his life terminated. His first publication, which appeared in 1804, was entitled *Observations on the Form, Situation, and Management of Urban and Suburban Plantations*. In the following year he published *A Short Treatise on the Management of Hot-houses*; and in 1806 “*A Treatise on Forming, Improving, and Managing Country Residences*; and on the Choice of Situations appropriate to every Class of Purchasers.” As Loudon was an excellent artist, this work was enriched with thirty-two copperplate engravings of landscape scenery, drawn by himself.

A disaster which soon after befell him, and under which the activity of others would have been paralyzed, only opened up for Loudon a wider range of action. In consequence of travelling upon a rainy night on the outside of a coach, and neglecting afterwards to change his clothes, so severe an attack of rheumatic fever ensued that he was obliged to take lodgings at Pinner, near Harrow. Here, during the days of convalescence, he had an opportunity of observing the cumbrous, wasteful, and unskilful modes of farming pursued in England, and so much at variance with those which were beginning to be put in practice in his own country. With Loudon to see an evil was to labour for its removal, and persist until it was removed. For the sake of giving practical illustrations of his proposed amendments, he induced his father to join with him in renting Wood Hall, near London, where their operations were so successful, that in 1807 he was enabled to call public attention to the proof, in a pamphlet entitled “*An Immediate and Effectual Mode of Raising the Rental of the Landed Property of England, &c.*,” by a Scotch Farmer, now farming in Middlesex.” This excellent work introduced him to the notice of General Stratton, by whom he was induced to farm Tew Park, a property belonging to the general in Oxfordshire. On moving to this new locality Mr. Loudon did not content himself with reaping the fruits of his superior farming; anxious that others should share in the benefit, he established an academy or college of agriculture on the estate of Tew Park, where young men were instructed in the theory of farming and the best modes of cultivating the soil; and, anxious to diffuse this knowledge as widely as possible, he published, in 1809, a pamphlet, entitled “*The Utility of Agricultural Knowledge to the Sons of the Landed Proprietors of Great Britain, &c.*,” by a Scotch Farmer and Land-agent.”

In this way, while Loudon was generously doing his uttermost to be the Triptolemus of England, and teaching the best modes of increasing and eliciting the riches of its soil, his own success was a practical comment upon the efficacy of his theories; for, in 1812, he found himself the comfortable possessor of £15,000. This was enough for one who had a higher aim in life than mere money-making, and to fit himself more effectually for that aim, he resolved

to improve his mind by travel. Accordingly, he resigned his profitable farm, and in March, 1813, commenced his travels on the Continent, visiting the principal cities of Germany and Russia. Short though this tour was, for he returned to England in the following year, it was associated with a variety of interesting adventures, of which he published a full account, illustrated by sketches from his own pencil. On returning to London he found that the greater part of his property had disappeared, from the faithlessness of the investments to which it had been intrusted, and thus he had to begin the world anew. He returned to his original occupation, that of landscape-gardening, on which he resolved to produce an extensive work; and for the improvement of his knowledge on this subject he made, in 1819, a tour of France and Italy. Three years after the work appeared, under the title of the *Encyclopædia of Gardening*; and such was the high reputation it acquired, that its author was reckoned the first horticulturist of his day. Of this work a second edition appeared in 1824, containing great alterations and improvements. Encouraged by the success that attended it, Loudon commenced another equally copious, and upon the same plan, which appeared in 1825, entitled the *Encyclopædia of Agriculture*. In 1826 he commenced the *Gardener's Magazine*, the first periodical that had ever been devoted to horticultural subjects. In 1828 he commenced the *Magazine of Natural History*, which was also the first periodical of the kind. In 1829 he published the *Encyclopædia of Plants*, which was less his own work than any of its predecessors, as he claimed nothing of it beyond the plan and general design. During the two years that followed he was chiefly employed in producing new editions of his *Encyclopædias of Agriculture and Gardening*, and of these, the first was almost wholly re-written, and the latter entirely so. But these occupations, although so laborious, were not his sole nor even his chief task at the time, for he was also closely engaged with the *Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture*—so closely, indeed, that himself and Mrs. Loudon used to sit up the greater part of every night employed upon it, never having more than four hours' sleep, and drinking strong coffee to keep themselves awake. It would have been hard, indeed, had such labour been in vain; and therefore it is gratifying to add, that this was not only one of the most useful, but also most successful, of all his works, and is still a standard authority upon the subject. His next, and also his greatest work, which would of itself have been sufficient for any ordinary lifetime, was his *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, in which he gave an account, with pictorial illustrations, of all the trees, wild or cultivated, that grow in Great Britain. This production, which was published in 1838, at his own risk, was so unsuccessful, that after paying artists and other persons engaged in it, he found himself in debt to the amount of £10,000 to the printer, stationer, and wood-engraver, while the sale of such a splendid publication was so slow, that there was no prospect that it would ever pay its own expenses.

Up to this period Loudon had been one of the most prolific of authors, while all that he had written he had written well. Nothing, indeed, could exceed his indomitable resolution, unless it might be the philanthropic spirit by which it was animated. Independently of the subjects which we have enumerated, he wrote several minor productions, supplemented his own works from time to time, and was a contributor to Brande's *Dictionary of Science*. Even, also, while the pressure of these numerous avocations was at the greatest, he was discharging

the office of editor to four separate periodicals, all of them established by himself, and which he superintended at one and the same time. All this suggests the idea of a frame of iron and a constitution impervious to human weaknesses and wants, as well as the most unflinching energy of purpose. But our wonder is heightened when we find that, during the greater part of these labours, poor Loudon was an invalid and a cripple. The rheumatic fever with which he was attacked in 1806 ended in an ankylosed knee, and a contracted left arm. Thus he continued till 1820, when, while employed in compiling the *Encyclopædia of Gardening*, he had another severe attack of rheumatism, that compelled him to have recourse in the following year to Mohammed's Baths at Brighton. Here he submitted to the rough process of shampooing; but this remedy, so available in many cases like his own, was too much for his feeble bones: his arm broke so close to the shoulder, that it could not be set in the usual manner; and in a subsequent trial, it was again broken, and this time so effectually, that in 1826 amputation was found necessary. But a general breaking up of the system had also been going on, by which the thumb and two fingers of the left hand had been rendered useless, so that he could only use the third and little finger. Yet though thus so maimed and mutilated as apparently to be unfit for anything but the sick-chamber or a death-bed, the whole energy of life seemed to rally round his heart, and he was as ready for fresh encounters as ever, so that his work went on unchecked and unabated; and when he could no longer write or draw, he had recourse to the services of the draughtsman and amanuensis.

We have already mentioned the ill success of Loudon's *Arboretum Britannicum*. This was the heaviest blow of all, and tended to accelerate the disease that terminated in his death; but still, come what might, he resolved that to the last he would be up and doing. Accordingly, as soon as the above-mentioned work was finished, in 1838, he began the *Suburban Gardener*, which was published the same year, and also his *Hortus Lignosus Londonensis*; and in the year following he published his edition of *Repton's Landscape Gardening*. In 1840 he undertook the editorship of the *Gardener's Gazette*, and in 1842 he published his *Encyclopædia of Trees and Shrubs*. During the same year he finished his *Suburban Horticulturalist*; and in 1843 appeared his last work, on *Cemeteries*. Disease in the lungs had been meanwhile going on for three months, from which he endured much suffering, until his life and labours were terminated together on the 14th of December, 1843, in the sixty-first year of his age. Few men have written so much under such depressing circumstances as John Claudius Loudon, or whose writings were so well adapted to the purpose for which they were produced; and while their practical character and utility have been universally acknowledged, they are pervaded throughout with an earnest desire to improve the character and elevate the standing of those classes whose occupations are connected with gardening and agriculture. Add to this that "he was a warm friend, and most kind and affectionate in all his relations of son, husband, father, and brother, and never hesitated to sacrifice pecuniary considerations to what he considered his duty."

We have already made a passing allusion in this memoir to Mrs. Loudon, by whose aid he was materially benefited when aid was most needed. To her he was married in 1831, and in her he found a fellow-student and literary co-operator, as well as a domestic companion and comforter. Her works,

which also were numerous, were chiefly connected with her husband's favourite departments of gardening and botany; and these she endeavoured to simplify and recommend to the attention of her own sex, a labour of love in which she was highly successful. She and one daughter survived Mr. Loudon, of whom she has written an affectionate and truthful biography.

LOVAT, LORD. See FRASER (SIMON).

LOVE, JOHN, a controversial critic of celebrity, was born at Dumbarton in 1695.¹ He was the son of John Love, a bookseller, who, as Chalmers indisputably remarks, "like greater dealers in greater towns, supplied his customers with such books as their taste required." The son was educated at the grammar-school of Dumbarton and the university of Glasgow. Having finished his studies, he became assistant or usher to his old master Mr. David M'Alpine, and in 1720 succeeded him in his humble duty. On the 17th October, 1721, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Archibald Campbell, a surgeon of Glasgow, who had been one of the bailies of that city. By her he had thirteen children, two of whom, a clergyman and an officer in the navy, were alive when Chalmers wrote his *Life of Ruddiman*. In 1733 Mr. Love entered the field of controversy by publishing *Animadversions on the Latin Grammar lately published by Mr. Robert Trotter, Schoolmaster of Dumfries*, a production chiefly designed for the purpose of defending Ruddiman, whose grammar had been reflected on by Trotter. "Like Ruddiman," says Chalmers very aptly, "Love seems to have been delighted in marriage, or like him, to have been driven to connubial connections by his scholastic business, which required female superintendence." Accordingly, in pursuance of the disposition so aptly associated with his name, he married in 1741, for his second wife, Giles, the youngest daughter of the Rev. Mr. James Elphinston, minister of Dalkeith, who had died in 1710. Love was subjected, it would appear, at one period of his life to a species of religious prosecution, on an accusation of brewing on Sunday, preferred before the church judicatories by Mr. Sydesr, minister of Dumbarton. It was a fearful charge in Sabbath-loving Scotland, where abstinence from all work on the first day of the week was so scrupulously observed; and had it been substantiated, Love would not only have lost his situation, but also his respectability in society. But the evil recoiled upon the head of his over-zealous accuser, and the minister, says Chalmers, "after a judicial trial, was obliged to make a public apology, for having maliciously accused calumniated innocence." In October, 1735, he was appointed one of the masters of the high-school of Edinburgh; and in 1737, with the assistance of Ruddiman and Robert Hunter, he edited a very handsome edition of the translation of the Psalms of Buchanan, which attracted the notice of the Duke of Buccleuch, and obtained for the editor in 1739 the rectorship of the grammar-school of Dalkeith—a situation which has for a long period been deemed of considerable importance, and very ably filled, but which would not now be considered an advancement from that which Love previously enjoyed. In the following year he engaged in the controversy about the respective merits of Johnston and Buchanan as translators of the Psalms, known by the name of *Bellum Grammaticale*, and already referred to in our memoir of ARTHUR JOHNSTON. He was of course the supporter of the work he had edited. "The conquests which

Love had made over Trotter and Lauder," says Chalmers, "probably gave him a fondness for controversy." In 1749 he published *A Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan*, a work levelled at the imputations of Camden on the one part, and the reflections of Ruddiman, his former friend, on the other. It says much for the candour of Love that Chalmers allows him to have been actuated by "honest zeal." The chief subject of discussion was the alleged penitence of Buchanan on his death-bed on account of his attacks on the character of Queen Mary. In July, 1749, in his old age, Ruddiman published an answer, termed *Animadversions on a Late Pamphlet entitled A Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan*. The venerable grammarian survived his opponent, who died on the 20th September, 1750, at the age of fifty-five. Chalmers admits that "he was certainly an eminent scholar, an excellent teacher, and a good man."

LOVE, REV. JOHN, D.D. This profound theologian and eloquent preacher, was born in Paisley, on June 4th, 1757. When only ten years of age he became a student of the university of Glasgow; and during the long career of study which he prosecuted at that ancient seat of learning, he distinguished himself by his classical attainments, and his proficiency in the several departments of mathematics. These studies he continued to the end of his life; and there are several yet living who can remember his happy facility in the quotation of Greek and Roman authors upon any subject of conversational intercourse. With the contents of Scripture, however, which formed his chief study, he was more conversant still; and even before he was twelve years old he had read the Bible, according to his own statement, six times over. A favourite practice, which he continued to the end of his life, was to write short daily meditations, in a regular series, upon connected passages of Scripture. These, as well as his sermons, were written in short-hand, and therefore unintelligible, until the key to his alphabet was found; and from this discovery several of his posthumous discourses were published, which otherwise would never have seen the light.

Having finished the appointed course of study at college, and undergone the usual trials of presbytery, Mr. Love was licensed as a preacher in 1778, being then only in his twenty-first year. Soon afterwards he was employed as assistant by the Rev. Mr. Maxwell, minister of Rutherglen, near Glasgow; in 1782 he was transferred to Greenock, where he officiated in the same capacity to the Rev. David Turner, minister of the west or old parish; and here he continued till the death of Mr. Turner in 1786. It will thus be seen that while Mr. Love had no church patron, or at least an efficient one, he had not that kind of popular talent which secures the greatest number of votes among town-councillors or seat-holders. His indeed was that superior excellence which can only be appreciated by the judicious few, and in consequence of a considerable acquaintance. After leaving Greenock, Mr. Love, toward the close of 1786, was called to the ministerial charge of the Scottish Presbyterian congregation in Artillery Street, Bishopsgate, London, and here he continued to labour for nearly twelve years. It was indeed no inviting field for one of his peculiar talents. His massive and profound theology—his sententious style of preaching, in which every sentence was an aphorism—and the very impressive but slow and almost monotonous voice in which his discourses were delivered—were not suited to the church-going citizens of London, who required a livelier manner and more buoyant style of oratory. From these causes, added

¹ Chalmers's *Autobiography*, i. 5.

to the ignorance of the English about Presbyterianism in general, and the tendency of the Scotch in London to forsake the church of their fathers, Mr. Love's place of meeting was but slenderly attended, while his name as a preacher was little known beyond its walls. One important work, however, was committed to the hands of Mr. Love, from which, perhaps, more real usefulness redounded than could have been derived from mere pulpit popularity. He was one of those honoured men who rolled away the reproach from Protestantism, as not being a missionary, and therefore not a genuine, church of Christ—a serious charge that had often been brought against it by the Papists—by his exertions and effective aid in founding the London Missionary Society. This occurred during the latter part of his residence in London. Often he afterwards reverted with delight to the fact of his having written the first circular by which the originators of this important society were called together, for the purpose of forming themselves into a directory, and organizing their plan of action; and when the society was embodied, he was very properly appointed one of its secretaries. One important duty which he had to discharge in this capacity was, to select the fittest agents for missionary enterprise over the newly-opened field of the South Sea Islands. Not resting satisfied with this onerous and somewhat critical duty, he endeavoured to qualify the missionaries for their trying office, by planning such a series of discourses upon the principal doctrines of revelation as he judged would be best fitted to persuade a primitive, simple-minded people, and which would serve as models, or at least as suggestions, for the use of the Christian teachers who were to be sent among them. With this view he wrote and published a volume, under the title of *Addresses to the Inhabitants of Otaheite*. It was a series of short discourses upon the chief and simplest points of Christian theology, and such as were thought best suited, by their earnest, impassioned style, to be addressed to the poetical children of nature, seated beneath the spreading shadow of their cedars, or around the genial glow of their council-fire. And eloquent indeed were these strange model discourses, and such as the Christian world—especially the young, who devoured them with delight and wonder—have seldom seen within the range of theological authorship. But little as yet were the South Sea islanders known, for whose behalf these sermons were written, and it was soon enough discovered that they were more prone to eat a missionary than to digest his doctrines. But that such ravening *anthrophophagi* should be changed into men, such be-sotted idolaters into Christians, and the principles of humanity, civilization, and order be established among them—and that, too, in the course of a single generation—was certainly the greatest, as well as the most encouraging achievement which modern missionary enterprise has yet accomplished. Mr. Love was permitted to witness the dawn of this bright morning of promise, after so deep a midnight of despondency; and he saw his poor Otaheiteans christianized, although the process had differed from his plans and anticipations.

In 1798 Mr. Love's official connection with London and the Missionary Society terminated, and two years afterwards he was called to the ministerial charge of a chapel of ease newly formed in Anderston, then one of the suburbs of Glasgow. He must have felt it a happy change from the echoes of the lonely walls in Artillery Street, to a populous city, in which his training for the ministry had commenced, and where he could find a congenial people by whom his worth would be fully appreciated. In Glasgow, accord-

ingly, he soon gathered a congregation, by whom he was enthusiastically beloved, and who rejoiced under his pastoral charge to the close of his valuable life. Here also he selected for his friend and chief companion the Rev. Dr. Balfour, of the High Church, Glasgow—of whom a memoir has been given in this work—a congenial spirit in learning, talent, piety, and apostolic zeal. Besides his labours in the pulpit, to which he brought all his powers of study and close application, as well as the resources of a singularly vigorous and richly endowed intellect, Mr. Love held the office of secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society, and presided in its chief enterprise, the establishment of the mission to Caffraria. Notwithstanding his habitual reserve and dislike of popularity, his reputation as a scholar and theologian was so fully acknowledged, that in November, 1815, he was invited to be one of the candidates for the professorship of divinity, at that time vacant in King's College, Aberdeen. Mr. Love complied; but notwithstanding his fitness for the chair, which was tested by long trial and examination, the question was one not so much of ability and learning as of party feeling; and the Moderates being still in the ascendant were enabled to return a candidate of their own election. Soon afterwards Mr. Love was honoured with the degree of Doctor in Divinity. After this the quiet unostentatious course of the good man went on in its wonted tenor, until the cares and toils of the Caffre mission, already giving tokens of those dangers by which it was afterwards all but overthrown, tasked the sensitive spirit of Dr. Love for the last four years of his life, until December 17, 1825, when death terminated his anxieties, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

It was as a pulpit orator that Dr. Love was best known and most highly appreciated in Glasgow, although his manner in the pulpit was such as seldom wins the popular favour. With little action, his utterance was slow, his countenance calm and even stern, and his voice deep and unchanged, except in some sudden burst of emotion that lasted only for a moment;—but even as such, there was a dignity in that mode of preaching which reminded the hearer of an ancient prophet rather than a modern minister, which compelled attention at the moment, and furnished matter for subsequent meditation. Such also was his bearing in everyday life, except when under some cheerful emotion, and then he could become the happiest of the gay and wittiest of the witty. These were glimpses of sunshine all the more delightful because they were only occasional and unexpected.

From his retiring spirit, that shrunk from popular distinction, and from the general state of his health, that agreed best with retirement and tranquillity, the authorship of Dr. Love has been limited, compared with his well-known talents and the wishes of his many admirers. During his own lifetime, indeed, he published nothing, as far as is known, except his *Addresses to the People of Otaheite*, and a few sermons. After his death, however, a careful research among his papers enabled his friends to give the following posthumous works to the world—deprived, however, of that careful correctness which his own revising pen would undoubtedly have bestowed on them:—1. A reprint of sermons preached by him on various public occasions; including also his Otaheitean Addresses. This volume was republished soon after Dr. Love's death. 2. Two volumes of sermons and lectures, from his unrevised manuscripts. These were published in 1829. 3. In 1838 was published a volume containing about three hundred of his letters. 4. In 1853 a volume containing thirty-four sermons, which

he preached in the West Church, Greenock, during the years 1784-5. Finally, in 1857-8 were published in two volumes 8vo, "*Memorials of the Rev. John Lowe, D.D.*," consisting of Diary, Reminiscences, and Original Papers. Edited by the Committee intrusted with the Charge of his Unpublished Papers."

LOW, GEORGE, an ingenious naturalist, was born at Edzel in Forfarshire, in the year 1746. He was educated at the universities of Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and afterwards was tutor in the family of Mr. Graham at Stromness in Orkney. During his residence at this place, Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks and Dr. Solander arrived at the island, on their return from the last voyage of discovery, in which Captain Cook lost his life; and Mr. Low, having acquired a taste for natural history, was much noticed by these distinguished philosophers, and was requested to accompany them in their excursions through the Orkneys, and also to the Shetland Islands, which he accordingly did.

In 1774 he was ordained to the ministerial charge of the parish of Birsay and Staray, on the mainland of Orkney, to which he devoted the remainder of his life, employing his leisure in the study of nature. Considering the disadvantages of his situation, his success was highly creditable. Sir Joseph Banks, with his accustomed zeal for the promotion of science, introduced him to Mr. Pennant, by whose advice he engaged to undertake a *Fauna Orcadensis* and a *Flora Orcadensis*. Before these works could be given to the world, he died, in 1795. The MSS. of the former work, with his zoological collections, and the manuscript of a translation of Torfæus' *History of Orkney*, executed by Mr. Low, came into the possession of Mr. George Paton, the eminent antiquary, at whose decease they were sold to different persons. The *Fauna* was published in 1813, 4to, by W. F. Leach, M.D., F.L.S., and forms a very interesting addition to the natural history of the British Islands. The *Flora* has not been discovered. A tour through Orkney and Shetland, containing hints relative to their ancient, modern, and natural history, was also prepared for the press by this industrious individual, but, owing to his premature death, was never published.

LOWE, JOHN, a poet of considerable celebrity, though the author of only one small lyrical piece which has acquired popularity, was born at Kenmore in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in the year 1750. His father was gardener to Mr. Gordon of Kenmore, son of the unfortunate Viscount Kenmore; and young Lowe was reared to the business of a country weaver. Having, however, a strong desire of rising above his native lot, he fitted himself by his own exertions for entering an academical career at the university of Edinburgh, where his expenses were chiefly defrayed, it is said, by friends whom he had secured by his agreeable character and evident talents. While pursuing the study of divinity, he was engaged as family tutor by a country gentleman of his native district, Mr. M'Ghie of Airds. The residence of this gentleman, as partly implied by its Celtic appellation, was situate on a piece of lofty and picturesque ground, at the confluence of the Dee with the long narrow lake in which the Ken meets with that river. Lowe, already addicted to versification, rejoiced with a poet's ardour in the beautiful scenery of the Airds, amidst which he constructed an arbour, still called "Lowe's seat." He here composed a considerable number of poems, fragments of which are still recollected in the district; and here also he became attached to one of the beautiful daughters of his employer, who, it is to

be supposed, must have materially added to the inspiring powers of the scenery. His happy lyric, entitled *Mary's Dream*, but for which, in all probability, he never would have been heard of beyond his native district, was written at the Airds, in reference to the death of a gentleman named Miller, a surgeon, at sea, who was attached to the sister of his own mistress, and perished in the manner described in the poem.

Of the merits of this remarkable production it would now be superfluous to speak: it caught at once the popular favour, and retains it unimpaired to the present hour, so that we still hear the pathetic echo of "Mary, weep nae mair for me," in all its original tenderness. The knowledge of it also has been more widely spread in consequence of its appearing both in a Scotch and an English version, the former commencing with—

"The moon had climb'd the highest hill
Where eagles big aboon the Dee;"

while the latter less poetically begins with—

"The moon had climb'd the highest hill
That rises o'er the source of Dee;"

Of course the former version has obtained the preference, and is probably the form in which it was originally composed. Indeed, it is supposed, with considerable justice, that Lowe had no hand in the English version, and that the striking excellence of *Mary's Dream* obtained for it an English paraphrast, by which it became as popular in the south as in the north of our island. Another class of critics, however, have attempted to solve the difficulty, by supposing that Lowe wrote the song both in Lowland Scotch and in English.

It is not certain that Lowe, though he seems to have completed his theological studies, ever became a licentiate of the Scottish church. In 1773 he was induced to proceed to America, in order to become family tutor to a brother of the illustrious Washington. He subsequently set up a boarding academy at Fredericksburg in Virginia, which succeeded for a time, but afterwards failed. Before leaving Scotland, he had interchanged pledges of mutual love with Miss M'Ghie, and it was understood that their marriage should take place as soon as he should be properly settled in life. The lapse of years—distance—hopelessness, perhaps, of ever reaching the necessary degree of fortune, and not impossibly the intervention of seven years of war between the two countries, conspired to annul this engagement; and the parties eventually married different individuals in their respective countries. Lowe is charged by his biographers with glaring infidelity to his promise; but the case is too obscurely related to enable us to join in the censure which he has thus incurred. He eventually paid his addresses to a Virginian lady, who rejected them, but whose sister had conceived for him a violent affection, and whom he afterwards married, from a sentiment, as he expresses it, of gratitude. At what time this took place has not been stated by his biographer; but it is impossible, from the account given by that individual, to resist the impression that it was almost half a lifetime after his engagement at the Airds. His wife proved totally unworthy of his affections, and, by driving him for relief to the bottle, caused his death under the most miserable circumstances, about the year 1798. This succession of events appears from Mr. Gillespie's narrative to have been rapid: hence it is allowable to conjecture that at least twenty years must have elapsed between his parting with Miss

¹ The Rev. Mr. Gillespie, minister of Kelso, in Cromek's *Remains of Northumbrian and Scottish Song*.

M'Ghie and his unhappy union to another. If such was the case, we can hardly see how the most ardent impressions of youth could have been maintained at such a distance, and under the continued depression of circumstances on the part of the gentleman, which is acknowledged by the biographer, and which must have tended so much to make sick the hearts of both parties.

A letter from Virginia, from an early friend of the poet, gave the following particulars respecting his death:—"That perceiving his end drawing near, and wishing to die in peace away from his own wretched walls, he mounted a sorry palfrey, and rode some distance to the house of a friend. So much was he debilitated that scarcely could he alight in the court and walk into the house. Afterwards, however, he revived a little, and enjoyed some hours of that vivacity which was peculiar to him. But this was but the last faint gleams of a setting sun; for on the third day after his arrival at the house of his friend, he breathed his last. He now lies buried near

Fredericksburg, under the shade of two palm-trees; but not a stone is there on which to write, 'Mary, weep no more for me.'"

The wretched woman to whom he had been united made no inquiries after her husband for more than a month afterwards, when she sent for his horse, which had been previously sold to defray the expenses of the funeral.

Lowe is said to have been a very handsome man, of quick and lively apprehension, and very agreeable as a companion. His reputation as a poet has the strange peculiarity of resting on one small ballad. That, however, has melody, pathos, and imagery of no common character, and will probably be always reckoned among the happiest small pieces in the English language. Some fragments of his other compositions are given in Crome's *Remains*; but they do not rise one step above the cold second-rate pastoral epics of the period.

LYNEDOCH, LORD. See GRAHAM (THOMAS).

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